HISTORICAL DISCOURSES, UPON Several Occaſions:

VIZ.

I. The happy Progreſs and Succeſs of the Arms of K. *Charles* I. of ever bleſſed Memory, from the 30th of *March*, to the 23d of *November*, 1644. Written by His MAJESTY's eſpecial Command, and corrected, almoſt in every Page, with His own Hand.

II. Memorials of His ſaid MAJESTY's unfortunate Succeſs in the Year following.

III. A Journal of ſeveral Actions performed in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, after King *Charles* the Second's Arrival there in 1650.

IV. The Life and Actions of *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*, Earl-Marſhal of *England*.

V. A full Anſwer to a Book entituled, *Monarchy, or no Monarchy*; being a confuſed Mixture of falſe, traiterous and contradictory Obſervations concerning King *Charles* I. Publiſh'd by *William Lilly* in *July* 1651.

VI. Obſervations upon the Inconveniencies that have attended the frequent Promotions to Titles of Honour and Dignity, ſince King *James* I. came to the Crown of *England*.

VII. Obſervations on the Annals of the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, Publiſh'd by *Hamond L'Eſtrange*, Eſq;

VIII. A ſhort Review of the Life and Actions of King *Charles* I.

By Sir *EDWARD WALKER*, Knight, Garter, Principal King of Arms, Secretary of War to His MAJESTY King *Charles* I. and Clerk of the Council to King *Charles* II.

Together with

Perfect COPIES of all the VOTES, LETTERS, PROPOSALS, and ANSWERS relating unto, and that paſſed in, the Treaty held at *Newport*, in the *Iſle of Wight*, in the Months of *September*, *October*, and *November*, 1648. Between His Majeſty King CHARLES the Firſt, and a Committee of the Lords and Commons of Parliament.

Entred by His MAJESTY's *eſpecial Command.*

By the ſame Sir EDWARD WALKER, who was the Chief Clerk employed by His MAJESTY during that Treaty.

LONDON:

Printed by *W. B.* for **Sam. Keble**, at the *Turk's Head* in *Fleetſtreet*. 1705.

HISTORICAL DISCOURSES

UPON

Several Occasions:

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

TO THE QUEEN Madam

THE Relation theſe Hiſtorical Diſcourſes have to the Royal Family, will, I humbly hope, excuſe the Preſumption of this Dedi-

cation to Your Majeſty. *The firſt of them having been writ by the Command of that moſt Pious and Excellent Prince, Your* Majeſty's *Royal Grandfather, and afterwards corrected with His own Hand; and moſt of the other Diſcourſes treating either of His Affairs, or of thoſe of His Son, Your* Majeſty's *Royal Uncle, King* Charles II. *of Bleſſed Memory.*

If Your Majeſty's *Inceſſant Cares for the Publick will allow You Leiſure to look into them, You will here ſee the Happy Progreſſes of the Royal Arms in the Year* 1644. *and the Inſtability of Humane Affairs in the Unfortunate Succeſs of the Year* 1645. *There this Author ends theſe Relations, but the prevailing Party did not ſtop, till they had embrued their Hands in Royal and Innocent Blood, to the Ruin and Subverſion of the beſt conſtituted Government in Church and State.*

Epiſtle Dedicatory.

This was ſuch a black Tragedy, the like can ſcarce be ever acted again, tho' the impudent Aſſerting, and induſtrious Propagating, of late Years, of thoſe Principles that brought it about, may ſufficiently warn all ſuch as have the Value and Zeal that become them for our Eſtabliſhment, to be upon their Guard, and may encourage them to hope, that they may ſee in your Majeſty's *Reign, ſuch farther Securities provided, as may put it out of the Power of thoſe who never want the Will, to ſubvert the Church and Monarchy.*

The Inſolent Treatment of King Charles II. *in* Scotland, *in the Year* 1650, *ſhews the Spirit of the Party, and from that, as well as many other Inſtances, we may learn how they have uſed, and will uſe Princes that are reduced to that miſerable and forlorn State, as to be at their Mercy.*

Epiſtle Dedicatory.

If any Paſſages in any of theſe Diſcourſes ſeem too warm, it is hoped the Reader will conſider when they were writ, either in the Heat of the War, or ſoon after the Royal Martyr's Death. The Murther of his Maſter, and his own Sufferings, together with thoſe of the Royal Party were then freſh; and the extravagant Demand, and Exerciſe of Power, by thoſe deteſtable Men, who aſſumed to themſelves, not only the Name of an Houſe of Commons, but of the Parliament, might provoke this Author to uſe Expreſſions, which may ſeem to deny ſome of thoſe Privileges to which the Commons of England *will always have a juſt Claim.*

This Author was ſo well known to many yet living, for his Abilities, Sincerity, and Integrity, as well as Loyalty and good Affections to the Crown, that his

juſt Character is no more neceſſary, than it would be proper from me. And a greater cannot be given him than this, that he had the Honour and Happineſs to be in no ſmall Eſteem and Confidence with Your Majeſty*'s Royal Grandfather, whom he ſerved as Secretary at War, and Garter King of Arms.*

I ought to conclude, and not to trouble Your Majeſty *farther with this Addreſs, who have at this time ſo many others preſented to You, upon the Great, and Glorious Succeſſe of Your* Majeſty*'s Arms both by Sea and Land.*

That every Year, every Day, may add new Laurels, new Triumphs to Your Majeſty; *That Your Reign may be long and proſperous, and that the many Benefits and Bleſſings which Your People enjoy under Your Government, and Foreign Princes and States receive*

under

Epiſtle Dedicatory.

under Your Protection, may be at laſt recompenced by endleſs Bleſſings to Your **Majeſty**, *is the hearty and ſincere Prayer, of,*

MADAM,

Your moſt faithful,

Moſt obedient, and

Moſt devoted Subject,

Hugh Clopton.

To My GRANDCHILD

Edw. Clopton *of* Clopton *Esq;*

AS there is often Vanity in writing, so there is as much Flattery in the Dedication of Books; therefore although I may fall under

der the Cenſure of the firſt, yet I am ſure I have avoided the laſt, by dedicating the enſuing Diſcourſes unto your tender Innocence: My only Deſign therein being, that when time (with God's Bleſſing) hath ripened your Underſtanding to peruſe them, you may pleaſe your ſelf that you were unborn in the unhappy Times your Grandfather lived in, and yet to find that he both outlived thoſe times, and that you have no Reaſon to be aſhamed of being deſcended from him, or to purſue your Loyalty unto your lawful Sovereign as he hath done; the which as he enjoins you, ſo he hopes you will dutifully obſerve; and then he ſhall not doubt but that you may live to equalize, if not exceed any of your Anceſtors: Which that you may, is the hearty Prayer of,

Your moſt Affectionate Grandfather,

Heralds College October 14. 1664.

A

Edw. Walker, *Garter.*

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Of the ſeveral

DISCOURSES,

WITH

The Occaſions, Inducements, and Times of Writing thereof.

The Firſt is Intituled,

HIS MAJESTY's *Happy Progreſs and Succeſs from the 30th of* March *to the 23d of* November 1644; Fol. 1. 1644.

The Occaſion.

SEEING that in my Epiſtle Dedicatory, I have hinted at the Occaſion of writing this Diſcourſe, and have alſo at large in the Introduction to my Obſervations upon a ſcandalous Libel, intituled, *Monarchy or no Monarchy in England*, (which is the fifth in this Volume) more fully expreſſed the Inducements of the Writing, and the Gradations and Means both of the Loſs and Recovery of the Original (which I have now happily in my Cuſtody) I ſhall forbear any Repetition thereof, and content my ſelf with the Honour and Satisfaction, that I wrote it by the Command of that moſt pious and excellent King, whoſe Correction thereof (with his own Hand) is to be ſeen in almoſt every Page of the Original.

The

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The Second is Intituled,

Brief Memorials of the Unfortunate Succeſs of His
1647. MAJESTY'S *Army and Affairs in the Year* 1645. Fol. 125

The Occaſion.

His late MAJESTY being ſo well ſatisfied with what I had written the precedent Year, gave me Command when he went into the Field in *May* 1645. to keep Memorials of the ſucceeding Actions of that Campagne, which I did; but thoſe being taken ſhortly after at the Battel of *Naſeby*, and all the Undertakings afterwards proving unproſperous, I proceeded not therein; but about the end of the Year 1646. meeting (at *Paris*) with my moſt honoured Lord *Colpeper* (whoſe conſtant Friendſhip and Kindneſs for me juſtly exacted my complyance with any of his Deſires) I did at his Requeſt recollect my ſelf, and wrote the Actions of the preceding Year, even to the Rendition of *Oxford*: Which if they are not ſo particularly expreſs'd as might be expected, I preſume it will be Excuſe enough that I had no Memorials, nor ſuch a Director as I had in writing the former.

The Third is Intituled,

A ſhort Journal of ſeveral Actions performed in the Kingdom of Scotland *after His* MAJESTY'S *firſt*
1650. *arrival there the* 24th *of* June 1650, *unto the end of* October *following*, Fol. 157

The Occaſion.

I being one of ſo little Conſideration, as not to be excluded from attending His MAJESTY into that Kingdom, although I had not been there above ten Days, yet I was in the Liſt of thoſe the ruling Party baniſhed thence; but Money being ordered for my Tranſportation, (which I never got) I was connived at for about three Months, and therein had the Opportunity to collect and write my Obſervations of the Affairs as they then ſtood. Yet upon *Friday* the 4th of *October*, I was by Sir *James Balfour*, Lyon King of Arms, commanded from Court, which I pre-

I presently obeyed, and about a Month after imbarqued for *Holland*, where I resided several Years after.

The fourth is Intituled,

A short View of the Life and Actions of the most noble and excellent Thomas Howard *Earl of* Arundel *and* Surrey *Earl Marshal of* England, Fol. 209 1651.

The Occasion.

SHORTLY after my coming into *Holland*, I went to *Amersfort*, to wait upon the Countess *Dowager* of *Arundel*, who then lived there, who received me with great Kindness and Humanity; and knowing both my great Obligation to the Earl (her deceased Husband) and the Affection that I had for him and all his Family, did earnestly propose unto me the writing of his Life: The which I had more readily undertook than I did, had I either had any Memorials, or could (as the times then were) have procured any. However, her Desires were Commands to me, and the Duty, Obligation and Affection that I had for that most noble Lord, will, I presume, excuse the Imperfection of the Work it self.

The Fifth is Intituled,

A full Answer to a confus'd Mixture of false, traytorous and contradictory Observations on the Life and Actions of the late King Charles, *published by* William Lilly *in* July 1651, Fol. 227 1651.

The Occasion.

THE Causes that induced me to write this Discourse are so fully stated in the beginning thereof, as it were but Tautology to repeat them here, and therefore they are referred to the Discourse it self.

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The Sixth is Intituled,

1653. *Observations upon the Inconveniencies that have attended the frequent Promotions to Titles of Honour and Dignity, since King* James *came to the Crown of* England. Fol. 291

The Occasion.

I having (in the exiled Condition I then lived in at the *Hague* in *Holland*) the Opportunity of conversing with many worthy and loyal Persons that were in the same, amongst whom was the Right Honourable Sir *Edward Nicholas* Principal Secretary to His late MAJESTY, as he hath been for a long time since to His MAJESTY now happily reigning; and amongst other Discourse with him one Evening, we fell upon this Subject; and going from him, I was so full thereof, as although I had not one Book of History or Heraldry, yet that very Evening I began to write, and pursued it so diligently, as in three Days, I had written as much as my Fancy, Reason, or Memory could dictate to me upon that Subject.

The Seventh and Last is Intituled,

1655. *Observations upon the Annals, published by* H. L. *Esquire, of the Reign of King* Charles *the First.* Fol. 317

The Occasion.

THE Reasons inducing the writing this Discourse are likewise (as I have expresst my self upon the fifth Tract) so fully stated in the beginning thereof, as I shall not need to repeat them here,

BUT

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BUT for Concluſion, ſhall only ſay, that ſeeing none of theſe Diſcourſes have ever yet been publick, I ſhall not make them ſo now, eſpecially after an Act of Oblivion is paſs'd, and that Perſons of all Parties and intereſts enjoy the Safety, Happineſs and Protection of His MAJESTY's juſt and Royal Government.

October 24th
1664.

Edw. Walker, *Gr.*

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Author having by Divine Providence lived near ten Years ſince he digeſted theſe ſeveral Diſcourſes into one Volume, hath in that time been prevailed with by Friends, and found it reaſonable to alter his pretended Reſolution, and therefore directs the ſame to be made publick (after it ſhall pleaſe the Almighty to call him to his Mercy.) Which he had done whileſt living, but to avoid the affectation of Praiſe: For he is confident, that in every Diſcourſe it will appear that all due Right and Honour is rendred unto the Memories of couragious, loyal and worthy Men; eſpecially unto that of the late Royal and Glorious King Charles *the Firſt, his Maſter; whoſe great Judgment and Abilities will alſo appear in the Emendations and Additions made with his own Pen, in the Original of the firſt Diſcourſe; which therefore the Author hath directed to be printed in a different Character.*

Clopton near *Stratford* upon *Avon* in the County of *Warwick* the firſt Day of *Auguſt* 1674.

Edw. Walker, *Garter.*

5

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His Majesty's

HAPPY

PROGRESS

AND

SUCCESS,

FROM THE

Thirtieth of *March* to the Twenty third of *November*, 1644.

RELATED BY

Sir *EDWARD WALKER*, Knight,

Garter Principal KING of ARMS,

AND

Secretary of His MAJESTY's Council of War.

2e.

His Majesty's

HAPPY

PROGRESS

AND

SUCCESS,

FROM THE

Thirtieth of March to the Twenty-third of November, 1704.

RELATED BY

Sir EDWARD HANNER, Knight,

Guter Principal King of ARMS,

AND

Secretary of His MAJESTY's Council of WAR.

To His moſt Sacred Majeſty *Charles*, by the Grace of God King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

SIR,

WHEN I conſider the happy Progreſs of Your Majeſty's *Affairs, and the miraculous Succeſs that attended Your ſmall Force the Year paſt, againſt the numerous Armies of the Rebels, it might be wiſhed they were drawn to the Life, and parallelled with thoſe of the Ancients: And had I eſteemed my ſelf ſufficient for this Work, I might, when the Actions were freſh in Memory, have been more curious in my Obſervations; but when it ſhall be underſtood, that my weak Pen has had the Honour, not only to be commanded, but guided by Your* Majeſty *in this Diſcourſe; and that the cleareſt Light and Reaſon for every Action hath been received from Your* Majeſty, *I doubt not but it will find the due Eſteem of having been truly and impartially related; (which is the Soul of Hiſtory) and that nothing but the Stile and Imperfections thereof are mine: And therefore I do not ſo much preſent as return it to Your* Majeſty, *and with it my humble Acknowledgment for Your* Majeſty's *many eminent Favours conferred upon me, together with this Hope and almoſt Aſſurance, (comparing Your* Majeſty's *and the Rebels Conditions in that time, with*

what they are in this) That the Authors of this Rebellion, who have ſo long and violently contended with Your Majeſty, *and contemned Peace and Reconciliation, will ſpeedily be brought to Juſtice, and puniſhed by that Sword wherewith they endeavour the Deſtruction of Your* Majeſty, *the Laws, and Religion of this Kingdom. And that Your* Majeſty *from that nothing (to which the Rebels had reduced You) will not only continue (as You are) formidable unto them, but be reſtored to the ancient Splendor of Your Royal Throne, and to the Power of adminiſtring Juſtice equally to Your People; that ſo both the Loyal and Rebellious being rewarded according to their Deſerts, Your* Majeſty *(full of Years) ſhall leave the Crown in Peace unto Your Son, and the Fame of Your Royal Virtues to all Poſterity: Which is the Prayer of*

Oxford the 10th *April* 1645.

Your MAJESTY'S

Moſt Loyal and moſt obedient

Subject and Servant,

Edw. Walker, Garter.

His Majesty's *Happy Progress and Success from the* 30th *of* March *to the* 23d *of* November 1644.

WHOEVER will impartially survey the Causes of this unnatural and universal Rebellion, (raised by the Factious, and pursued by the miserably deceived People of this Kingdom) against His MAJESTY, and compare them with the Reasons which have induced this Nation, in some precedent Ages, to contend with their Sovereigns, they shall find that when the Causes have been removed, the Effects have ceased; as in that great Difference which held so long about the Confirmation of *Magna Charta*, called (by reason of the Assertors) the Barons Wars: And those between the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* about the Succession of the Crown. But the Authors of this Rebellion, not regarding the Preservation of the Peoples Liberties, nor willing to leave any Succession to the Crown, or Memory of a King (notwithstanding His MAJESTY, in the beginning and continuation of this unhappy Parliament, granted them all they could ask, and more than they could in Reason or Justice expect) have still persisted in their traiterous Design of destroying His MAJESTY and His Posterity, dissolving the present Government, abolishing the Law, altering the Religion, and involving the People (by the specious Pretences of preserving Parliaments, Religion and Liberties) under the most absolute Tyranny that ever any People groaned under: And because His MAJESTY, tied by the many Obligations of common Justice and His Kingly Authority, hath endeavoured to maintain His own Rights, and those of His People, He hath been forced from His Residence, robbed of His Revenues, Arms, Ships, and Magazines; and above all (by Lies and notorious Scandals) of the Love of His People; and then with few Friends and less Power, engaged in a defensive War against that potent Faction, armed and supplied not only with what they have robbed from His MAJESTY, but with the Money, Plate, and other vast and constant Contributions *of the most disloyal City of London*, and the rest of their Faction throughout the Kingdom; with the Money raised for suppressing the Rebellion

in

in *Ireland*, the twentieth part of all Mens Estates, the Excise on all Commodities: And lastly, with the Sequestration of the Estates, and plundring the Goods of all (whose very Countenances they like not) in their Power: So that it may be confidently said, That there hath been within these four Years, more Money extorted by these arbitrary and tyrannical ways, to begin and continue this Rebellion, than ever the Houses of Commons have granted by Subsidies or other Means to his MAJESTY, or any of his Royal Predecessors, since that Body was thought worthy to be admitted as a third Estate; and more unjust and illegal Actions have been done by this Faction, to maintain and uphold their usurped Power, than have been practised either wilfully or by the advice of evil Counsellors, by all the Kings of this Land since the *Norman* Conquest. Which considered, it is no wonder, nor can it be otherwise ascribed than unto divine Justice, that His MAJESTY and His Cause have been still preserved against so general and potent Oppositions; which can hardly appear more evident, than by His MAJESTY's Safety and height of Success from the setting up his Standard at *Nottingham*, to the first Battel at *Newbery*: And although from that time His MAJESTY's Affairs were unsuccesful, as at *Alton*, *Arrundel*, *Alsford* and other places, whereby the Rebels presumed they should speedily finish their Design; yet notwithstanding, if we survey the Strength and Encrease of the Rebels Armys, and the Decay and Weakness of his MAJESTY's, and compare their Success from the third of *June* 1644. unto the 23 of *November* following (when His MAJESTY returned in Safety and Honour to this City) we shall not find in any Story greater or more miraculous Successes than accompanied His MAJESTY's Personal Undertakings, nor less done at any time by the Rebels Armys, (I mean those under the command of *Essex* and *Waller*) either in relation to their Strength or variety of their Attempts: Wherefore it is most necessary they should be particularly expres'd, not only to shew the eminent Goodness and Providence of the Almighty, but to make evident with what Strength, and by what Counsels, (guided by that Providence) His MAJESTY passed through, and made good that Summer's Progress.

March. OF which to make the clearer and more certain Judgment, it will be fit to state the Condition of His MAJESTY's and the Rebels Armys at the Battel at *Alsford*, and from thence deduce the Causes that brought His MAJESTY to that streight

as

as to make His Retreat hence the third of *June*. This Battel was fought on *Friday* the 29th of *March*, the Commanders in chief on our part, the Earl of *Brainford* and *Forth* Lieutenant General of His MAJESTY's Army, the Lord *Hopton* Field Marshal General of the West and Southern Countries; most of their Forces consisted of such as had been raised and brought out of the West by the Lord *Hopton*, where they had the Summer before done exemplary Service at the taking of *Exceter*, *Dartmouth* and other places of importance. The rest, especially the Horse, were of His MAJESTY's old Army, and about a thousand Foot drawn up of the Garrison of *Reading*, commanded by Sir *Jacob Asteley* (since deservedly ranked amongst the Nobility by the Title of Lord *Astely*) then, and still Serjeant Major General of His MAJESTY's Army. Our whole Strength of that Battel consisted of about 5000 Foot and 3000 Horse. The Rebels Army was then commanded by Sir *William Waller* their General, Sir *William Balfore*, and Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and was made up of Sir *William Waller*'s old Forces with some Reigments of Auxiliaries from *London*, *Kent* and *Sussex*. Their Strength was equal, if not superiour to ours, and although their Success that Day was *rather* accompanied with Marks of Victory, than *any real Proofs thereof*, yet it was of so great advantage *to them*, *that* thereby they necessitated His MAJESTY to alter the Scheme of His Affairs, and in the place of an offensive to make a defensive War. To mention the manner of the Battel, with the Advantages won and lost on either side that Day, will not be very pertinent to this Discourse; sure it is, we lost two eminent Persons, the Lord *John Stewart* General, and Sir *John Smith* Serjeant Major General of the Horse of the Lord *Hopton*'s Army, besides some other Officers of Note were slain and taken; yet we drew off all our Cannon, and Ammunition (the taking of which in all Battels is accounted the greatest Sign of Victory) and retired safely that Night to *Reading*. The Rebels being in no Condition to pursue the Advantages they might have taken in this Conjuncture; whereby we may conclude their Army, though it kept the Field, received the greater Loss *of Men*; for shortly after, many of the *London* and *Kentish* Auxiliaries could by no means be induced to stay longer with their General, their time of fighting being expired; yet he under pretence of following some of our Horse, (who took the wrong way in their retreat) sent Sir *William Balfore* with speed to *Salisbury*, which City he sufficiently plundered; himself in the interim doing no less

March. 29th. The Battel of *Alsford.*

at

April. at *Winchester*, as being (notwithstanding the pretence of his late Victory) denied Entrance into (his own Inheritance) the Castle of *Winchester*, by Sir *William Ogle* Governour there, he retired to *Farnham* and the Parts adjacent, not being able (as was afterwards manifest) to pursue his Design for the West, without a new Recruit from his Friends and Adherents at *London*. Yet by way of Prevention, Letters were sent presently to Prince *Maurice*, not to engage himself before *Lyme*, or any other place, nor to fight with *Waller*, in case he should advance into *Dorsetshire*, without farther Directions from His MAJESTY, and Order was instantly given that two Regiments of Foot should be drawn from hence, and as many more as the Lord *Hopton* should find necessary, should be drawn from *Bristol*, *Malmesbury*, and the Forest of *Dean*, unto *Marleborough*, there to join with and recruit the Army. Which being done, and the Army refreshed some few Days in *Barkshire*, His MAJESTY resolved to take a View of their Strength and Condition, and by His Presence to give them Encouragement. To which end His MAJESTY (attended with His own Troop) marched from *Oxford* on *Tuesday* *April* the 10th, and quartered that Night at *Childrey* near *Wantage*. The next Day, by His MAJESTY's Command, the Army was drawn up at a Rendezvous near *Auborn*, and were compleat 6000 Foot and above 4000 Horse. His MAJESTY having (to His great Satisfaction) fully viewed their Strength, went thence and quartered that Night at *Marleborough*, and there considering with his Council how he should dispose of His Army, it was resolved that all Opportunities should be taken speedily to fight with *Waller*; thereby not only to prevent his going into the West, but to regain the Opinion our Forces had lost at *Alsford*, and to hinder *Waller*'s recruiting, or any Addition of new Forces from *London*; and that our Army should within two Days march thence to *Salisbury*, as being the most proper Station in relation to these Resolutions: And full Power was left with the Lord General, the Lord *Hopton*, and the Lord *Wilmot*, to pursue all Occasions tending to that Design. His MAJESTY having thus settled the Affairs of his Army, returned on *Thursday* to *Oxford*; where upon Intelligence that a considerable Force of the Rebels was drawing towards *Alisbury*, and that place designed for the Rendezvous of *Essex*'s Army, new Orders were sent to the Lord General, and the rest, not to stir from *Marleborough*, except they had certain Intelligence that *Waller* would attempt to go into the West. The Generals

10th His Majesty and the Army at *Marleborough*.

12th His Majesty returned to *Oxford*.

following

following their Directions, lay there many Days, and refreshed their Forces, expecting *Waller*'s advance; who instead of following his Western Design was about this time enforced (for want of Power and Money to pay those he had left) to make a Journey in Person to *London*, leaving his Forces about *Farnham*, *Alton*, and the Parts adjacent. *April.*

His Majesty in the interim found it would be most for His Advantage, speedily to prepare to take the Field, the Rebels at *London* being very busie in recruiting *Essex*'s old Army, and upon the matter in raising a new one for their Darling *Waller*, out of the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries of that rebellious City and the neighbouring Counties; *Essex* with his Army being designed to take *Oxford*, and the other to conquer the West; for both these they had already swallowed in their Imaginations.

In order to this Resolution, His Majesty the 16th of *April* made a Recess of the Meeting of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled here at *Oxford*, that so they having done their Endeavours for the publick Peace and Safety of this Kingdom, they might repair into their respective Countries, and put their Resolutions into Action. His Majesty's Speech then delivered will not be here unnecessarily inserted, being in these ensuing Words. 16th. Recess of the Parliament at *Oxford*.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" I Am now brought to you by your selves, for I should " not so soon have parted with you, if you had not de- " sired it, and I believe that the same Zeal and Affection " to Me and your Country, which hath brought and stayed " you here, hath caused you to seek this Recess; that so " by distributing your selves into your several Countries, " we may all the better reap the Fruits of our Consultations: " Wherefore in God's Name dispose of your selves as you " think fit. I heartily thank you for what you have done, and " fully approve of what you desire. His Majesty's Speech at the Recess.

" I think most (if not all) of you are engaged in my " Service, either in a Civil or a Martial way. To you that " have charge in my Armys, I recommend the diligent " Attendance in your Commands; that so by your good " Example and Discipline, you may suppress that Li- " cense and Disorder which will discredit and may destroy " the best Cause.

April. " AND to you who are engaged in the Civil Affairs, I
" muſt recommend theſe few Particulars, that you expedite
" thoſe Supplies of Moneys, which by your Advice I have
" ſent for, whether by Subſcription or Exciſe, remembring
" that Moneys are the Nerves of War.

" LIKEWISE that you uſe your beſt Diligence for the preſ-
" ſing of Men, and encouragement of Volunteers, by ſhew-
" ing them, that now the only way to preſerve themſelves
" from Slavery, and their Country from Ruin, is freely to
" engage their Perſons.

" BUT chiefly and with all poſſible Care to enform all my
" Subjects of the Barbarity and Odiouſneſs of this Rebellion;
" how ſolicitous I have been for Peace, and how inſolently
" and ſcornfully rejected: Aſſuring them that my Arms are
" raiſed, and kept only for the Defence of their Religion,
" Laws, and Liberties; which being once ſecured and vin-
" dicated, I ſhall moſt cheerfully lay them down, I hav-
" ing (God knows) with much unwillingneſs taken them
" up.

" LASTLY, aſſure them, that theſe extraordinary ways
" which Neceſſity hath produced (and moſt of them not
" without your Conſent or Advice) for my Supply, ſhall not
" hereafter be brought in Example to their Prejudice; and I
" ſhall in the mean time do my beſt to prevent and puniſh
" all Exorbitances and Diſorders.

" To conclude (my Lords and Gentlemen) I do now
" again (yet never enough) thank you for your great and
" unanimous Expreſſions of your Affections to me, which
" hath laid an unexpreſſible Obligation upon me: And be
" aſſured that there is no Profeſſion which I have made for the
" Defence and Maintenance of our Religion, Laws, and Li-
" berties, which I will not inviolably obſerve.

" Now God who hath bleſſed this Meeting with an un-
" expected unanimity (which I eſteem as one not of his leaſt
" Bleſſings) will, I hope, bring us all ſafe together again the
" eighth Day of *October* next. In the mean time I ſhall be
" ready to receive any thing from Committees that ſhall be
" deſired.

17th Her Majeſty begins Her Journey for the Weſt. THE next Day Her MAJESTY being great with Child and much indiſpoſed in her Health, began her Journey into the Weſt, thoſe parts being judged to be more out of the Rebels Power, and leſs ſubject to the Noiſe and Apprehenſion of Danger. His MAJESTY, Prince *Charles*, the Duke of *York*, with

with the Nobility and Persons of Quality here resident; *April.*
brought Her MAJESTY to *Abington*, *whence* by many and easie Days Journeys, *She* came safe to *Exceter*, *and there stayed till She* was safely delivered of a young Princess the middle of *June* following, and there haply Her MAJESTY would have resided longer, had She not been enforced with great Peril and Hazard of Her Life, in the beginning of *July* to hasten into *Cornwall* (whither She was pursued by *Essex* and his Army) and thence to imbarque for *France*.

HIS MAJESTY being by Her MAJESTY's Safety in the West, *May.*
and by the Recess of the Assembly of Parliament disengaged of those Cares that attended their Safeties here, omitted not any Opportunity with his Council to provide for the preservation and encrease of his Army; and that he might draw the greater number out of his Garrisons of *Oxford* and *Reading*; instant Orders were given for compleating the City Regiment, and raising two Regiments of Auxiliaries consisting of Gentlemen, Scholars, and their Servants, resident in this City of *Oxford*, under the Command of the Earl of *Dover*, and the Lord *Littleton* Lord Keeper, and for the raising another Regiment of Auxillaries in the Garrison of *Reading* under the command of Collonel *Richard Nevil* High Sheriff of the County of *Berks*. Those Regiments in *Oxford* were raised and compleated to considerable Numbers, and have done constant Duty ever since, to their great Honour and the manifest Preservation of this City; but the other Regiment at *Reading* was no sooner raised, but it was disbanded, the Works about that Town slighted, and the Garrison drawn out, and joined to the rest of the Army, (only the Regiment of Collonel *Hawkins* being about 200 good Foot) were put into *Greenland* House below *Henley*, to hinder the passage on the River of *Thames* from *Reading* and *Henley* to *London*.

Introduction to the quitting of *Reading*.

To give satisfactory Reasons for the quitting of that place of so great importance, may be very difficult (all Actions how judiciously soever designed being judged by the Event) yet to state our Condition, and that of the Rebels Armys at that time, will be very easie; and then 'tis left to each to make his Judgment.

'TIS true a Month before this was done, the Lord General and the Council of War at *Marleborough* proposed the quitting of that place, in regard the Men left there were not enough to defend it, and if any more were put in, it would weaken the Army; his MAJESTY then approved of that Advice, only differing in point of time, as conceiving

May. the Rebels could not so suddenly draw before it, as not to allow us time to withdraw, or to put in more Men as there should be occasion; and therefore as yet, *Reading* was to be looked upon (in order to fight with the Rebels) as well as *Oxford*; that if they should attack either of those places, some Forces might be drawn out of the one to add to our Army, for the other's relief: And to that purpose the Army was ordered to quarter at *Newbery* as the most apt Station in regard to *Reading*, *Wallingford* and *Oxford*; and whence, if it should be resolved that *Reading* should be quitted, we might with our Army slight the Works before the Rebels should possess it. Upon these Grounds the deserting that Garrison was for the present stopped, and our Army brought to *Newbery* where, and in the Country about it, it quartered near a Month longer.

But to return and so take a vew of the Condition of our Army, and those of the Rebels, at the time of the quitting that Garrison, being about the 14th of *May*, it will be very fit to remember that our Army when it mustered at *Awburn*, was compleat 6000 Foot, and 4000 Horse: That in pursuance of our Design, we had endeavoured to attempt on *Waller*, who could not at all be brought to give any Advantage or Opportunity for ours to do any good upon him, (it being very difficult for one Army to engage another to fight, except they both conceive they have Advantages, *which was an Experience too late observed and too dearly bought*) That our Army had been now above a Month in the Field in the worst time of the Year, and so probably was not encreased; and that His Majesty notwithstanding his former Order to Prince *Maurice* not to engage himself before *Lyme*, was yet content (the possible and sudden gaining of that place being daily presented thence) that his Highness should continue that Seige, so that what our Strength then was, or how to be encreased is very visible. On the other side, the Rebels had two Armies on foot, that under the command of the Earl of *Essex* (consisting of his old Forces who had wintered about St. *Albans* and *Bedfordshire*, and now encreased with four Regiments of the Trained Bands of the City of *London*, in all little less than 10000 Horse and Foot) and that of *Waller*'s, who had likewise a large Recruit from *London*, *Kent* and *Sussex*, and was little inferiour to *Essex* in number, but in Reputation greater. With these two Armys about the 10th of *May* they both advanced, *Essex* to *Windsor*, and *Waller* to the parts about *Basing*, agreeing (no question)

Essex and *Waller* with their Armys come out of *London*.

in

in this (though they perfectly hated each other) either to join or ſeparate as they ſhould find their beſt Advantages. *May.*
And now it was high time to reſolve how to diſpoſe of the Garriſon in *Reading*, it being too late to purſue the Advice his Highneſs Prince *Rupert* had by many Meſſages, and lately by his Preſence in coming out of *Cheſhire* to that purpoſe, offered to His MAJESTY and His Council; which was to reinforce the Garriſons of *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, *Abingdon*, *Reading* and *Banbury*, with all the Foot, to leave ſome Horſe in and about *Oxford*, and to ſend all the reſt of the Horſe into the Weſt to Prince *Maurice*: By which means it was probable one of their Armys would have been engaged to beſiege ſome of thoſe places, and the other to march into the Weſt; for both which, or almoſt any other Accident, we had by this courſe ſufficiently provided. But this Counſel was not followed; *all our Conſultations tending to nothing, but how to make the Enemy to fight, which we not being able without diſadvantage to do, was now* brought to this Condition, either to quit *Reading*, and join that Force (being about 2500 old Souldiers) to our Army, the better to enforce either of their Armys to fight before they joined (which in probability might have been effected) or elſe to keep that place, and retire with our Army; which if they had beſieged, we could not probably have timely relieved. Upon the firſt of theſe, the quitting that Garriſon and ſlighting the Works was reſolved on, which was done in three Days by all our Army drawn thither to that purpoſe. His MAJESTY the 16th of *May* went thither from *Oxford* to ſee His Army, and conſult what was now fitteſt to be done; where the former Reſolutions were ſtill kept though the parts about *Reading* were not held the moſt convenient for that purpoſe; and ſo upon *Saturday* the 18th of *May* our Army marched from *Reading* having fully demoliſhed the Works; had their rendezvous on the Downs near *Compton*, and quartered about that place and towards *Wantage*, His MAJESTY that Night returning to *Oxford*, where the preſervation of that place was taken into ſerious Conderation, and all poſſibe Care and Endeavours uſed to bring in Proviſions of Victuals, and to finiſh the Works and Fortifications. The next Day after His MAJESTY's Army had quitted *Reading*, it was poſſeſſed by the Rebels Forces of *Eſſex*'s Army, who had thereby the Opportunity of joining with *Waller*'s Forces, which they could not do conveniently before, though afterwards they never joined in a Body, but kept at a fit diſtance, to be able if there were occaſion to aſſiſt each other. Our

16th
His Majeſty went to *Reading* which was then ſlighting.

Army

May. Army for (some few Days after quartered about *Wantage*. About the 24th of *May* the Foot were drawn into *Abingdon*, and the Horse quartered at *Farringdon*, who (guided by I know not what Fate or Disposition) had not in all this time of the Rebels Advance (neither before nor after the quitting of *Reading*) either beaten up any of the Rebels Quarters, given them any Allarms, or so much as faced them, which no question gave them great Encouragement. His MAJESTY both before, and when his Army was drawn into *Abingdon*, had frequent Meetings there with his Council of War, where many Debates passed, and Resolutions were taken how to oppose the Rebels with the best Advantage. And here it will not be amiss to name those Persons of Honour whose Counsels His MAJESTY for the most part followed in the managing of the warlike Affairs, both then and throughout his Western Journey, who were the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Lindsey* Lord Great Chamberlain, the Earl of *Brainford* and *Forth*, Lord General; the Lord *Digby* principal Secretary of State, the Lord *Hopton*, the Lord *Percy* General of the Artillery, the Lord *Willmot* Lieutenant General of the Horse, Sir *John Culpeper* Master of the Rolls (since for his great Integrity and singular Abilities made a Baron) with Sir *Jacob Astely* Serjeant Major General of the Army. The Result of all their Debates there was, either to keep or quit that Town, according to the Rebels manner of advance towards it, and if they came upon the East side to maintain it; but if they marched more Westerly, and came by the ways leading from *Wantage* or *Farringdon*, then it was resolved either to draw out to fight, or to retire with the Army to *Oxford*, the Town being not fortified on that part, nor having the Advantage of the River as on the East side. This was not so positive but it was left to the Lord General's Discretion, to do what he should find most advantagious. Resolutions being thus taken, His MAJESTY that Night (being the 24th of *May*) returned to *Oxford* expecting the Event. In the interim the Rebels without any Opposition, made their Advance towards the East part of the Town; their head Quarter being that Night at *Hagborn*. And here it may be asked why the Resolutions taken in case the Rebels should come that way were not pursued, to which (the matter of fact proving otherwise) no other Answer can be given, but that it being left to the General's Discretion upon the place to do what he should find best for the Advantage of His MAJESTY's Army, no question but he did what in His Judgment he esteemed

24th The Army quartered at *Abbingdon* and *Farringdon*.

Frequent Councils at *Abingdon* and the Names of the Principal Counsellors.

Resolution in what manner to defend *Abingdon* or quit it.

most necessary (but by whose Counsel or why he did it, is not for me to enquire) *yet I cannot but say that the L. Willmot was generally thought to be the chief Adviser to quit* Abingdon; for early the next morning all the Foot marched out of *Abingdon*, the Horse being come thither in the Night to make good their Retreat. This was done before His MAJESTY knew of it, the first Notice being given him by an Officer of Quality, sent early from the General to advertise His MAJESTY thereof, and seconded by Sir *Charles Blount*, Scout Master General. His MAJESTY was much troubled at the sudden quitting of that place, and sent Sir *Charles Blount* instantly back to the Lord General to command him to stay, and not to advance until that His MAJESTY should come unto him. But the Army before he returned was marched in the sight of *Oxford*, so that Order could not be obeyed; wherefore the Foot were drawn through *Oxford*, and quartered at *Wolvercott*, and the Towns thereabouts: The Horse marched over the River *Isis* at *Newbridge*, and had their Quarters at *Cassington* and the Villages adjacent. In this manner our Forces quitted *Abingdon*, whither a Party of *Essex*'s Army came that Evening, but did not quarter there that Night. The next Day *Essex* entred the Town with most of his Foot, and quartered his Horse near about him, *Waller*'s Forces lying between that and *Wantage*. And now the Rebels thought their Game sure, having without a Blow got the possession of *Reading*, *Abindon*, and so of all *Berkshire*, and thereby enforced His MAJESTY to draw his Army on the North side of *Oxford*, there to feed on his own Quarters, and (the best he could) to keep himself from being besieged. This caused them to report at *London*, that *Oxford* was taken, that His MAJESTY was Prisoner; others that he intended to come to *London*: Which last was so much believed as that it drew this Letter to *Essex* from the Members there.

May.

25th *Abingdon* quitted.

The Army drawn on the North side of *Oxford*.

26th All *Berkshire* in the Rebels Power.

Letter to *Essex* from *Westminster*.

"*My Lord*,

"WE are credibly informed that His MAJESTY intends to "come for *London*, we desire that you would do your Endea-"vours to inform your self of the same; and if you think "that His MAJESTY intends at all to come to the Armys, that "you acquaint us with the same, and do nothing therein, until "the Houses shall give direction.

WHAT the Scope of this Letter was is evident, and needs no Explanation. But to return, His MAJESTY you may now conclude,

was

May. was brought to a great ſtreight, and therefore it behoved him to take his beſt Advantages with the Army he had left; for there was no Expectation of any Addition of Force either from the North or Weſt, Prince *Rupert* being marched into *Lancaſhire* to the relief of *Latham*, and Prince *Maurice* unluckily ſtill engaged before *Lyme*. Wherefore upon *Sunday* the 26th of *May*, the Lord *Hopton* Field Marſhal General of the Weſt, a Perſon of much Honour and Intereſt in thoſe parts, was by His MAJESTY ſent away to *Briſtol*, not only to ſecure that City, but to provide for the Safety and Preſervation of the Weſtern Counties, and to give Life to the Aſſociation there lately made, for the mutual Defence of His MAJESTY's Perſon, their Laws, Religion, and Liberties. (This was done the ſooner becauſe it was not then evident how theſe two great Armys of the Rebels then ſo near *Oxford* would diſpoſe themſelves, who no queſtion loſt great Advantages by their ſo long ſtay in theſe parts, as by the Sequel is moſt evident.) And Orders were likewiſe preſently given to diſpoſe the Army in ſuch manner as to keep the Rebels from paſſing over the River of *Iſis* and *Charwel*, which run on the Eaſt and Weſt Sides of the City, the Foot being quartered towards the *Charwell*, and the Horſe near the *Iſis*. Our Army thus diſpoſed lay ſtill a Day or two expecting the Rebels Motions, who only faced the City with ſmall Parties of Horſe in *Cowly* Fields, and about *Heddington*. On *Monday* the 27th they attempted to paſs the *Iſis* at *Newbridge*, but were repulſed by our Dragooners. But on *Tueſday* the 28th of *May*, *Eſſex* with his whole Army came over the *Thames* at *Samford Ferry*, and the next Day marched to *Iſlip*, where he made his Quarters. By the way he made a halt on *Bullington Green*, in full view of the City, and himſelf with a ſmall Party of Horſe came within Cannon Shot to take a more exact view of the place. (But could from what he ſaw give himſelf little hope to gain it by that way.) Divers Parties of his Horſe for the greateſt part of that Day ſcoured up and down the Hill, and ſome of them came very near the Ports, and had ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes with ours, though little hurt was done on either ſide. But in the height of their braving, three or four great Shot was made at them, from the Work at St. *Clement*'s Port, which did ſome little Execution, and drove them to their main Body then on the march. (His MAJESTY at this Inſtant was on the top of *Magdalen*-College Tower, where he did exactly view their Order and Motion.) Early the next Morning a Party of the Rebels attempted to paſs

The Lord *Hopton* ſent into the Weſt.

27th The Rebels attempt to paſs at *Newbridge*.

28th *Eſſex* with his whole Army appear on *Bullington Green*.

29th The Rebels attempt to paſs the *Charwell*.

paſs over the *Charwell* at *Goſworth* Bridge, but were repulſed by our Muſqueteers, where divers of them were ſlain: Ours kept the Paſs, until they were drawn off, and joined to the Army, who both Horſe and Foot drew this Day towards *Oxford*, ſtaying five or ſix Hours on the North ſide under the Works; and three or four Regiments marched through the City towards *Abingdon*, but preſently returned towards *Woodſtock*. Our Deſign herein being this (having engaged *Eſſex* with his Army on the Eaſt ſide of the *Charwell*, and thereby diſabled him to receive any ſpeedy Aſſiſtance from *Waller*) we might either repoſſeſs *Abingdon*, and ſo take the Opportunity to fight with *Waller* ſingly, or elſe have a fair way open to make our Retreat into the Weſt. To which end the noble and valiant Earl of *Cleveland* advanced with a Party of 150 Horſe to *Abingdon*; where 1000 Foot and 400 Horſe of *Waller*'s Army then lay, the reſt being at *Newnham*. He entred the Town, and brought thence forty Priſoners; but being ſtrongly purſued, his Priſoners eſcaped; though he made his Retreat good, ſlew the Commander of their Party, with the loſs of Captain *de Lyne* of Prince *Charles*'s Regiment, and Captain *Triſt*, and ſome few more wounded.

May.

29th

The Earl of *Cleveland* attempts on the Rebels in *Abingdon*.

THE next Day being *Friday* the 31ſt of *May*, we returned to our former Station at *Goſworth* Bridge, where Sir *Jacob Aſteley* commanded; who preſently raiſed Breaſt Works, and made a Redoubt for the Defence of our Men, and repulſed the Rebels to their coſt that Day: They had four ſmall Pieces on the other ſide, which did us little hurt.

31ſt

The Rebels again beaten off at *Goſworth* Bridge.

WHILE *Eſſex*'s Forces were fighting at *Goſworth*, *Waller*'s were not idle at *Abingdon*, who this Day plundred that Town, and ſawed down the Croſs (ſtanding upon Pillars in the Market place) being the greateſt Ornament of that place, and a goodly Piece for Beauty and Antiquity. An Act ſo barbarous, no People that ever ſerved a God (but ſuch an one as they have fancied to themſelves) would ever have done; who while they pretend to avoid Idolatry, commit all the Sacrilege, Murther, and Impiety that can be imagined.

Waller at *Abingdon*.

UPON *Saturday* the firſt of *June*, the Rebels again attemped to force their Paſſage at *Goſworth*, but were repulſed; and good Execution was done upon them by our Cannon and Muſqueteers. We likewiſe ſecured other Paſſages at *Enſlow* Bridge, the Fords at *Tackly*, and the Mills up the River; where the Rebels were likewiſe beaten back with Loſs. But on the other ſide *Waller*'s Forces from *Abingdon*, attempted

June.

1ſt

The Rebels repulſed at *Goſworth*, *Enſlow*, and *Tackley*.

June. 2d *Waller* passeth with his Army over *Newbridge.* *Newbridge*, which was kept with about 100 Musqueteers; who being over powered, and their Ammunition spent, the Rebels got over the River in Boats, took many of them, and so got that Passage over the *Isis*. And now it was time to take some quick Resolutions before we were enclosed, for by the gaining that Passage the Rebels had opportunity to come over and fall on our Rear, as we were opposing the Rebels Passage on the other side over *Charwell*; which we yet kept with so good Success, (as that with very little loss) they had slain, wounded and run away in four Days near 500 Men. Yet His MAJESTY would not suddenly draw His Army from guarding those Passes until he had met with His Council, and upon full view of His Condition, taken some speedy Resolution what in so great an Exigent was fit to be done.

2d His Majesty held a Council at *Woodstock.* To which purpose, on *Sunday* the second of *June*, His MAJESTY guarded with His own Troop, went to *Woodstock*; where assembling His Council, a State was made of the ill Posture of His Affairs at that present; which was that He must either fight with their Armys upon any Advantage, or suddenly march away with His Army, leaving it in the Rebels Power to besiege *Oxford* or follow His MAJESTY. This being the Case, (there were not many that desired to speak unto it) His MAJESTY hereupon resolved to quarter there that Night, and before He went to Bed, to resume the former Debate, and to take some positive Resolution therein; but it was not long e'er certain Intelligence was brought, that the Rebels of *Waller*'s Army had passed over that Afternoon 5000 Horse and Foot at *Newbridge*, and that some of them were advanced within three Miles of that place. Upon which His MAJESTY resolving not to be surprized with part of His Army, gave instant Order for the drawing off all the Foot from the Passes, and commanded that they should meet him the next Morning early about *Tarneton*; and so His MAJESTY in the close of the Evening with all the Horse marched back towards *Oxford*.

3d His Majesty prepares for His departure from *Oxford.* Betimes in the Morning the Foot came up, and His MAJESTY having marched all Night, by six in the Morning came to *Oxford*. Most of that Day the Army lay under the Works, on the North side of the City, and had then (as formerly) Provisions brought them out of the publick Magazines. And now in humane Probability, the Rebels had His MAJESTY and His Children, His Army, this City, and all those who with the Hazard of their Lives, and Expence of their Fortunes, had so long stuck unto His MAJESTY and the Justice of His Cause, even in their Power and Possession.

Poſſeſſion. *And this was ſo much apprehended even by ſome of Eminency, that at this time His* MAJESTY *yielding upon Conditions to the Rebels, was profer'd to him by one, and but one of thoſe with whom he privately conſulted that Evening (which was rejected with Scorn) about the Reſolution which he then took:* And certainly had not His MAJESTY ſpeedily reſolved His Courſe, and put it into Action that Evening, it would have been too late the next Day to have done it; and to have ſtayed and been beſieged in *Oxford* with the whole Army, had been certainly in few Days to put himſelf and all into their Hands. For (beſides the impoſſibility of being relieved) the Proviſions were already much exhauſted, and would not have ſupplied thoſe Numbers above fourteen Days; to prevent which, His MAJESTY (no queſtion guided by Divine Providence) took his Reſolutions to make his way, and the beſt he could to avoid the Rebels, who had now in a manner encompaſſed him; and to that end, to amuſe the Rebels, a great part of the Army with Cannon was drawn towards *Abingdon*, which cauſed *Waller* to march back from *Newbridge*; but ours after few Hours returned, and Order was given that all thoſe of His MAJESTY's Council, Servants and Troop that were to attend him, ſhould be ready at the Sound of the Trumpet. In the interim, His MAJESTY ſolicitous of the Safety and Preſervation of this Univerſity and City, where he left His ſecond Son the Duke of *York*, with moſt of His Council, Nobility, Judges, and other Perſons of Quality, ſigned a Commiſſion unto the Duke and the Lords, and others of the Council for the better Government of Affairs in His Abſence; and left the Military part to the diſpoſal of Sir *Arthur Aſton* then Governour, to whom were joined by way of Aſſiſtance, Sir *Lewis Dyve*, Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, Collonel *Gage*, Collonel *Hollyland*, and Lieutenant Collonel *Buncle*, and gave them Aſſurance that if they ſhould be beſieged, he would ſpeedily with all the Force he could make, return to their Relief. Which done, about nine of the Clock that *Munday* Night being the third of *June* (and never to be forgotten) His MAJESTY having with him His Son Prince *Charles*, the Duke of *Richmond*, and moſt of the Lords formerly mentioned, attended by his Servants, Troop, and many others who thought themſelves unſafe here, marched out at the North Port (contrary to expectation) where his Army lay, and then gave Order for a Party of 2500 Muſqueteers to be drawn out of the whole Body without any Colours, commanded in chief under the Earl of *Brainford* and *Forth*

June.

3d

His Majeſty in the Evening with part of his Army marcheth for *Worceſter.*

June. Lieutenant General, by Sir *Jacob Astley* Serjeant Major General, Collonel *Blagge*, Collonel *Lisle*, Sir *Bernard Asteley* Collonels of *Tertias*, Collonel *Lloyd* Quarter Master General, and divers other Officers of the best Repute and Esteem in the Army. Which being done, they presently marched away, and joined themselves to the whole Body of Horse, who were there in the Field; and with them His MAJESTY advanced in good Order to *Wolvercot*, the Horse being in the Van; from whence by that time it was Day, we were got unto *Yarneton*. All the rest of our Army being 3500 Foot with the Cannon and Colours lay that Night without the Works of *Oxford*, and the next Morning march'd through it a Mile or two towards *Abingdon* again to amuse the Rebels, and until Quarters could be made for them, and in the Evening returned into *Oxford*. From *Yarneton* we marched in good Order (having our Scouts abroad) towards long *Hanborow*, fearing the Rebels had got Possession of a Bridge near *Woodstock* Park, which we were of necessity to pass: for the Earl of *Essex* upon our quitting the Passes came over *Charwel* on *Munday* with some of his Forces, and quartered that Night at *Blechington*, and some of his Forces lay at *Woodstock*. On the other side, *Waller* lay about *Ensham* and between that and *Newbridge*; little imagining that we would at all have made our way between them, or at least not so soon, seeing the Day before, they saw our Army under the Works at *Oxford*; and 'tis reported that *Essex* early on *Tuesday* Morning looking from his Quarters towards *Oxford*, saw our Colours standing as they did, and thence believed we were still in his Power. But by that time we had passed the Bridge, and by nine in the Morning were drawn up on *Hanborough* Heath not far from *Witney*, then we concluded our selves out of their Power; for until they saw us in this Posture, neither of them knew of our Retreat. Yet to shew their Anger, that His MAJESTY had without any Opposition got out of their Power, they presently drew out of their Quarters, *Essex* unto *Woodstock* and *Waller* unto *Witney*; but we were too far gone to be overtaken, especially by Armys that had Artillery and Baggage, which we had left behind us to facilitate our Retreat. At *Minster Lovel* we were overtaken with a Storm, which fell violently on *Essex*'s Army then marching over *Champsfield* near *Woodstock*, to their great Amasement. That Day by four in the Afternoon His MAJESTY with His Army came to *Burford*, where His MAJESTY supped and refreshed His wearied Forces, but concluded that if he should quarter there that Night, he should

4th His Majesty passeth through both their Armys before the Rebels knew of their Departure.

give

give the Rebels Opportunity to overtake him; and therefore about ſix in the Evening, we marched thence over *Cotſwold*, and by twelve that Night got to *Bourton* on the Water, where we quartered ſome few Hours until it was Day. *Waller* made ſo much haſt after us, as when he came to *Burford* he there took ſome few ſtragling Souldiers, who regarded their Drink more than their Safety. As ſoon as it was Day, we drew up in the Fields beyond *Bourton*, and ſo marched to *Broadway* Hills without any Oppoſition; where we had Notice of the Loſs of *Tewksbury* ſurpriſed the Day before by a ſtrong Party from *Glouceſter*, Collonel *Godfrey* being ſlain, and the Governour *Mynne* taken Priſoner, though moſt of the Garriſon made their Retreat to *Eveſham*. This was unwelcome News unto us, and deprived His MAJESTY of many Opportunities he might have taken, in caſe that place had been ſtill in his Poſſeſſion. *June.*

His Majeſty quartered at *Bourton* on the Water.

Tewksbury ſurpriſed by the Rebels from *Glouceſter*.

FROM *Broadway* we came ſafely that Evening to *Eveſham*; *Eſſex* with his whole Army quartered that Night at *Chipping Norton*, and *Waller*'s Horſe advanced as far as *Broadway*. This made the Council at *Oxford* conclude themſelves free from a Seige, wherefore they ſent part of the Army left behind to *Wallingford*, and quartered the reſt at *Godſtow* and *Wolvercot*. Upon His MAJESTY's coming to *Eveſham*, He reſolved to reſt there and to ſecure His Quarters, and to that purpoſe cauſed the Drawbridge over the *Avon* to be broken down; but on *Thurſday* Morning the 6th of *June*, upon Intelligence that *Waller* was advancing with his whole Army, and that it was poſſible he might get over the River about *Stratford* and other places, and thereby come between us and *Worceſter*; His MAJESTY altered His Purpoſe and marched that Night to *Worceſter*, giving Order for the breaking of the Bridge at *Parſhore*; where by the ſudden falling of an Arch, Major *Bridges* of Prince *Charles* his Regiment, a ſtout and gallant Gentleman, and two or three Officers more of Horſe, and about twenty others unluckily fell into the *Avon* and were drowned. 5th

His Majeſty at *Eveſham*.

6th

His Majeſty at *Worceſter*.

THE Rebels, being now two Days March behind His MAJESTY, and finding no poſſibility of getting him ſpeedily into their Power, took new Reſolutions, and calling a Council of War of all the Principal Officers of both their Armys at *Burford*, they reſolved that *Waller* having the leſſer Ordinance, and lighter Men ſhould join with *Maſſey* and follow His MAJESTY; and *Eſſex* having the greater Ordinance, and heavier Carriage ſhould purſue the other Deſign of relieving *Lyme*, and reducing the Weſt. How acceptable this was to *Waller* may

Eſſex order'd to march into the Weſt; and *Waller* to follow the King.

June. may easily be judged, he being thereby deprived of his Hopes, and left to pursue a weary Enemy; who in a very short time had strength enough to break his Army, and in two Months after utterly to defeat *Essex*'s (neither of them being able and perchance not willing to relieve each other.) This was no way pleasing to their great Masters at *London*, who were very angry that *Essex* would not give way for *Waller* to go into the West; to whom *Essex* gave this Answer. "That "their Directions were contrary to the Discipline of War and "Reason, and for him to return, would much encourage "the Enemy; and concluded, your innocent, yet suspected "Servant, *Essex*. Yet *Waller* seeing no Remedy, actively pursued his Employment, and presently marched from *Broadway* to *Sudley* Castle, a House of the Lord *Chandois* (who had with very much Courage and seeming Fidelity the two precedent years served His MAJESTY against the Rebels, but a little before this time, carried away with some needless Discontent had quitted his Commands, and under the pretence of going to travel, went unto the Rebels.) The Governour of this place was Sir *William Moreton* High Sheriff of the County of *Glocester*, and a Creature of the Lord *Chandois*, but certainly better grounded in his Loyalty; for though upon *Waller*'s sudden Approach unto that place, he gave it up and was made a Prisoner, yet it cannot be ascribed to his want of Faith, he having suffered so much since; nor to want of Courage having in many former Actions given good Testimony thereof: The Truth is, that place was ill lost, but by whose Neglect or Treachery is not yet discovered. His MAJESTY being now safe at *Worcester*, had leisure to look about Him, and to provide for His Army, resolving so to govern His Actions, as not to fall in the like Danger he had lately escaped; to which purpose (having a watchful Eye to *Waller*'s Motions whereof he was daily advertised by the Vigilance of Sir *William Russel* and Collonel *Sandis*) His MAJESTY in the first place gave Order for the disposing His Forces in such manner as that they might be refreshed and freed from Duty, and next to raise Money to pay them; both which were by the Loyalty of that City, and the Country about it in a good measure effected. And then equal Care was taken to preserve and secure that City, both by strengthening and finishing the Fortifications, supplying it with Victuals, and encreasing the City Regiment; all which were in few Days brought to much Perfection. During His MAJESTY's stay there, many Debates passed in Council, how

8th *Sudley* Castle taken by *Waller*.

His

His MAJESTY ſhould diſpoſe of himſelf and Army; but nothing could be concluded poſitively, but in reference to *Waller*'s Motions and Attempts; only Opportunity was taken of relieving *Dudley* Caſtle, at that time beſieged by the Earl of *Denbigh*. The Lord *Wilmot* being ſent thither with the Earl of *Northampton*'s, and the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Brigades of Horſe, and Collonel *George Liſle* with 1000 Foot, whereof above 500 were of the Garriſon of *Eveſham*, which was drawn to *Worceſter* with the Army, that place being then ſlighted. Upon the Approach of the Lord *Wilmot*, *Denbigh* retreated; and ours advancing ſomewhat diſorderly, gave him Opportunity to draw off his Cannon, with the loſs of two Colours of Horſe, and three or four Officers, and about forty common Souldiers taken Priſoners. This Action was performed the 12th of *June*, the Lord *Wilmot* with little or no Loſs returning ſafe to *Bewdley*; whither His MAJESTY (having ſecured *Worceſter*) marched on *Wedneſday* the 12th of *June*, for theſe Reaſons: Firſt becauſe *Waller* was advanced with his Army from *Eveſham*, where he had lain three Days, the Townſmen upon our Departure thence, having repaired the Bridge, and given him Entrance, and that it was probable he would attempt *Worceſter*, where it was diſhonourable for the King to be beſieged: Next to free that City from that Danger, it being believed *Waller* would not come near it, if His MAJESTY were gone: And laſtly, to engage *Waller* farther from *London*, and to reduce him to Streights, thereby to ruin his Army; and either to take the Opportunity of giving him the Slip, or to gain ſome Advantage upon him; moſt of which had Effects anſwerable to our Expectation. For *Waller* had no ſooner Notice of our March, but it diverted his Courſe to *Bromſgrove*, which he made his head Quarter, and placed a Quarter of Horſe at *Kidderminſter*, three Miles North from *Bewdley*, on that ſide of the River of *Severne*. All our Foot lay in *Bewdley*, and our Horſe up the *Severn*, towards Bridge North; which queſtionleſs made *Waller* to conclude His MAEJSTY intended to bend his Courſe that way, and ſo for *Shrewsbury* and the more Northern Parts. But the Truth was, although His MAJESTY had with good Reaſon left *Worceſter*, yet it was not with any certain Reſolution how to ſteer his Courſe; and therefore that he might have the better Proſpect of his Affairs, and what was fit to be done, he gave Commiſſion to a Committee of his Concil of War, conſiſting of the Lord General, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Lords *Digby*, *Wilmot*, *Percy*, the Maſter of the Rolls, and

June.

11th *Dudley* Caſtle relieved by the Lord *Wilmot*.

12th

His Majeſty marched to *Bewdley*.

14th *Waller*'s Horſe at *Kidderminſter*.

A Committee of the Council of War appointed.

June. and Sir *Jacob Astely*, to meet at least once every Day to consider of, act, and put in Execution (*His* MAJESTY *approving what they so resolve*) *such things as* they should find best for the Government and Safety of His MAJESTY's Army; and His MAJESTY once every Day to have an Account of their Consultations. This Committee met first at *Bewdley* on *Thursday* the 13th of *June*, and there surveying our Condition, and that of the Rebels, together with the Situation of the place, and Barrenness of the Country about it, it was concluded that we could not conveniently stay there many Days, but whither to move could not be then determined; yet to make sure against sudden Accidents, Dispatches were made to *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgnorth*, *Ludlow*, *Tenbury*, and other Places, directing that all possible quantities of Provisions should be brought thither; and likewise Directions to provide for the Army in case His MAJESTY should advance either to *Shrewsbury* or to *Ludlow*, which places were lookt on with equal Eyes. The next Day the Committee met again and resumed the former Question, some of them urging the great Streights His MAJESTY's Army was in, in those Quarters; the Benefit of His MAJESTY's speedy Advance to *Shrewsbury*, and thence to join with Prince *Rupert*, there being no other way of restoring His MAJESTY's Condition; and that if this were not speedily done, *Waller* would be between us and *Shrewsbury*, he being removed from *Bromsgrove* to a farther Quarter, pointing that way, the better to intercept our Passage. But some others with better Reason and more fortunate Success, proposed another Course, which was, to take the Advantage of *Waller*'s being advanced so far into the Country (out of Confidence that our Intentions were for *Shrewsbury*) by a speedy return to *Worcester*, and so back to *Evesham*; where (having broken the Bridge, and got the *Avon* on our Backs) we might easily join with that part of our Army left at *Oxford*, and so be in a Condition to fight with *Waller*, or pursue any other Design. This was approved as the most safe and honourable, and thereupon Order was given for all the Boats to be sent down from *Bridgnorth*, and up from *Worcester* to convey the Foot with greater Speed and Ease thither; and lest the Rebels upon Notice of our March should attempt to fall on our Rear, Order was given for breaking the Stone Bridge at *Bewdley* over the *Severn*; which at that time was not of any great Advantage, the River being fordable both above and below it. This Resolution was not so positive, but that the next Day upon our return to *Worcester* it was again to be resumed, and

13th & 14th Many Debates whither to move with the Army.

14th Resolved to go back to *Worcester*.

if

if it were found poſſible to be then put in ſpeedy execution. Whereupon early the next Morning, being *Saturday* the 15th of *June*, many of the Foot were ſent down the River of *Severn*, and the reſt marched by Land to *Worceſter*, and were there time enough to have gotten to *Eveſham* that Night: But the Horſe (their Quarters being all beyond *Bewdley* towards *Shrewsbury*) could not come up to march with them. Then the former Reſolution was again looked upon, and no Reaſons found to alter it, nor any Intelligence that *Waller* knew of our Retreat, or was moved from his Quarters. Though ſome objected that theſe great and ſudden Marches, would quickly deſtroy our ſmall Force; and that probably *Waller* having Notice of our Retreat, would ſtrike in between us and *Eveſham*, and have (at either of the two Paſſes in our March thither) a fair Advantage to deſtroy us. Now although theſe Arguments were not of weight ſufficient to divert ſo neceſſary a Deſign, as that of returning and joining with the Army; yet His MAJESTY to prevent thoſe Objections, in caſe ſo probable Council ſhould otherwiſe ſucceed, ſtayed that Night at *Worceſter*, and moved not thence the next Morning until he had perfect Intelligence that *Waller* was not moved, and that thoſe Paſſes were ſecured. Upon certain Notice of which, His MAJESTY marched preſently to *Eveſham*; where he ſtayed not, but gave Order for his Force to draw through that Town, and for the Bridge to be broken again, impoſing on the Inhabitants thereof for their Diſobedience a Mulct of 200*l.* and 1000 pair of Stockings for the Foot. In the Cloſe of the Evening His MAJESTY came to *Broadway*, where he quartered that Night, and early the next Morning drew up on the Hill near *Camden*, where we had time to breath and look about us.

June. 15th His Majeſty at *Worceſter*.

16th His Majeſty paſſed through *Eveſham*, broke the Bridge, and quartered at *Broadway*.

THENCE His MAJESTY diſpatched Collonel *Fielding* and other Meſſengers to the Lords at *Oxford*, to let them know of his Return, that He meant to quarter that Night at *Burford*, and the next at *Witney*, where He directed all the Foot, Cannon and Colours to meet, ſo to be formed into a compleat Army; which was accordingly done by *Thurſday* the 20th of *June*, and His MAJESTY again in 17 Days at the Head of it, having by taking the very point of time, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, evaded two great Armys, and conſequently ſevered them; then given the Slip to that which followed Him, and again united His Army. Actions if ſeriouſly weighed, guided by very great Providence, and attended with much Judgmeut and fortunate Succeſs.

17th Directions ſent to *Oxford* for the joining of the Army.

20th The Army in a full Body.

THUS have we given you a perfect Account of His MAJESTY's Motions after His Retreat from *Oxford* until He returned and joined His Forces; and must not conclude that either those we left behind at *Oxford*, or *Essex* who marched into the West were idle: We shall therefore first give you Notice, what they did from *Oxford*, and then trace *Essex*'s Progress and Actions in the West. For after His MAJESTY had drawn His Garrison out of *Reading*, it was not thought of any great Advantage to continue any at *Borstal* House, but to draw them into the Field to join with the Army. Now that Place was no sooner quitted, but it was possessed by a Party of Rebels from *Alisbury*, who quickly made the Garrison in *Oxford* find the Inconveniencies of deserting it; for from thence they daily made Incursions, spoiled the Markets, and hindred the bringing any Provisions from that Part of the County. To prevent which, and to remove so ill Neighbours, the Council at *Oxford* resolved to attempt the regaining it, and to that end upon the 10th of *June*, they sent a considerable Party of Foot, drawn out of those we left behind, and some Horse with Cannon towards that House, under the Command of that discreet and worthy Souldier Collonel *Gage*; upon whose Advance, the Lady *Denham* (whose Possession it is) being conscious of her Disaffection to His MAJESTY's Cause, stole thence in a private Habit: Upon Notice of whose Departure, the Collonel fell on the Place, and quickly got Possession of the Church and Out-houses, and thence assailed the House; which was not long disputed before they desired a Parly, and offered to render the House with all the Ammunition, one piece of Ordnance and other Provisions, so they might go away with their Arms and Horses. Which he, considering the Strength of the Place, and hazard in gaining it, granted. So the Collonel having placed a Governour there, returned to *Oxford* with the loss of few Men, and the Estimation of a wise and valiant Commander.

11th *Borstal* House taken by Collonel *Gage*.

ESSEX in the mean time with slow and setled Marches got into *Dortsetshire* without any Opposition, and by the way rather encreased than diminished his Forces, endeavouring by a counterfeit Civility to draw the People to his Party, (and to speak the Truth of him and his Army, they are not guilty of those barbarous and ungentlemanlike Qualities which most of *Waller*'s Army are possessed withal.) As soon as he came to *Blanford*, he had his Eye on *Weymouth*, being a Port Town of great Advantage to His MAJETY, and then kept by Collonel *William Ashburnham* Collonel General of that County; who about

about the 14th of *June*, in Obedience to ſeveral Commands from His MAJESTY to Prince *Maurice* to quit all places that he conceived not tenable, in caſe an Army ſhould advance into thoſe parts, and expreſs Orders from Prince *Maurice* to that purpoſe, drew a conſiderable Strength into *Portland* Caſtle with Proviſions neceſſary, and then ſent away the greateſt part of the Powder, Arms and Ammunition there in Magazine unto Prince *Maurice*, and retired to *Portland*. Which Place he held out for many Months, with great Patience and Reſolution until he was relieved, the Officers and Souldiers marching away with their Arms unto Prince *Maurice*. Herein the Collonel did nothing but in Obedience to his Orders; and although it hath in the Opinion of many lain heavy upon him, yet at his own Deſire, he hath had a publick Hearing before His MAJESTY and His Council, and hath therein ſo fully ſtated the matter of Fact, and the impoſſibility of keeping that place in caſe an Army did attempt it, together with his Reaſons for retiring to *Portland*, and how he diſpoſed of His MAJESTY's Arms and Ammunition, as that in the Opinion of all there, he was fully cleared from any Crime or Neglect.

June.

15th *Weymouth* taken by *Eſſex*.

THE next Day Prince *Maurice* upon Notice of *Eſſex*'s Advance ſo far, and poſſeſſing of *Weymouth*, held it not convenient to continue his Seige before *Lyme*: And ſo having provided for it, and ſent all his Artillery and Ammunition before him towards *Exceter*, he drew off his Army, leaving 500 Men in Garriſon in *Wareham*, and marching thence 2500 Foot and 1800 Horſe effective. The Beſieging this Place (as of ſome others formerly) was very deſtructive to His MAJESTY's Affairs, although the Reaſons for attempting it were very *probable, and according to the Humours of that Army not to be avoided.* And 'tis poſſible had it been more actively attacked, it might have been had, eſpecially when his Highneſs firſt lay down before it: But it was not then thought fit (and perhaps with good reaſon) ſuddenly to hazard many Men, when in all probability it might be got in few Days, without the loſs of any. Preſently upon the quitting this place, his Highneſs drew out the Garriſon of *Taunton*, and ſent them to *Bridgwater*, leaving only 80 Men in the Caſtle; and becauſe that Number was unworthy of the Command of Sir *John Stawel* their Collonel, he was authorized to put in ſuch a Lieutenant Governour as he thought fit.

16th Prince *Maurice* draws off from *Lyme*.

HAVING now brought Prince *Maurice*, and *Eſſex*'s Actions equal in point of time to His MAJESTY's reuniting His Army at *Witney*; we ſhall proceed to ſhew what Progreſs His MAJESTY

June. made from thence, with the Reasons of such His proceedings, which were these. To march speedily away to free His own Quarters which had been too much harrassed by our own Army, as well as the Rebels; and either to take the Opportunity of entring the associated Counties, so to divert *Essex* or *Waller*, or to advance and joyn with Prince *Rupert*: To all which, *Buckingham* for the present was thought the fittest Station. Towards which His MAJESTY with His whole Army consisting of 5500 Foot, and near 4000 Horse, marched upon *Friday* the 21st of *June*, and quartered that Night at Sir *Thomas Coghill*'s House at *Blechingdon*, not so much as once coming to *Oxford*, nor permitting any without his particular leave, the better to keep his Army together. The next Day His MAJESTY and His Army came timely to *Buckingham*, where Order being given for the well quartering the Army, and placing the Horse towards the Rebels Garrisons of *Newport Pannel* and *Alisbury*; His MAJESTY with His Council took into Consideration what was for the present fittest to be done, (for at that time *Waller* was behind in *Worcestershire*, and *Essex* far enough in the West.) There many things were proposed in order to attempt the associated Counties, or advancing to joyn with Prince *Rupert*; both which being Undertakings of so high and great concernment, upon the Success whereof His MAJESTY's Safety *so much depended, that* it was not thought just suddenly to determine either, but seriously to weigh the Arguments, and in the interim to govern our selves according to Intelligence. Upon debating of these two Arguments, a third *sprung up* of a more strange and desperate Nature; which was speedily to advance towards *London*, and in the Absence of both the Rebels Generals and their Armies, to make a Tryal what might be done on that City, the Head and Fountain of this detestable Rebellion. This was insisted on as the most likely means either of sudden Happiness or Misfortune; for His MAJESTY's Condition was looked on as desperate, and therefore this was proposed as the most proper expedient to bring it to an issue. Although this Advice was odd and unexpected, yet His MAJESTY (*Whether* to discover the probability *of it, or somewhat else besides, I will not judge*) seemed at that time to approve it, and with His Council debated the several Steps by which He was to move; and *Dunstable* and St. *Albans* were named as the fittest Places to march unto, and thence to govern our selves as Occasion was offered, either to advance or retire. And it was thought fit that this debate should be forthwith communicated to the Lords Commissioners

21st The Army being rejoined marcheth towards *Buckingham.*

22d Many Debates how to imploy the Army.

A Proposition to march towards *London.*

missioners at *Oxford*, and the Committee of Parliament there. And a Message was drawn up (varying but little from that which was afterwards sent from *Evesham*) which they were to consider of, and which was resolved should be sent to *London*, when the Army was come to St. *Albans* or *Dunstable*. With this the Lord *Digby* and the Master of the Rolls were sent to *Oxford*, where they stayed two Days. In the mean time His MAJESTY provided for the well governing of His Army, especially that they might be plentifully provided with Victuals; and gave Commission to the Treasurer at War, and some other Persons of Quality to see that done, and the Commissaries to perform their Duties; by which means the Army was afterwards better furnished and many Defects supplyed. Our Horse likewise were not idle, for the Earl of *Cleveland*, that Day the Army came to *Buckingham*, advanced to *Newport Pannel*, hoping to draw his old Acquaintance, Sir *Samuel Luke*, who would not be invited forth; and in the interim he sent a Party of his Horse to *Brickhil*, who took 16 Cart-loads of Wine, Grocery and Tobacco, intended for *Coventry* and *Warwick*, but it was better disposed amongst the Horse. *June.*

ON *Munday* the 24th of *June* Prince *Charles* came from *Oxford* to His MAJESTY, having stayed there ever since the Army came to *Burford*, in regard of the Indisposition of his Health; and the next Day those who were sent thither to communicate the Design for *London*, returned, *Having found no great Approbation of the Lords and Commons there.* But this Design fell of it self, for by this time we had certain Intelligence that *Waller* (after our Army had given him the double in *Worcestershire*) first faced *Worcester*, but finding it too strong for him (and perchance remembring his Success there the Year before) marched thence towards *Glouceſter*, expecting a Recruit from *Massey*, who (being *Essex*'s Creature) was not willing to spare him Money. Thence he marched to *Stratford* upon *Avon*, and by the 24th of *June* was come forward to *Chipping Norton*, and the next Day marched to *Pillerton* in *Warwickshire*. The Day following being *Wednesday* the 26th of *June*, he had his Rendezvous in *Kenton* Field, where the Forces of *Coventry* and *Worcester* came to him, being 7 Troops of Horse and about 600 Foot, with 11 Piece of Ordnance, (the just Number we took from him three Days after.) By the manner of his motion, His MAJESTY concluded that he meant to give us Battel, His MAJESTY resolved to abide, and rather to seek him out and offer it, than to be taken at any Advantage. And to that end, His MAJESTY with His whole Army

24th Prince *Charles* comes from *Oxford.*

26th *Waller* bends towards His Majesty with his Army.

June. Army marched likewise on *Wednesday* from *Buckingham*, intending to have quartered that Night at *Blechingdon*; but having certain Intelligence that *Waller* would quarter that Night about *Kenton*, His MAJESTY altered His Resolution and went to *Brackley*, and the next Night to *Culworth*: whence at first His MAJESTY resolved to march the next Day to *Daventree*, concluding the Rebels were gone that way: But upon more certain notice that *Waller* was not far from *Banbury*, it was thought best to march thither, and to lay hold of a fit Opportunity there to give the Rebels Battel. Wherefore early the next Morning, being *Friday* the 28th of *June*, the Army advanced in good order towards *Banbury*, and about ten of the Clock had a Rendezvous on *Leigh-Grounds* about a Mile on the *East* side of that Town. It was so rainy and misty a Morning that we could not discover the Rebels: But it presently growing Fair, we discovered their Army drawn up in *Hanwel* Warren, about a Mile before us on the West side of the *Charwel*. Presently upon the discovery of each other it did appear that both Armies had the same desires to get some place of Advantage to fight on; and to that end our Army advanced, intending to have marched through *Banbury*, and to have possessed *Crouch Hill* half a Mile West from the Town: But our March being longer than theirs, and more difficult in respect of passing through the Town, they first got the Possession of that Hill; upon which ours retired, and lay in the Fields under *Grimsbury* Hill, half a Mile East of *Banbury*, the *Charwel* being between us and them. That Afternoon there passed some slight Skirmishes between their Parties and some of our Foot under the command of Collonel *Thelwel*, who were drawn beyond *Banbury* to defend that side of the Town and *Nethrope*; but they were repulsed with loss of a Lieutenant Collonel and eight others slain, besides many wounded. That Night the King quartered in a private House near His Army, and concluding that it was not likely he should get *Waller* to quit his Strength, and that it was more dangerous to attempt to force him thence, resolved to march to *Daventree*, and thence to observe *Waller*'s Motion, and to expect a fitter Opportunity and Place to give him Battel. Wherefore the next Day, being *Saturday* the 29th of *June*, His MAJESTY removed thence, and in good Order marched towards *Daventree*; the Van of His Army being led by the Earl of *Brainford* Lieutenant General, in the Body was His MAJESTY and the Prince, and the Rear consisted

His Majesty resolves to give him Battel.

28th *Waller*'s Army discovered near *Banbury*.

29th His Majesty marches towards *Daventree*, to find a fitter place to fight with *Waller*.

sisted of 1000 commanded Men under Collonel *Thelwel*, and the Earls of *Northampton* and *Cleveland*'s Brigades of Horse. We were no sooner on our March, but the Rebels drew off from their Ground, and coasted us on the other side of the River, but at such a Distance that we did not at all believe they would have attempted us; yet to be sure they could not have any Advantage, a Party of Dragooners was sent to keep *Croprady* Bridge, until the Army was pass'd beyond it. Our Army *marching in this Order, certain Intelligence was brought that a Body of* 300 *Rebels Horse were within two Miles of our Van, intending to join with* Waller; *by which it was judged that they might be easily cut off by our quick advancing. Whereupon our formost Horse upon Order hastened their March (our Van and Battel having the same Directions) without* any Apprehension of the Rebels Intentions; who perceiving an Interval of a considerable Distance, caused *by this Intelligence* between the Body and Rear of the King's Army, presently laid hold of the Opportunity, and advanced with 1500 Horse, 1000 Foot and 11 Pieces of Cannon to *Croprady*, and forced that Pass, our Dragoons quitting it without much Resistance. Thence they advanced above half a Mile, pursuing their Design of cutting off our Rear; and to make it sure, *Waller* commanded 1000 Horse more to pass over at a Ford a Mile below *Croprady*, to fall upon the Rear of all; and by this Means, having ours between so great Force (so unexpectedly) he might the more easily effect it. But timely Notice being given to the Earl of *Cleveland* (then in the Van of that Division) of the Rebels Passage at *Croprady* (which was instantly confirmed by the chasing of all our Foot and scattered Horse towards the Bridge, (which His MAJESTY had lately passed) by two Bodies of their Horse where they stood and faced the King's Army) he presently drew up his Brigade, (consisting of his own, his Son the Lord *Wentworth*'s, Collonel *Richard Nevil*'s, Sir *William Boteler*'s, and Sir *William Clerk*'s Regiments of Horse) to a rising Ground facing that Pass; where understanding by Collonel *Nevil*, that he stood too near a Hedge where the Rebels might place some Foot; he wheeled towards the right Hand, and took more Ground: There he perceived a great Body of the Rebels Horse drawn up ready to have fallen on his Rear; whereupon (not having time to expect either Word or Orders from the Lord *Wilmot* Lieutenant General of the Horse.) He gave his own Word (Hand and Sword) and presently advancing, that Body of the Rebels ran; and upon that Chase one Cornet and some other Prisoners were taken. Upon this Allarm, His MAEJSTY made a stand,

June.

Waller coasts our Army on the other side of *Charwel*.

Waller forces the Pass at *Croprady*.

The Earl of *Cleveland* with his Brigade first chargeth the Rebels.

June. a ſtand, calling back the Van of the Army, and drawing up the reſt in order on the top of a riſing Ground beyond the Bridge, where he might ſee the Rebels preparing for a ſecond Charge. Upon which His MAJESTY commanded the Lord *Barnard Stewart* to make haſte to the Aſſiſtance of the Rear, and by the way to attempt thoſe two Bodies of the Rebels Horſe that faced His MAJESTY. His Lordſhip attended by above 100 Gentlemen of the King's Troop (which is ever fulleſt in time of Action) returned inſtantly over the Bridge, and made haſte towards thoſe two Bodies. *Who by this time ſeeing their Fellows routed by the* Earl of *Cleveland*, were advancing to charge him in the Flank *as he was following the Execution:* But upon the advance of this Troop *turned their intended Charge into a Flight*, which, no queſtion much facilitated the Defeat of the Rebels. The Earl of *Cleveland* after his firſt Encounter made a little ſtand near a great Aſh (under which His MAJESTY had not above half an Hour before been invited to ſtay and dine;) there he perceived a great Body of the Rebels Horſe of 16 Colours (and as many Colours of Foot placed within Hedges,) all within Muſquet Shot of him. This cauſed him ſuddenly to advance, the Rebels doing the like; and having ſtoutly ſtood out their Muſquet and Carabine Shot, he gave Command to charge, and by his ſingular Valour and Reſolution, (ſeconded by the Officers of his Brigade) he routed all thoſe Horſe and Foot, and chaſed them beyond their Cannon; all which (being eleven Pieces) were then taken, and two Barricades of Wood drawn with Wheels, in each ſeven ſmall braſs and leathern Guns, charged with caſe Shot. Moſt of the Cannoniers were then ſlain, and *Weymes* General of the Ordnance to Sir *William Waller* taken Priſoner; a Perſon (according to his Quality) as ingrateful to His MAJESTY as either *Argile*, *Lowden*, or any of the Scottiſh Nation now in Rebellion, (being His MAJESTY's own Servant, and by His eſpecial Favour made Maſter Gunner of *England* with the Penſion of 300*l. per Annum.*) Beſides this *Weymes* there were then taken Lieutenant Collonel *Baker*, (Sir *William Waller*'s own Lieutenant Collonel) Lieutenant Collonel *Baynes*, Captain *Ramſey*, Captain *Hill*, Captain *Perry*, Captain *Wert*, Cornet *Cawfield* (Brother to the Lord *Cawfield*) with many more Lieutenants, Cornets, Enſigns and Quarter Maſters, about 100 common Souldiers, as many more being then ſlain, beſides ſome Foot Colours and Cornets taken. The Purſuit was as far as the Bridge, over which the Rebels were forced in deſpite of their Dragoons, they

His Majeſty ſends His own Troop to his Aſſiſtance.

The Earl of *Cleveland* again charges and routs the Rebels.

29th

Eleven Pieces of Ordnance taken with their General *Weymes*, and divers Priſoners.

they had placed there to make good their Retreat. Which being done the Earl of *Cleveland* returned, having in this great Action loſt two Collonels, who were Perſons of ſingular Merit and Courage, and both ſhot in this Charge, Sir *William Boteler* falling firſt, (after he had by his forward and courageous Charging given ours the beſt Aſſurance of Victory) and preſently after his Friend and Countryman Sir *William Clerk*, at the Head of his Regiment, and not above fourteen common Souldiers more. In this ſecond Charge the Lord *Wilmot* coming to join with the Earl of *Cleveland* received two ſlight Shots, the one in his left Arm, and the other on his Belly, and was taken Priſoner, but he preſently reſcued himſelf again. The Lord *Bernard* with the King's Troop, ſeeing no Enemy to encounter, drew up in a large Field oppoſite to the Bridge where they ſtood, the Rebels Cannon playing on them from the Paſs, until His MAJESTY and the reſt of His Army came by them, and were joined in a Body on the Fields about *Williſcot*.

June.

Sir *William Boteler* and Sir *William Clerk*, two Collonels of our Horſe ſlain.

The Lord *Wilmot* made Priſoner and reſcued.

BEFORE this the Earl of *Northampton* with no leſs Courage, finding the Rebels that were come over the Paſs below to follow him in the Rear, preſently faced about with his own, the Lord *Wilmot*'s, *Percie*'s and Collonel *Weſton*'s Regiments of Horſe, and forced the Rebels to a ſpeedy Flight over the Paſs, but with little Loſs, they being not willing to abide a ſecond Charge.

29th

The Earl of *Northampton* repulſed the Rebels at the Paſs.

UPON this Defeat *Waller* inſtantly quitted *Croprady*, leaving ſome Foot and Dragoons to keep that Bridge, and the other Paſs a Mile below, and drew up his whole Army upon the high Grounds near *Burton*, between *Croprady* and *Hanwel*, oppoſite to the King's Quarter at *Willeſcot*, about a Mile; the *Charwel* and ſome low Grounds being between both Armys. By this time it was three in the Afternoon, and His MAJESTY having His Army together, reſolved to attempt the Paſſes, ſending Parties to both places. Thoſe ſent to *Croprady* were kept off all that Day, the Rebels relieving theirs with ſtrong Bodys of Foot; but thoſe ſent to the other Paſs, quickly gained it, and the Mill adjoining, where they took ſome Priſoners; and from thence, both that and the next Day, annoyed and kept off the Rebels. Towards the Evening we drew down moſt of the Horſe and Foot below that Paſs nearer the *Charwel*, facing the Rebels, who ranged their Foot on the top of the oppoſite Hill, and drew three great Bodies of their Horſe within the reach of our Cannon; which being diſcharged amongſt them, made them to retire in great Diſorder.

Waller draws off his Army.

June. At this instant His MAJESTY according to His wonted Clemency, desirous to avoid the Destruction of His Subjects, and willing by all fair Means to reduce them to their due Obedience, caused a Message of Grace and Pardon to all the Officers and Souldiers of that Army (if they would lay down their Arms and submit) to be prepared, and my self was appointed to publish it in their Army. But being unwilling to engage my Self without a safe Conduct in the Power of such, who having cast off their Allegiance, would not stick to forget the Laws of Arms and Nations; I sent a Trumpet to Sir *William Waller* to desire a safe Conduct to deliver His MAJESTY's Gracious Message: Who about two Hours after returned this

29th Answer, "That he had no Power to receive any Message of

Waller rejects His Majesty's Message. "Grace or Favour from His MAJESTY without the Consent of "the Two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, whither if "His MAJESTY pleased, he might make His Addresses. And in the interim either to shew his Anger, or to colour his Loss, he caused at least twenty great Shot to be made at our Army; many of which were levelled at the place where His MAJESTY stood, and some of them fell near him, (they being no question intended that way for the Defence of His MAJESTY's Royal Person.) The Night approaching hindred any

30th farther Action, both Armys keeping their Ground; and all

Both Armys lye still and face each other. the next Day, being *Sunday*, they stood in the same posture, expecting who should first quit the Field. But that Evening His MAJESTY having Intelligence that *Brown* was about *Buckingham*, with a Force of near 4000 Foot and 500 Horse, and that probably he would speedily advance and join with *Waller*; and finding that Victuals were scant in the Army, and that our Souldiers were oppressed with too great Duty, His MAJESTY took Resolutions answerable to those Necessities. And thereupon early upon *Munday* Morning, being

July. the first of *July*, His MAJESTY drew off His whole Army

1st in very good Order, and in the full view of *Waller*, who

His Majesty marcheth towards *Aynho*. did not so much as attempt to fall on our Rear (no question being very well pleased so to be rid of us, near 1000 of his Men as was reported being run from him the two preceding Nights,) besides those slain and taken on the *Saturday* before. In this Order we marched to *Aynho* on the Hill, where fresh Intelligence being brought that *Brown* was certainly come the Night before to *Buckingham*, it was held most safe to pass the *Charwel* there, lest by the Morning *Waller* and *Brown* might join, and then it would be in their Power to make it impossible for us to pass if they should fall on our Rear; and so either

ther reduce us to Streights for want of Proviſions, or enforce us to fight on very great Diſadvantages. This Reſolution *thought clearly neceſſary, yet* was by ſome with much violence oppoſed, as grounded on too great an Apprehenſion; it being affirmed that our drawing the Army over the River to other Quarters, would but weary them to no purpoſe. *But the Diſadvantage of ſtaying that Night, appearing ſo evidently to the King, He inſtantly commanded* the Army to march over the *Charwel*, and ſo we came that Evening to *Deddington*; where His MAJESTY again obſerving the Probability of *Waller*'s and *Brown*'s ſudden Conjunction, whereby they might overpower Him, with the preſent Diſability of His Army for want of Proviſions and too great Duty, concluded it the fitteſt to bend His Courſe ſome ſuch way out of their diſtance, where they ſhould not ſpeedily follow Him, and there to eaſe and refreſh His wearied Army. To which end *Eveſham* was reſolved on as the fitteſt place, whither we believed *Waller* could hardly invite his *Londoners* to march; and if they did, we might take the Advantage, by the probability of their being harraſſed and diminiſhed before they could get ſo far, to deal as well with their Forces conjoined, as we had lately done with *Waller* ſingly: Whereas if we ſhould have returned into *Oxfordſhire*, we ſhould have totally deſtroyed the Proviſions of that Country, not only by our own Army, but by the invitation of the Rebels from all parts, who would have ſwarmed thither in hope to have finiſhed their Work: And if we did retire to *Oxford*, we ſhould have been beſieged, or at leaſt ſurrounded, and in the like, if not worſe Condition, than when we made our Retreat thence.

July. 1ſt

Reſolved not ſafe to quarter on that ſide the *Charwel*.

His Majeſty that Night at *Deddington*, where it was reſolved to march to *Eveſham*.

Reaſons for the March to *Eveſham*.

UPON theſe Grounds we marched from *Deddington* early on *Tueſday* Morning the ſecond of *July*; and though our Army was drawn up at *Chipping Norton*, yet we made our Quarters that Night at *Moreton-in-Marſh*, and were betimes the next Day at *Eveſham*; where His MAJESTY put His former Reſolution in effectual Execution, giving Order to eaſe the Souldiers of Duty, and to refreſh them as much as might be, being now only intent on *Waller*'s Motion, and expecting News from Prince *Rupert* out of the North. The next Day His MAJESTY out of His earneſt and ſincere Deſires of Peace, ſent this enſuing Meſſage to the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter*, by Monſieur *Sabron* the *French* Agent: But neither to this, nor to another much to the ſame effect, ſent afterwards by His MAJESTY from *Taveſtock*, have they yet vouchſafed the Civility of an Anſwer.

2d

His Majeſty quartered at *Moreton* in the *Marſh*.

3d

At *Eveſham*.

June. At this instant His MAJESTY according to His wonted Clemency, desirous to avoid the Destruction of His Subjects, and willing by all fair Means to reduce them to their due Obedience, caused a Message of Grace and Pardon to all the Officers and Souldiers of that Army (if they would lay down their Arms and submit) to be prepared, and my self was appointed to publish it in their Army. But being unwilling to engage my Self without a safe Conduct in the Power of such, who having cast off their Allegiance, would not stick to forget the Laws of Arms and Nations; I sent a Trumpet to Sir *William Waller* to desire a safe Conduct to deliver His MAJESTY's Gracious Message: Who about two Hours after returned this

29th *Waller* rejects His Majesty's Message.

Answer, "That he had no Power to receive any Message of "Grace or Favour from His MAJESTY without the Consent of "the Two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, whither if "His MAJESTY pleased, he might make His Addresses. And in the interim either to shew his Anger, or to colour his Loss, he caused at least twenty great Shot to be made at our Army; many of which were levelled at the place where His MAJESTY stood, and some of them fell near him, (they being no question intended that way for the Defence of His MAJESTY's Royal Person.) The Night approaching hindred any

30th Both Armys lye still and face each other.

farther Action, both Armys keeping their Ground; and all the next Day, being *Sunday*, they stood in the same posture, expecting who should first quit the Field. But that Evening His MAJESTY having Intelligence that *Brown* was about *Buckingham*, with a Force of near 4000 Foot and 500 Horse, and that probably he would speedily advance and join with *Waller*; and finding that Victuals were scant in the Army, and that our Souldiers were oppressed with too great Duty, His MAJESTY took Resolutions answerable to those Necessities. And thereupon early upon *Munday* Morning, being

July. 1st His Majesty marcheth towards *Aynho*.

the first of *July*, His MAJESTY drew off His whole Army in very good Order, and in the full view of *Waller*, who did not so much as attempt to fall on our Rear (no question being very well pleased so to be rid of us, near 1000 of his Men as was reported being run from him the two preceding Nights,) besides those slain and taken on the *Saturday* before. In this Order we marched to *Aynho* on the Hill, where fresh Intelligence being brought that *Brown* was certainly come the Night before to *Buckingham*, it was held most safe to pass the *Charwel* there, left by the Morning *Waller* and *Brown* might join, and then it would be in their Power to make it impossible for us to pass if they should fall on our Rear; and so either

ther reduce us to Streights for want of Provisions, or enforce us to fight on very great Disadvantages. This Resolution *thought clearly necessary, yet* was by some with much violence opposed, as grounded on too great an Apprehension; it being affirmed that our drawing the Army over the River to other Quarters, would but weary them to no purpose. *But the Disadvantage of staying that Night, appearing so evidently to the King, He instantly commanded* the Army to march over the *Charwel*, and so we came that Evening to *Deddington*; where His MAJESTY again observing the Probability of *Waller's* and *Brown's* sudden Conjunction, whereby they might overpower Him, with the present Disability of His Army for want of Provisions and too great Duty, concluded it the fittest to bend His Course some such way out of their distance, where they should not speedily follow Him, and there to ease and refresh His wearied Army. To which end *Evesham* was resolved on as the fittest place, whither we believed *Waller* could hardly invite his *Londoners* to march; and if they did, we might take the Advantage, by the probability of their being harrassed and diminished before they could get so far, to deal as well with their Forces conjoined, as we had lately done with *Waller* singly: Whereas if we should have returned into *Oxfordshire*, we should have totally destroyed the Provisions of that Country, not only by our own Army, but by the invitation of the Rebels from all parts, who would have swarmed thither in hope to have finished their Work: And if we did retire to *Oxford*, we should have been besieged, or at least surrounded, and in the like, if not worse Condition, than when we made our Retreat thence.

July. 1st

Resolved not safe to quarter on that side the *Charwel.*

His Majesty that Night at *Deddington*, where it was resolved to march to *Evesham.*

Reasons for the March to *Evesham.*

UPON these Grounds we marched from *Deddington* early on *Tuesday* Morning the second of *July*; and though our Army was drawn up at *Chipping Norton*, yet we made our Quarters that Night at *Moreton-in-Marsh*, and were betimes the next Day at *Evesham*; where His MAJESTY put His former Resolution in effectual Execution, giving Order to ease the Souldiers of Duty, and to refresh them as much as might be, being now only intent on *Waller's* Motion, and expecting News from Prince *Rupert* out of the North. The next Day His MAJESTY out of His earnest and sincere Desires of Peace, sent this ensuing Message to the Lords and Commons at *Westminster*, by Monsieur *Sabron* the *French* Agent: But neither to this, nor to another much to the same effect, sent afterwards by His MAJESTY from *Tavestock*, have they yet vouchsafed the Civility of an Answer.

2d

His Majesty quartered at *Moreton* in the *Marsh.*

3d

At *Evesham.*

July. 1

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.

His Majesty's Message to the Lords and Commons at *Westminster.*

" We being deeply sensible of the Miseries and Calami-
" ties of this Our Kingdom, and of the grievous Sufferings of
" our poor Subjects, do most earnestly desire that some Ex-
" pedient may be found out, which by the Blessing of God
" may prevent the farther Effusion of Blood, and restore the
" Nation to Peace: From the earnest and constant Endea-
" vouring of which, as no Discouragement given Us on the
" contrary Part shall make us cease, so no Success on Ours
" shall ever divert Us. For effecting whereof, We are most rea-
" dy and willing to condescend to all that shall be for the
" good of Us, and Our People, whether by way of Confir-
" mation of what We have already granted, or of such far-
" ther Concession as shall be requisite to the giving a full As-
" surance of the Performance of all Our most real Professions,
" concerning the Maintenance of the true reformed Protestant
" Religion, established in this Kingdom, with due Regard
" to the ease of tender Consciences, the just Privileges of
" Parliament, and the Liberty and Property of the Subject,
" according to the Laws of the Land. As also by granting
" a general Pardon, without, or with Exceptions, as shall be
" thought fit. In order to which Blessed Peace, We do de-
" sire and propound to the Lords and Commons of Parliament
" assembled at *Westminster*, that they appoint such and so
" many Persons, as they shall think fit, sufficiently authori-
" zed by them, to attend Us at Our Army, upon safe Con-
" duct, to come and return, (which We do hereby grant)
" and conclude with Us how the Premisses and all other things
" in question betwixt Us and them, may be fully settled;
" whereby all unhappy Mistakings betwixt Us and Our Peo-
" ple being removed, there may be a present Cessation of
" Arms, and as soon as may be, a total disbanding of all Armys;
" the Subject have his due, and We be restored to Our Rights.
" Wherein if this Our Offer shall be accepted, there shall be
" nothing wanting on Our Part, which may make Our Peo-
" ple secure and happy.

" Given at Our Court at *Evesham*, the 4th of *July*, 1644.

ABOUT a Day or two after, a Deſign was laid to ſurpriſe *Tewkeſbury*, and Horſe and Foot drawn out of their Quarters under the command in Chief of the Lord *Wilmot*; who came near it, found it not feaſible, and ſo drew them off to their Quarters again without Loſs. On *Friday* the 5th of *July* His MAJESTY had a brief Expreſs from *Newark*, implying that Prince *Rupert* had on *Tueſday* before utterly defeated the *Scots*, *Fairfax* and *Manchester*'s Armys before *York*. But this good News held not conſtant, though in many Days we knew not what to believe, it being ſo variouſly reported, yet having Ground enough to conclude that His Highneſs had received the greater Loſs. It was now time, having well refreſhed, and ſomewhat recruited our Army, to reſolve how to imploy it to the beſt Advantage; and the Queſtion was whether to march into the North to reinforce Prince *Rupert*, or to make haſte into the Weſt to Prince *Maurice*, ſo to attempt *Eſſex* with our Forces joyned, or to get him between our Armies, and to diſtreſs him before *Waller* could poſſibly come to his Aſſiſtance. This debate held at leaſt three Days without any certain Reſolution; many Arguments being made of almoſt equal Force for either Deſign. And truly had *Waller* in the interim either attempted or drawn towards the Weſt, it is poſſible we had taken the firſt; but His marching up and down from *Buckingham* towards *Daventree*, *Northampton*, and to *Warwick* (being ſevered from *Brown*) gave us Aſſurance of his Weakneſs and Irreſolution; *By which both the Deſigns ſeeming then of equal Probability*, the Weſtern Journey was fixed on, it being much over balanced with His MAJESTY's Deſire to relieve the Queen, (who at that time was *in ſome Apprehenſion*; *and no wonder*, *ſhe* being purſued ſo cloſe by *Eſſex*'s Forces within two Days March of *Exceter*, (where ſhe then lay very weak and newly delivered of a young Princeſs) and thereupon it was poſitively reſolved that we ſhould make all poſſible haſte thither. In order to which His MAJESTY gave preſent command for the drawing ſome Force into *Briſtol* out of *Hereford* and *Monmouthſhire*, that ſo the Lord *Hopton* might more ſafely draw out part of that Garriſon to join with His MAJESTY in His March; and having now fully prepared all things for this Deſign, His MAJESTY began His March on *Friday* the 12th of *July*, diſpatching Collonel *Edward Villers* thence the Night before, to adverti ſe the Queen and Prince *Maurice* of theſe his Reſolutions, (*Which by Misfortune came not*

July.

5th Uncertain News from the North.

9th After long Debate, Reſolution taken to march into the Weſt after *Eſſex*.

11th Notice hereof ſent to Prince *Maurice*.

12th His Majeſty begins His March.

July. *not time enough to Her Majesty.* During our stay at *Evesham*, and Preparations for this Design, the Lords and others at *Oxford*, concluded it would be dishonourable to permit the Rebels to have Collonel *Hawkins* and his Regiment in their Power, who had been then besieged above a Month in *Greenland* House, by part of *Brown*'s Forces, who was then coming to reinforce their Strength. Wherefore on *Mun-*

8th *day* the 8th of *June*, they sent a considerable Party thither,

Greenland relieved. drawn out of *Oxford* and *Wallingford* to relieve that Place, under the command of Sir *Thomas Lundisford*. Upon his Approach, the Rebels left their Siege, with the loss of thirty Prisoners, and retired over the *Thames*. He presently put in sufficient Provisions for two Months, and made his Retreat good. But *Brown* came before it the next Day with his whole Force, and by the continual Violence of his Cannon, and the firing the Magazine within with a Granado shot, he brought

11th *Greenland* rendred. the stout Collonel three Days after to the Conditions to quit the place (almost levelled with the Earth) and to march away with all his Men, Arms, Horses, Baggage, Colours flying and Drums beating, safely to *Oxford*; which he did accordingly.

THIS Advertisement came to His MAJESTY as soon as he had got up *Broadway* Hills, on His March Westward; and with it, earnest desires that His MAJESTY would timely resolve to relieve *Basing*, then and many Weeks before besieged by *Norton*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, and other Forces drawn from the Rebels Garrisons in *Hampshire*, and *Surrey*, and by that time brought to great Distress. His MAJESTY was much divided in his Thoughts what to resolve, as looking upon the Importance of the Place, and the Honour and Safety of that noble Person who had with so much Fidelity maintained it: Wherefore His MAJESTY seriously debating it with His

12th Resolved not possible for the present to relieve *Basing*. Council, it was resolved that it was not possible for His MAJESTY to relieve them, (*without quitting the Western Design, which he was resolved to go through with*, and bringing His Army (by endeavouring it) into the Condition he had lately avoided; which was to fight with *Waller*, *Brown* and those Forces joined) and if he should attempt it by a Party, the Rebels might draw a greater Strength to oppose them, and then they might be either cut off, or at least cast so far behind the King's Army, as they would hardly come safe, and at best prove useless to him in regard of the loss of Time. So that the Close was, unless that Place could hold out three Weeks longer, it was not in His MAJESTY's Power to give them any Relief,

lief, though how many Months after they maintained it, and againſt what Force before they were relieved, you ſhall hereafter more particularly find. *July*

THE Rendezvous of our Army was that Day on the Hills about *Sudeley Caſtle*, then poſſeſſed by the Rebels. Whence His MAJESTY diſpatched Lieutenant Collonel *Innis*, a diſcreet and faithful Perſon, to Prince *Rupert*, to advertiſe him of His Motion Weſtward, with ſome other private Directions. The Army made a long March that Day, full 17 Miles, and came late to *Coberley* on the *Coteſwold*. It was near 12 of the Clock that Night before His MAJESTY was in His Quarter; which was ſoon enough if we conſider His Accommodation there. That Night His MAJESTY had the firſt true Advice of the Northern Action by Expreſs from Prince *Rupert* and others; which rather confirmed than altered his Reſolutions; for early the next Morning being *Saturday* the 13th of *July*, the Army marched to *Saperton*, a Houſe of Sir *Henry Pool*'s near *Cirencester*, where His MAJESTY quartered that Night. The next Day we marched to *Badmanton*, the Houſe of Mrs. *Somerſet*, Daughter and Heir of *Thomas* Viſcount *Somerſet*, and from thence early on *Munday* the 15th to *Bath*; where we refreſhed our Army a Day, and gave Aſſiſtance to a Party drawn out of *Briſtol*, under the command of Sir *Francis Doddington*, to regain a Houſe of Mr. *Arundel*'s called *Woodhouſe*, near *Froom*, poſſeſſed by one *Wanſey*, a Perſon of equal Quality with many of the Rebels Officers (though lately a Watchmaker in *Warminſter*.) And here it will be very pertinent to let you know that a little before this time, *Ludlow* the mock Sheriff of *Wilts*, the two *Pophams*, *Stroud* and others ſettled themſelves as a Committee at the *Devizes*, endeavouring to draw His MAJESTY's Subjects from their due Obedience; and then placed this *Wanſey* in Mr. *Arundel*'s Houſe. For regaining of which and Prevention of their farther Growth, the Lord *Hopton* ſent Sir *Francis Doddington* with ſome Troops of Horſe and Dragoons to quarter thereabouts. But the Rebels grew ſo ſtrong as they threatned his Quarters; upon Intelligence whereof, the Lord *Hopton* drew a greater Strength from *Briſtol* and joined with him; reſolving if the Rebels failed to attempt his Quarters, to be with them the next Night at their head Quarter. But the Rebels confident of their Strength came to *Warminſter*, and the next Day being the 7th of *July* the Scouts of both Parties met and fought, which gave the Allarm. The Lord *Hopton* preſently advanced and charged the Rebels; whereupon they preſently brake and ran ſo faſt, as the Lord *Hopton*'s

12th His Majeſty at *Coberley* had firſt certain Notice of the Northern Action.

15th His Majeſty at *Bath*.

7th Sir *Francis Doddington* defeated *Ludlow*, *Popham* and *Stroud* in *Wiltſhire*.

July. *Hopton's* Horse, having marched all Night, could not follow them: yet Sir *Francis Dodington's* Horse pursued them close, and had Execution of them to *Salisbury* (full 16 Miles) and through and beyond it 6 Miles more. In this long Pursuit he slew about 100, took as many more Prisoners, besides 100 new pair of Pistols, and about 40 Musquets, and released divers Country Men the Rebels had taken; and so dispersed this growing Body, as that of 300, not 40 got into *Southampton*. Sir *Francis* having fought almost a Summer's Day, and chased them 22 Miles, returned with his Prisoners and Arms. And now he had more leisure to prosecute his Design of getting *Woodhouse*, which he had brought to good Perfection by the time we came to *Bath*; from whence His Majesty sent a Party of Foot, and two Pieces of Cannon to His Assistance.

17th *Woodhouse* taken by Sir *Francis Doddington.*

Who (the besieged being obstinate) took it the next Day by Assault; in which they slew about 20, and took their Governour *Wansey*, and about 80 more Prisoners. Sir *Francis* did not compliment, but used them as Rebels, and presently hung up about 14 of them, and could hardly be induced to spare the rest, who at length were sent Prisoners to *Bristol*.

From *Bath* His Majesty dispatched fresh Advice to Prince *Maurice* of his Intention speedily to march to him; and the better to facilitate His March he sent His two greatest Pieces of Demi-Cannon to *Bristol*, and the 17th of *July* His Majesty advanced to *Wells* (Sir *John Horner's* House) where He stayed a Day until His Forces came up from *Woodhouse*, which was that Day taken. From thence the Army marched on *Friday* to *Bruton*, where His Majesty quartered in the House of His Loyal Servant Sir *Charles Berkley*. And upon *Saturday* the

20th His Majesty at *Ilchester.*

20th His Majesty came to *Ilchester*, where He was obliged to stay three Days for the Recruits from *Bristol*, and in Expectation of increasing His Forces by the *Posse Comitatus*, who were the *Tuesday* following to appear in *Kingsmore* near that Town.

This interval of Time will give us leave to observe *Essex's* and *Waller's* Actions since we last mentioned them, though for *Waller* little can be said; for from our Encounter at *Croprady* until this time, he had not done any thing memorable, except by leading his *Londoners* from Quarter to Quarter, and acquainting them with the Countries, he gave them the better Opportunities to desert him; for by this time his Army of 8000 which he had at *Croprady*, was reduced to far less than half that number.

Waller's Army decreased.

July. BUT *Eſſex* (though not ſo high in his Maſter's Favours) had in this ſpace done them far greater Services; for after his gaining of *Weymouth*, he made his Advance farther into the Weſt, ſending a Summons to *Wareham*; but that Place being denied him by the then Loyal Governour *Obrian*, he thought it too much loſs of Time to ſit down before it, and preſently marched away to *Chard*, and from thence to *Tiverton* in *Devonſhire*; where he was too near *Exceter* in reference to the Queen's Safety, who (*with good Reaſon*) apprehending a Siege or Surpriſal, and having had ſufficient Experience of the Rebels Affections both to Her Perſon and Quality, and knowing what irreparable a Prejudice it would be to His MAJESTY and His Affairs, if they ſhould get Her Perſon into their Power, concluded it more than Time to provide for Her Retreat thence; and therefore about the 10th of this Month Her MAJESTY attended with very few Servants, and thoſe not very well furniſhed for Her Quality, departed from that City, and by many and tedious Journeys got to *Pen Dennis* Caſtle; where She imbarqued in a Man of War of *Holland*, and by God's Protection arrived ſafely in *France*, *not without ſome barbarous but vain Interruption by the Rebels.* Where Her Reception and Entertainment ſince, will as equally ſhew the Civility of that Nation, as the barbarous and inhumane uſage of Her MAJESTY by the Rebels here, will render them deteſtable and infamous to Poſterity.

10th Her Majeſty begins Her Journey from *Exceter* to *Cornwal*.

Her Majeſty landed in *France*.

AT *Tiverton*, *Eſſex* made a long ſtay; and it is very probable that Her MAJESTY's ſpeedy retiring from *Exceter*, with the Conſideration he might be troubled by Prince *Maurice*, hindred him from attempting that City. Yet he was not unactive, for he recruited his Forces, and endeavoured to gain the Affections of the People, by preſerving them from Plunder, though they were His MAJESTY's Friends; from whom he only took their Horſes and inventaried their Goods; the one for preſent Uſe, the other for the future Reward of his Souldiers. But by all this Courtſhip he got only the common People, and confirmed his own Party, (not a Perſon of any Note deſerting His MAJESTY's Cauſe) and during his ſtay there he countenanced the Rebellious Town of *Barneſtaple* in their ſecond Revolt, and put a Garriſon into it; and by a Party of Foot from *Lyme*, and ſome of his Horſe, he laid a Siege to *Taunton* Caſtle, kept then by Serjeant Major *Reeve* of Sir *John Stawel*'s Regiment and his Deputy Governour there. That Place wanted not for Ammunition, Victuals or Fortification, and was defended about a Week with much Reſolution; but at length the Governour for want of Courage or Ability in his Profeſſion, gave

Barneſtaple revolts.

July. lit up, and marched away to *Bridgewater*, having nothing to say in his Excuse, but the Pretence of a Mutiny. For this Fact he was presently questioned at *Bristol*, and deservedly adjudged to die; but his Execution being deferred, he freed himself by an Escape, and is now with the Rebels; an Argument there was more than Cowardice or Ignorance in the Case.

Taunton Castle rendred to the Rebels.

PRINCE *Maurice* on the other side after his quitting the Siege of *Lyme*, found it very necessary to draw together all the Forces he could to oppose the growing of *Essex*'s Army, and his farther advance into the West. And although his Highness's Forces before *Plimouth* had reduced that Place to very great Streights, and had very lately given them, in a Salley they made, a notable Defeat; (with the only Loss of a most worthy and valiant Gentleman young *John Arundel* of *Trerise*) yet without the Addition of that Strength, it was not possible for him to effect his Design. Wherefore having settled the Garrison in *Exceter*, and attended Her MAJESTY safely in Her Journey for *Cornwal*, he drew his Forces to *Oakhampton*, and thence commanded those before *Plimouth* to him, leaving Sir *Richard Greenvile* with new Levies of Horse and Foot, which he had lately made in *Cornwal*, still to block up that Town. By this Addition his Highness's Army was much encreased, being then 5000 Foot, and about 2000 Horse, with which about the 18th of *July* his Highness returned to *Crediton* 7 Miles from *Exceter*, there expecting *Essex*'s Motions, who was not then advanced from *Tiverton*; and resolving either to fight with, or hinder *Essex*'s Advance, as he should find his fittest Opportunity; for at this Time he had not Notice of His MAJESTY's coming towards him. But within a Day having certain Intelligence that His MAJESTY was advanced as far as *Ilchester* within four Days March of him, his Highness altered his Resolutions, intending not to engage himself, but so to dispose his Army as to be ready to join with His MAJESTY's upon their farther Advance, and with their Forces united to make the Game the surer. To which Purpose about the 20th of *July* he drew his whole Army from *Crediton* to *Henyate* near *Exceter*, there to attend His MAJESTY's farther Pleasure.

Prince *Maurice* draws off the Forces from before *Lyme*.

20th

That very Day *Essex* likewise moved from his Quarters, (whether knowing of His MAJESTY's Advance I cannot say) intending to have surprized Prince *Maurice* in his Quarter at *Crediton*. And it is possible he might have done some Mischief to Prince *Maurice*'s Army, had it not been dislodged before, though not upon any Apprehension of *Essex*'s Intentions; for *Essex*'s Horse took

Prince *Maurice* removes from *Crediton*, and *Essex* comes into that Quarter.

took ſome few Priſoners, who ſtayed there careleſly behind. *July.*
By this unexpected Motion of Prince *Maurice*'s Army, *Eſſex*'s Deſign was fruſtrate, and Prince *Maurice* ſo far out of his Power, as that it was not ſuddenly poſſible for him (if we conſider the Country) to have any Advantage upon him. Beſides it is probable he knew of His MAJESTY's Advance, and ſo reſolved to finiſh his Work, and raiſe the Siege of *Plymouth* before he was diſturbed.

THUS having given you an Account of the Actions of thoſe two Armys ſince they were laſt mentioned, it will now be proper to let you know the Succeſs of His MAJESTY's Stay at *Ilcheſter*, and what Recruits the calling of the *Poſſe* brought to the Army. For on *Tueſday* the 23d of *July*, according to 23d
the Summons, a mighty Confluence of People came flocking The *Poſſe* of *Somerſet* appear in *Kingſmore*.
from all Parts of the County of *Somerſet* unto *Kingſmore*, and there ſaluted His MAJESTY with general Shouts and Acclamations, and followed him in Troops from place to place; I cannot ſay whether with more Admiration or Affection, for a King had not been ſeen in many Years before in that County; but this added nothing to our Force. Whereupon His MAJESTY cauſed this enſuing Speech to be read, firſt in His own Preſence, and then in other Parts of the Field.

Gentlemen,

His Majeſty's Speech.
" I have often deſired before theſe Troubles, to viſit theſe
" Weſtern Parts, that I might with Joy have been an Eye-
" witneſs of the Bleſſings of Peace, which you then enjoyed,
" and have been welcomed with the hearty and unanimous Affe-
" ctions of My good People here. But the malicious Deſigns of
" the Authors of this moſt unnatural War, have made thoſe My
" Intentions impoſſible: Yet My coming to you in this Poſture,
" may ſufficiently expreſs what Value I ſet upon theſe aſſoci-
" ated Counties. I am now come to relieve you from the
" Violence of a rebellious Army, ſent hither by thoſe that
" have plunged this whole Kingdom into theſe deſperate Di-
" ſtractions. They have got footing in your Country, and un-
" der the falſe Pretences they carry with them (wherewith they
" have abuſed too many of My People) are ready to devour
" you, and bring Deſtruction to your Religion, Property and
" Liberty. Theſe I am to defend, and ſhall refuſe no Dan-
" ger that may conduce to your Deliverance from this Slave-
" ry attempted on you by thoſe Men. All that I ask of you
" is, that you will not be wanting to your ſelves, but will

July. "heartily join with me in this good Work, by contributing
"your chearful Assistance to My Army, and by performing
"your Duty in bearing Arms with Me in this good Cause,
"wherein whosoever shall fall carrieth this Comfort with him,
"that he falleth in Defence of the true Protestant Religion,
"his King, his Country, and the Law of the Land; and he
"that will not venture his Life for these, I had rather have
"his Room than his Company. Upon these Grounds I shall
"lead you on, follow Me with Courage, and the God of
"Power give Us his Blessing. I shall farther remember you of
"this, that if by your Assistance it shall please God to ena-
"ble Me to reduce this Army now in the Bowels of your
"Country, you will not only thereby free these associated
"Counties from those Miseries which threaten you; but it may
"please God in Mercy so to look upon this poor Kingdom,
"that the Fruits of this Victory may be a Means to restore Peace
"to us all, that Blessed peace which I have so often and so
"importunately sought for from them at *Westminster*, and
"which they have so scornfully rejected, as if the Blood of
"their Fellow Subjects were their Delight. God turn their
"Hearts! Neither shall I despair of it, if the Success of that
"Army (the chiefest Strength on which they rely) shall fail
"their Expectation. For then it may have such an Influence
"upon them, that I shall hope they may be prevailed with to
"give you leave to be happy again, and (which I have so
"often desired) to have all that is in question between them
"and Me determined in a full and free Convention of Parli-
"ament. Then I shall not fear but the united Power of this
"Kingdom, will easily free Us from that Northern Invasion,
"which (making use of our Divisions) threatneth no less than
"the Conquest of this whole Nation. This I assure you, that
"no Success shall make me less zealously seek for Peace (well
"knowing whose Blood is to be spilt in this unhappy Quarrel)
"but rather I shall more fervently encrease My Desires, by how
"much I may have better grounded Hopes to attain what I so
"earnestly desire. When I mention Peace, I would be under-
"stood to intend that Peace which is built upon such Foundations
"as are most likely to render it firm and stable; wherein God's
"true Religion may be best secured from the Danger of Po-
"pery, Sectaries, and Innovations; the Crown may possess
"those just Prerogatives, which may enable Me to protect and
"govern My People according to Law; and the Subject be
"confirmed in those Rights which they have derived from their
"Forefathers, and which I have granted to them in Parliament;

"to

" to which I ſhall always be ready to add ſuch new Graces, *July.*
" as I ſhall find moſt to conduce to their Happineſs. This is
" the Peace I labour for, wherein I may juſtly expect your
" beſt Aſſiſtance with your Hearts, and Hands, and Purſes.
" Neither ſhall I be more burthenſom to you with My Army,
" than of neceſſity I muſt for it's Support; (ſo far I muſt deſire
" your Help, being violently robbed of all my Revenues.)
" I have and ſhall uſe all poſſible Means to ſuppreſs the Di-
" ſorders of the Souldiers: The beſt way to do it, is by ta-
" king Order that they be not provoked with want of neceſſa-
" ry Proviſions; that being done by you, Mr. Sheriff, and the
" Commiſſioners of this County, (which I muſt earneſtly com-
" mend to your Care) you ſhall find Me very ſtrict in ſuch
" Diſcipline as may beſt ſecure you. This Night I hope to
" have joined with Me other conſiderable Forces, which are
" upon their March towards me, and to Morrow Morning We
" ſhall humbly ask God's Bleſſing on Us, and begin the Work.
" This Care I ſhall farther take for you, that as ſoon as poſſi-
" bly I can, other Men (to be levied by Impreſs) ſhall ſupply
" the Places of ſuch of you as I ſhall then give Liberty to re-
" turn to your Harveſt. I ſhall conclude with this Promiſe
" to you, that I ſhall look upon your Chearfulneſs in this Ser-
" vice, as the greateſt Expreſſion of your Loyalty and Affe-
" ctions that you can make or I receive; which I ſhall requite,
" if it be in my Power. If I live not to do it, I hope this young
" Man my Son (your fellow Souldier in this Expedition) will,
" to whom I ſhall particularly give it in Charge.

This produced no other Effect, but that thoſe who had formerly liſted themſelves under Sir *Edward Rodney*, Sir *Henry Berkley* and Collonel *Byſſe*, drew into Bodies, and were in all about 1000; all the reſt not knowing, or deſirous to know the Nature of a *Poſſe Comitatûs*, notwithſtanding a ſhort Proclamation afterwards publiſhed for all of the Eaſt Diviſion to liſt themſelves under Sir *Edward Rodney*, and thoſe of the Weſt under Sir *John Stawel*, having ſeen their Sight, went home again. With this Addition of Strength, and about 800 Foot which the Lord *Hopton* had drawn out of *Briſtol*, and that Night joined to the Army, His Majesty marched the next Day from *Ilcheſter*, being *Wedneſday* the 24th of *July*, and quartered that Night at *Chard*. The next Day the Army quartered at *Huntington*, where it was reſolved that it ſhould not march through *Exceter*, but be at *Bradnich* on *Saturday* Night; where His Majesty intended to come to them again, and in the interim

24th His Majeſty at *Chard.*

to

July. to go to *Exceter* the next Morning, to see his Daughter the young Princess, to meet Prince *Maurice*, and to resolve of, and settle his Affairs.

HERE we shall crave Leave by way of Digression to insert the beginning and close of a Letter received this Day by the Lord *Digby* Principal Secretary of State, from Collonel *Henry O Bryen* Governour of *Wareham*, his Words are these.

Right Honourable,

Abstract of Collonel *O Brien's* Letter.

" It did much rejoice me and my Officers to hear of the long " lookt for Arrival of His MAJETY and His Army into this Coun- " try; I hope His coming shall be crowned with Success an- " swerable to His Religious and Royal Intentions. I humbly " pray your Lordship to present my Loyalty to His Sacred MA- " JESTY, which I trust shall one Day make me at the least capable " of those Thanks His MAJESTY is pleased to cast away upon so " undeserving a Servant. It will be my Comfort, and it shall " be my daily Encouragement, if I can make my Service wor- " thy of so gracious a Sovereign. I have not been wanting to " let my Officers know what an especial Care His MAJESTY " hath to encourage and reward them; and they every one " resolve to sacrifice their Lives to God and His MAJESTY in this " Cause. But both I and they cannot but be much grieved, " that we are deprived of the Means to express our Affections " to our King; but yet in our Dejection, we are not without " Hope, seeing His Sacred MAJESTY will descend so low as to " reflect upon us. And concludes thus; " And now, my Honou- " rable Lord, I must acknowledge how much I am engaged to " your Lordship in more than an ordinary Obligement, in re- " gard your noble Favours reflect not only upon my Brother, " but upon my self; who I confess have hitherto wanted an " Opportunity to serve your Lordship, but shall not fail to " study which way I may merit the Esteem of your Lordship's " most thankful Servant,

Henry Brien.

WHOEVER reads the Expressions of this Letter cannot but admire at the future Actions of this faithless Collonel; for within twenty Days after, he delivered up *Wareham* to the Rebels, and embarqued himself and Regiment for *Ireland*, there to assist his Brother the Lord *Inchequin* lately fallen from his Obedience, and joined with some others to oppose the Cessation there;

there, having ſurprized *Cork*, *Kingſale*, and other Places of Importance in that Kingdom. Of whom (notwithſtanding his humble Pretences made to His MAJESTY by his Letter from *Cork* the 17th of this Month for theſe his Actions.) it may be ſaid that if he had been made Preſident of *Conought* the Year before, the Proteſtant Religion had not been in Danger in that Kingdom, nor the *Iriſh* ſo wicked and infamous as now he ſays they are, nor himſelf ſo great a Friend of thoſe at *Weſtminſter*; he being aſſuredly one of that Nation whom in their Chriſtian Charity they intend to extirpate, and therein to plant their beſt of People the *Scots*. *July.*

On *Friday* the 26th His MAJESTY attended by His Troop, went from *Hunnington* to *Exceter*. About a Mile from that City he was met by Prince *Maurice*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, the Lord *Pawlet*, Sir *John Berkley* Governour of that City, and moſt of the Principal Gentlemen and Commiſſioners of the two Counties of *Somerſet* and *Devon*. At the City Gates His MAJESTY was received by the Mayor and Aldermen, and a very great Confluence of People, with much Joy and Acclamation. His MAJESTY went preſently to *Bedford* Houſe, where he firſt ſaw His young Daughter the Princeſs *Henrietta*. That Afternoon His MAJESTY held a Council of His own Officers, with Prince *Maurice* and the chief Officers of his Army, and then took into Debate what Courſe they ſhould ſteer in the Purſuit of *Eſſex*; who by that Time had raiſed the Siege at *Plymouth*, drawn out a conſiderable Party thence, and was at that inſtant endeavouring to make his way into *Cornwal*, (though that part of his Actions, was not then come to their Knowledge;) His MAJESTY and His Council rather concluding, that when *Eſſex* had relieved that Town, he would endeavour to make his Retreat good by the *South-Hames*. Wherefore a Party of Horſe of Prince *Maurice* his Army, was ordered to march thither to break the Bridges, and to cut off his Retreat that way. And leaſt whiles we were too eager to purſue the Rebels, we ſhould forget as furious an Enemy, want of Proviſions, timely Care was taken, not only with the Governour, Sheriffs and Commiſſioners of that County of *Devon*, to make a Magazine in that City of great Quantities of Bread, Cheeſe and Biſquet, and to ſend the ſame on all Occaſions to the Army; but the like Orders were diſpatched into *Somerſetſhire*, whither Mr. *William Hinton* a Gentleman of His MAJESTY's Privy Chamber, and one of the moſt active of the Commiſſioners for Proviſion, was likewiſe ſent to join with the Sheriffs and Commiſſioners there, in the making large Proportions of Victuals, and to

26th His Majeſty at *Exceter*.

26th His Majeſty reſolved to join with Prince *Maurice*.

26th Commiſſioners aſſign'd for Victualling the Army.

ſee

July. see the same sent by Convoys to *Exceter*. This Work was resolved to be so really necessary, as that most of the Commissioners of *Somerset* were commanded into their Country to attend it; and Sir *John Wake*'s Brigade of Horse ordered to stay about *Chard*, to secure the Commissioners, and to convey the Provisions thence. This being put in so good Order, there rested only what His MAJESTY would resolve on, in point of His Departure thence; who according to His Engagement, that He would be the next Night at *Bradnich*, would not stay any longer than that Night at *Exceter*, intending by

27th the way to see Prince *Maurice*'s Foot the next Morning at *Crediton* or *Kyrton*, which He did accordingly; they being drawn up in a Meadow near that Town, and were then effective 4600 Foot well armed. His MAJESTY then Knighted Sir *Joseph Wagstaffe* Major General of the Foot, and Sir *Thomas Bassett* General of the Ordnance to Prince *Maurice*, with Sir *Henry Carie* one of the Collonels, a Person that had done His MAJESTY very faithful Service in those Parts. That Night His MAJESTY came to His Army at *Bradnich*, and thence sent all His heavy Carriages to *Exceter*, the better to facilitate His March. The next Night His MAJESTY quartered at *Kyrton*, Prince *Maurice* marching thence that Morning to *Bow*, and keeping still a Days March before us, until we came into *Cornwal*.

His Majesty viewed Prince *Maurice*'s Army at *Kyrton*.

26th FROM *Exceter* His MAJESTY sent Letters of Encouragement to Sir *Richard Greenvile*, and the Sheriff of *Cornwal*, thereby letting them know of His Approach and His Intentions to relieve them, in case *Essex* should engage himself in that Country. Which Letters came very seasonably; for after *Essex* had relieved *Plymouth* (it is not known for what Reason, except to get Sir *Richard Greenvile* and other Loyal Persons in His Power, or by the Persuasion of the Lord *Roberts*, (who assured him of great Assistance there) that he engaged himself to enter that Country, where he could expect little to please himself or his Army. However, blown up with his good Fortune, that he had not yet received a Check,) he attempted to make his way, and marched from *Tavestock* about this Time to *Horsebridge* over the River of *Tamar*, that parts the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, and runs almost from the North into the South Sea, being not fordable below *Launceston*. Here those drawn from *Plymouth*, kept a strong Guard and opposed *Essex*'s Passage, until such time as Sir *Richard Greenvile* conceived he had secured *Launceston*, and then they drew thence. And to speak the Truth, I know no Reason considering the Situation of the Place, the Bridge being broken,

His Majesty sends Advertisement into *Cornwal* of his Advance.

Essex enters *Cornwal*.

but

but a very ſmall number might have given a ſtop to a far greater Army than *Eſſex* had there, and put him to the Diſcommodity of ſeeking another Paſs. The quitting of this Bridge gave him the Conveniency of coming over without the leaſt Oppoſition; and many of the *Corniſh* were ſo apprehenſive of his Power (not expecting Relief) as that divers of the Horſe and Foot disbanded and went Home, intending their particular Safeties, quitting *Launceſton* in ſo great haſte, and that they left 40 Barrels of Powder there, which three Days after was poſſeſſed by the Rebels. Yet Sir *Richard Greenvile* like a Man of Honour and Courage, kept a good Body together, and retreated in good Order to *Truro*, endeavouring actively to raiſe a Force ſufficient to oppoſe *Eſſex*'s farther Advance; though many were diſcouraged, and on the point to leave him and to embark for *France* when theſe Letters came unto him; which altered their Intentions and put new Life into them. *Eſſex*, after the gaining of this Bridge, marched unto *Liskerd*, where he was the 20th of *July*; where we will leave him and the Lord *Roberts* at *Bodmin*, until we have mentioned His MAJESTY's proceedings to that Time. Who on *Munday* the 29th of *July* advanced with His Army to *Bow*, a ſmall and contemptible Village, where He quartered that Night, having no other Proviſions but what was brought with the Army for Prince *Maurice* the Night before; and *Eſſex* not above eight Days paſt had ſufficiently eaten up all Proviſions there. Thence early the next Day His MAJESTY marched to *Oakehampton*, and upon *Wedneſday* the laſt of *July* His MAJESTY quartered at *Liſton* three Miles ſhort of *Launceſton*. Prince *Maurice*'s Army quartered that Night in *Launceſton*, and there refreſhed themſelves a Day. His MAJESTY the next Morning being *Thurſday* the firſt of *Auguſt*, drew up His Army a Mile on this ſide *Launceſton*, and there at the Head of every Diviſion gave Notice unto them, That they were now entring a Country exceedingly affectionate to His MAJESTY and His Cauſe, and therefore He ſtrictly forbad them to plunder or offer any the leaſt Violence to the Inhabitants; and aſſured them that order was taken they ſhould be plentifully provided with all manner of Proviſions: Which done they marched over the *Tamar* at *Polton* Bridge, and ſo through *Launceſton*. His MAJESTY ſtayed a while in that Town, and had Intelligence that *Eſſex* was gone from *Liskerd* to *Bodmin* (but what he intended could not be diſcovered by that Motion.) That Night His MAJESTY had His Quarters at the Houſe of Mr. *Mannaton* at *Trecarrel*, the Army quartering round about him in the Field. The next Day His MAJESTY drew up

July.

Launceſton quitted by the *Corniſh*.

Sir *Richard Greenvile* endeavours to oppoſe *Eſſex*.

30th

His Majeſty at *Oakehampton*.

Auguſt.

1ſt

His Majeſty enters *Cornwal* and prohibits all plundering.

August. 2d His Majesty and Prince *Maurice's* Armys joyn at *Carryton* Down.

His Army upon *Carryton* Down, where Prince *Maurice's* Army first joined with His MAJESTY's, and so in a Body they marched to *Liskerd*, where they made their Quarters. The same Day *Essex* quitted *Bodmin* and came to *Listithiel*, Six Miles West of us (and by a Party possest himself of *Foy* a convenient Harbour.) Here he settled his Quarters, not moving thence until he made his Retreat; but what induced him to sit down in that Place cannot be said, except it was to have the Sea to his Friend, and the Conveniency of being supplied with Provisions that way; for the Country was not very forward to furnish him, notwithstanding all the pretended interest of the Lord *Roberts*. Besides it is believed, that he had an Opinion, that our Strength was double the Number it really was; and so he meant to secure himself as well as he could until he were relieved, or could take a fit Advantage to be gone. In both which (more by Divine Providence than by any endeavours of ours) he was at length deceived. And not till now were we sensible of the great and extraordinary Advantage the Rebels have over His MAJESTY's Armies throughout the Kingdom by Intelligence (the Life of all warlike Actions) and which, by the Loyalty of this People, the Rebels here were utterly deprived of: no Country in His MAJESTY's Dominions being so universally affected to His MAJESTY and His Cause. Which for my part, I shall never ascribe, either to a greater Measure of Judgment, or to more Humanity than others have, but unto that Obedience to their Superiours which the rest have cast off. For the Gentry of this Country retain their old Possessions, their old Tenants, and expect from them their ancient Reverence and Obedience. And give me leave to say, if many of the Nobility and Gentry of this unhappy Kingdom had not fallen from the Lustre, Vertue, and Honour of their Ancestors, and by their Luxury been necessitated to manumise their Villains, but had paid that awful Reverence to the Majesty and Greatness of their Sovereign as they ought, they might have expected the same proportionably from their Inferiours and Tenants; and instead of having them their Companions or rather Masters, (as now they are) they might have had them their Servants; and then I believe this War, which (under Pretence of Religion and Liberties) is to introduce Heresie in Doctrine, Parity in Conditions, and to destroy the King, Nobility and Gentry, in probability had not been.

The great Benefit of Intelligence.

THUS much for the Reasons of the Loyalty of this People; we shall now proceed to the Effects thereof. The Armys were no sooner quartered at *Liskerd*, but we had hourly Notice of the

the Rebels Actions, and the Country People (nay the very Women) were ſo incenſed againſt them, as being of the Militia (for under that Notion the Gentlemen had made them odious) as that they could not ſtraggle out of their Quarters, but they were preſently either ſlain or taken; ſo that during our ſtay at *Liskerd* His MAJESTY had daily Preſents made him of the Rebels Priſoners. *Auguſt.*

HIS MASJETY's Affairs being now brought to this Condition, that after ſo long a March, and according to His Wiſhes, His MAJESTY had both joined with Prince *Maurice* and brought the Rebels Army into Streights; it behoved Him then ſo to purſue His Deſigns, as that they might produce the deſired Effects. To that end Letters were again diſpatched from *Liſkerd* to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, to let him know that His MAJESTY was there, and that He deſired him ſpeedily to advance to *Tregrine* or *Grumpont*, there to quarter, the better to hinder the Rebels Proviſions from thoſe Weſtern Parts; for from the time we firſt came into *Cornwal*, until we had effected our Deſign, our greateſt Hopes were grounded on the Probability of reducing the Rebels to Neceſſities for want of Proviſions. And 'tis a wonder how they held out ſo long, if we compare their ſtreightneſs of Quarters with that large extent we had to maintain our Army; which notwithſtanding was many times unprovided.

3d
His Majeſty at *Liskerd*.

Sir *Richard Greenvil* ordered to march to the Army.

Eſſex then at *Liſtithiel*.

That Day being the 4th of *Auguſt* a Party of Horſe of Collonel *Richard Nevil*'s, commanded by Sir *Bernard Gaſcoyn* an *Italian* and Volunteer in his Regiment, being ſent out to ſecure the Country from Plunder, drew very near the Rebels Quarters at *Liſtithiel*, and being advertiſed by a Youth that divers of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Officers were that Afternoon careſſing at *Boconnock* the Lord *Mohun*'s Houſe, he made haſte thither preſently, forced the Gates, and got Poſſeſſion of the Dining Room. They ſtill kept a Buttery at the end of it, until through the Door one of their Servants was ſlain; then they rendred themſelves Priſoners, being Collonel *Aldridge* ſometime Governour of *Alisbury*, Lieutenant Collonel *Butteler* *Eſſex*'s own Lieutenant Collonel, Lieutenant Collonel *Carleton*, Captain *Blyth*, and *Burdet* *Eſſex*'s Enſign; *Dalbeir* Quarter Maſter General of the Rebels Army, was in their Power, but being without a Sword or Hat, he pretended himſelf a Servant of the Houſe and ſo eſcaped, being unknown. That Evening they were all brought ſafe to *Liskerd*, and from thence ſent Priſoners to *Exceter*.

4th
Divers Officers of *Eſſex*'s Army ſurpriſed at *Boconnock*.

THE ſucceeding Days were ſpent in viewing the Paſſes towards *Liſtithiel*, in making Ways for our Army from *Liskerd*

August. towards the Heath. And to secure all behind us, Orders were sent to Sir *John Berkley* Governour of *Exceter*, to stop all the Ways North from *Exceter*, and only to keep that open by *Kyrton*, for the better conveniency of bringing Provisions. Which being done, His MAJESTY marched with His Army from *Liskerd* on *Wednesday* the 7th of *August*, and that Night quartered His Army on the Entrance of *Pinnock Down*, and on the very place where *Ruthen Governour of Plymouth* a Year before was defeated by the Cornish; His MAJESTY returned that Night to *Liskerd*.

6th

Sir *John Berkley* ordered to stop the Ways through *Devon*.

DURING His MAJESTY's stay there (and I believe very long before) His MAJESTY had entertained an Opinion, that if *Essex* should have any fit Opportunity offered him, he would be willing to embrace it; not only to return to his Allegiance, but to disengage himself of the Bondage he was brought into, by the Prevalency of the Factious and Schismatical Party then ruling at *London*. To which end, Opportunity being offered by the going of the Lord *Beauchampe* unto *Essex* (being his Nephew) to procure his Pass to imbarque for *France* for the Recovery of his Health; this Letter written with His MAJESTY's own Land was the 7th of *August* sent by him and delivered to the Earl of *Essex*.

C. R.

His Majesty's Letter to the Earl of *Essex*.

"*ESSEX*, I have been very willing to believe that whenever there should be such a Conjuncture as to put it in your Power to effect that happy Settlement of this miserable Kingdom which all good Men desire, you would lay hold of it. That Season is now before you; you have it at this time in your Power to redeem your Country and the Crown, and to oblige your King in the highest Degree. An Action certainly of the greatest Piety, Prudence and Honour that may be: Such an Opportunity as perhaps no Subject before you hath ever had, or hereafter you shall have. To which there is no more required, but that you join with Me heartily and really in the setling of those things which We have Both profest constantly to be Our only Aims. Let Us do this, and if any Man shall be so foolishly unnatural as to oppose their King's, Country's, and their own Good, we will make them happy, by God's Blessing, even against their Wills. To this the only Impediment can be, want of mutual Confidence: I promise it you of my part, and as I have endeavoured to prepare it on yours by My Letter to *Hertford* from

7th

"*Evesham*,

" *Eveſham*, I hope this will perfect it; when as I here do, *Auguſt.*
" I have engaged unto you the Word of a King, that you
" joining with Me in that bleſſed Work, I ſhall give both to
" you and your Army ſuch eminent Marks of my Confi-
" dence and Value, as ſhall not leave a Room for the leaſt
" Diſtruſt amongſt you, either in relation to the Publick, or to
" your ſelf, unto whom I ſhall then be your Faithful Friend.

POSTSCRIPT.

" If you like of this, hearken to this Bearer, whom I have ful-
" ly inſtructed in Particulars: But this will admit of no Delay.

Liskerd the 6th *Auguſt* 1644.

WHAT Reſpect he gave unto it, and what his Anſwer was, you ſhall find by the enſuing Narrative, atteſted by the Lord *Beauchampe*, and his Tutor a modeſt and ſober Perſon. And how juſt and honourable His MAJESTY's Intentions were to beget firſt a good Underſtanding between Him and the Earl, and then an happy Peace between His MAJESTY and His Subjects, you may find at large in the enſuing Inſtructions prepared for Mr. *Harding*, one of the Bed Chamber to his Highneſs the Prince, formerly of great Intereſt and Familiarity with the ſaid Earl. They are theſe that follow.

Inſtructions to Mr. *Harding.*

" YOU are forthwith to repair unto the Earl of *Eſſex* with the
" Lord *Beauchampe*, in the way the moſt unſuſpected you can,
" of any other Deſign but the accompanying of him. You
" are to deliver unto him at a fitting Opportunity, the Letter
" from Us; which if you cannot ſuddenly gain, you may cauſe
" it to be delivered by the Lord *Beauchampe*, he acquainting
" the ſaid Earl, that the Credence in the Letter relates to you,
" who come inſtructed from Us.

" You are by all Means poſſible to endeavour the obtaining
" of free and private Conference with the ſaid Earl; wherein,
" if admitted, you are to govern your ſelf according to your
" beſt Diſcretion upon theſe following Grounds.

" To aſſure him that Our Aim in this Overture is in ſhort
" this, To procure if it be poſſible, an Union of his Power with
" Ours, in a hearty and thorough Purſuance of one common
" End; namely the Preſervation of this miſerable Kingdom
" from the Danger of a Conqueſt by the *Scots*, and from cer-
" tain Ruin and Deſolation every way, ſhould theſe unnatural

" Wars

Auguſt. " Wars continue; and the Settlement of a happy Peace upon " the firm Eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Religion, Laws of " the Land, Liberties of the Subject, and Privileges of Par- " liament; and of the indeniable and unſeparable Rights of " the Crown in a full and free Convention of Parliament.

" To aſſure him of Our moſt real Intentions in all that We " profeſs unto him, as well concerning the Publick as the par- " ticular Intereſts of him and his Army, and all others that join " in this good Work.

THAT We ſhall moſt readily conſent to give all the Cau- " tions on Our part that can be reaſonably deſired for the full " Performance of all things that ſhall be agreed upon; as well " by the Truſt and Power which We ſhall give unto the ſaid " Earl himſelf, as by the ſolemneſt Engagements, both of Our " Royal Faith and of Our Nobility, Council and Principal " Officers of Our Army; whereby ſuch a Confidence may be " raiſed, as may fully ſatisfie and remove all Jealouſies and " Diſtruſts, which otherwiſe might hinder the happy Conclu- " ſion of that which is propounded.

" YOU are to aſſure him of the general Concurrence both of " My Nephew Prince *Rupert*, and all the Court, the Armys, " and of the Lords at *Oxford*, in the earneſt Deſire of ſuch a " happy Accommodation.

" YOU may alſo uſe it as an Argument of Our Reality in this " Overture, that the preſent Poſture wherein he may know Us " to be here, may aſſure him that it ariſes not from the Weak- " neſs of Our Condition.

" You are to enforce the Neceſſity of this way, as the only " viſible Means to preſerve the Kingdom from utter Ruin, from " the Danger of a Conqueſt by the *Scots*, which ſide ſoever " prevail, if not prevented by this Union; and both it and " himſelf from the Inſolencies and Ingratitude which muſt be " expected from a prevailing Populace.

" You are to preſs unto him the Glory of the Work, to re- " deem his Nation from the greateſt Extremities, to fix ſo high " an Obligation upon the Crown, the Nobility and Gentry of " the Kingdom, and to be Author of ſo univerſal a Joy, as this " Agreement will beget in the People.

" YOU are to preſs unto him the Prudence of this Deſign, not " only in order to his own Honour and Safety, who can expect " neither, if either the *Scots* or the other violent Party at *London* " prevail; but alſo in point of Probability of Succeſs in the main. " How impoſſible it will be that that violent Party ſhould be " able to oppoſe the Power of theſe Armys, thus joined for

the

" the attaining of ſuch juſt and pious Ends as muſt needs *Auguſt.*
" convince many that have been miſled. What Strength the
" Reputation of it with the ſaid Earl's Intereſt will add; what
" Diſtractions thoſe violent Men are likely to be ſurpriſed with;
" and laſtly, how likely it is that when thoſe Perſons ſhall find
" it out of their Power to hinder this bleſſed Work, they them-
" ſelves may without the Hazard of a Battel, be brought to yield,
" that a firm Peace may be ſetled in a full and free Convention
" of Parliament.

" If he ſhall ſpeak unto you of any Addreſs to be made in
" this Buſineſs to thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, you are to ſhew that
" over and above the Unfitneſs of it for Us, in regard of ſo
" many former Rejections, it is impoſſible in point of Time:
" That the Attempt of it will be a certain Bane to the whole
" Buſineſs, without a Poſſibility of ever having the Opportu-
" nity again; That the Temper and Engagement of thoſe of
" the Houſe of Commons is ſuch, that there is no Hopes that
" the Honeſt Men among them dare appear againſt the decla-
" red Sence of the Houſe, until they ſhall ſee a Power on Foot
" ſufficient to protect them. But then it is to be hoped that
" the major part of the Members of both Houſes now pre-
" ſent at *Weſtminſter* will give a good Approbation, and be
" carried on to that which ſhall be ſafe as well as juſt; which
" if propounded unſeaſonably and unbackt with Power, would
" certainly be rejected. So that, as the preſent Condition of
" both Armys ſtands here, conſidering the poſſibility of *Wal-*
" *ler*'s Approach if time be given, when the whole Buſineſs
" will thereby be made impoſſible, any Delay under pretence
" of neceſſity of Addreſs to them cannot be otherwiſe under-
" ſtood than as a pure Negative.

" If you ſhall find the ſaid Earl (as we hope you will)
" ſenſible how happy he may make his King, his Country and
" himſelf in this Courſe, and that he be diſpoſed to join in
" this glorious Work, your are to inform your ſelf of the Con-
" ſtitution of his Army; What Perſons of Power are moſt like-
" ly to oppoſe it; What is to be done to gain them if it may
" be, it not, to prevent their doing Hurt; What Dangers are
" to be avoided in the managing of the Buſineſs; Whence the
" Riſe of the Treaty is to be taken, whether from ſome pub-
" lick Meſſage from us, or otherwiſe; How the Work is to
" be timed, with all the Circumſtances which may conduce
" to it.

" In fine, if you ſhall find the ſaid Earl ſo happily inclined
" as aforeſaid, you are to proceed with him with all Frank-

" neſs

August. "ness and Openheartedness; and to let him know, that as We "have not hitherto permitted any Address or Application to "any of his Army, but only to himself, so neither shall We "but by his Advice; wherein, as in all other things of re- "lation to this great work, We shall expect his Counsel and "Directions, and much rely upon them.

"You are from time to time to give Us an Account what "effect you find of this Negotiation, and what farther Powers "shall be necessary to be sent you from Us.

The Report of the Lord *Beauchampe* and his Tutor.

"THE Letter which His MAJESTY was graciously pleased "to send unto the Earl of *Essex*, having been delivered him "by my Lord *Beauchampe*; The Earl of *Essex* having read it, "called me into his Chamber, in the Presence of the Lord "*Beauchampe*, and ask'd me whether I had any thing to say "to him. I told him that my chief Errand unto him was "to desire his Permission for Mr. *Harding* to wait upon him, "to declare unto him His MAJESTY's earnest and sincere De- "sires of Peace, and His Resolution to procure it by all possi- "ble means of Assurance to the Publick and to His own par- "ticular, if he would consent to it and cooperate in it. To "which his Answer was, That he would not permit him to "come, nor would he have any Treaty with the King, ha- "ving received no Warrant for it from the Parliament. "Whereupon I declared unto him, my general Instructions, "which were to assure him of the King's, Prince *Rupert's* and "Prince *Maurice's*, the Court's, his Army's and the Lords at "*Oxford's* hearty and unanimous Concurrence in the earnest De- "sires of a happy Accommodation, and of a friendly Con- "junction with him and his Army, in this only and common "End of preserving this Kingdom from a Conquest by the "*Scots*, and from utter Ruin and Desolation, by this un- "natural War; by a Settlement of the true Protestant Reli- "gion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberties of the Subject, "the Privileges of Parliament, and the undoubted and unse- "parable Rights of the Crown in a full and free Convention "of Parliament. That His MAJESTY was resolved to give "all the Assurances, and Security of His real Intentions here- "in that He could reasonably propose to himself; as well by "the Trust, Power and Confidence which he would put in "himself, as by any other most solemn way of Engagement. "Unto all which, his Answer was, That according to the "Commission which he had received, he would defend the "King's Person and Posterity: And that the best Counsel

"he

" he could give Him, was to go to His Parliament. When *Auguſt.*
" I ſaw I could draw no more from him, I deſired an Anſwer
" to His MAJESTY's Letter, which the Lord *Beauchampe*
" brought him. To which he replied, that he durſt make no
" Anſwer to it without Leave from the Parliament, unto whom
" he would ſend it.

Atteſted by *Robert Beauchamp*, *John Richaud.*

HERE you ſee not only His MAJESTY's Letter unanſwered, but this Earl in ſuch a Condition, as that he would not or durſt not admit an ancient Friend to come unto him; but valued his Bondage under the baſeſt Anarchichal Government, (becauſe truſted by them) before the Freedom and Happineſs of being as it were a Partner in the Sovereign Power, which by theſe Overtures were upon the matter aſſured him. From whence I cannot but draw this Concluſion, that although for the preſent Happineſs and Peace of this Nation, His MAJESTY deſires not only to pardon but to advance ſuch Perſons; yet God doth harden their Hearts, and will not admit them to receive that offered Grace and Favour. And if at any time they have attempted to return to their Allegiance, they have been taken in the manner, and put to Death by the ſame Tyrannical Power wherewith they have oppoſed their Sovereign. Witneſs the two *Hothams*, *Carew* and ſome others, whoſe Fortune I fear this Earl will ſhortly follow, notwithſtanding this great and notable Obſtinacy in their Cauſe.

UPON His MAJESTY's return that Night to *Liskerd*, General *Goring* came to him out of the North from Prince *Rupert*, being ſent (as it appeared the next Day) to receive an eminent Command in the Army. For His MAJESTY returning early on *Thurſday* the 8th of *Auguſt* into the Field, and the Army drawn out ready to march, he gave a Warrant to Sir *Edward Sydenham* Knight Marſhal, aſſiſted by Mr. *Thomas Elliot* of the Prince's Bed Chamber, to arreſt the Lord *Willmot* Lieutenant General of the Horſe, and to keep him in ſafe Cuſtody, which they preſently did. The Lord *Willmot* after ſome Pauſe in this ſudden Surpriſal, and a deſire to go to his Reigment, ſubmitting himſelf to the Knight Marſhal's Cuſtody; from whom he was preſently diſcharged, and ſent under Guard to *Launceſton*, and from thence to *Exceter.* Immediately after His MAJESTY attended by the Principal Officers of His Army rode to every diviſion of the Horſe, and there declared, that at the Requeſt of his Nephew Prince *Rupert*, and upon his Reſignation,

7th General *Goring* came to His Majeſty from Prince *Rupert.*

8th The Lord *Willmot* arreſted and committed.

August. he had made Mr. *Goring* General of the Horse, and therefore commanded them to obey him. As for the Lord *Willmot*, although he had for some Reasons justly restrained him, yet he took not away his Command in the Army. This for the present satisfied the Horse, who though very affectionate to the Lord *Willmot*, yet were more discreet of themselves and faithful to His MAJESTY and His Cause, than at this time when we were so near the Rebels, to act or shew the least Discontent; though the next Day they humbly petitioned His MAJESTY, expressing their Desires that they might have so much Light of his Crimes, as that they might not suspect themselves Guilty of the same, having so long by His MAJESTY's Order executed his Commands. This Petition was gratiously answered by His MAJESTY, and thereunto were annexed the Articles of the Lord *Willmot*'s Offence. To which he shortly after made his Answer, and in the Conclusion, in respect the present Condition of His MAJETY's Affairs would not admit of his sudden Trial, he desired to retire into *France*, which was granted; whither he went in few Weeks after.

General *Goring* made General of the Horse.

BUT to return to the Business of the Army, that Day about 12 of the Clock, the Armys marched in good order over *Brodoke*-Down, nearer to *Boconnock*; and about 2 in the Afternoon, the parties of Horse of both Armys met, and chased each other. Then we drew up our Army in good Order and sent stronger Parties of Horse, who presently made the Rebels quit that part of the Heath which lyes between *Boconnock* and the Lord *Mohun*'s Warren, they still keeping the Hill without *Boconnock* Park. In this Posture we stood some Hours, facing each other, being very cautious how we engaged our selves; though I am very confident had we gone on that Time we had in humane Probability put them to retreat, if not obtained a Victory. For our Men were full of Courage, and desirous to fight; they on the contrary were surprised with our advance; and our Army being ranged on the top of a Hill at the best Advantage, put great Terrours into them. But it was not our play, having through so many Difficulties got together so good an Army, to engage it on an uncertain Issue; for as yet we knew not the Ground they stood on, nor the Advantages they had there. So that Night we drew off towards *Glinford*, and lay all together on the Heath, and His MAJESTY in the midst of His Army. Early the next Morning the Debate was, how we should dispose of the Army; whether we should attempt the Rebels that Day, or draw into Quarters; the last was concluded on as safest and most for present

8th The King's Army drawn within view of the Rebels and desirous to fight.

9th Resolutions taken not to fight but to distress the Rebels.

preſent Advantage, as well to refreſh our Horſe, who had been in great Duty, as to expect Sir *Richard Greenvile*, who was noiſed to be coming towards us with 8000 Horſe and Foot. So we preſently drew all the Foot within Encloſures, between *Boconnock* and the Heath, His MAJESTY making His head Quarter at the Lord *Mohun*'s Houſe; and the Horſe were ſent to St. *Viepe* and other Quarters behind us, between *Liskerd* and the Sea. In this manner we lay three or four Days expecting *Greenvile*'s Advance: In the interim ſome buſie Spirit (notwithſtanding *Eſſex* had not ſo much as vouchſafed to give His MAJESTY an Anſwer to His Gracious Letter and Overtures for Peace, and Conjunction of both Armys, *ſhewing as the effect proved more Folly than Malice,*) prepared a Letter to *Eſſex*, to be ſubſcribed by the Principal Officers of His MAJESTY's and Prince *Maurice*'s Armys. This was formed and ſome Hands got unto it before His MAJESTY knew of it, (a Preſumption *I will not define how great.*) But His MAJESTY to ſatisfie all the World of His real Deſires for Peace, was pleaſed to give way that it ſhould be ſubſcribed and ſent. The Letter is that which followeth. Whereupon I ſhall only obſerve and leave it to your Judgment, *Whether His* MAJESTY *could any longer delay, by the Example of one, to terrifie all mutinous Spirits; This Occaſion ſufficiently ſhewing the Candid Loyalty of the Army, turning that into an Expreſſion of Duty, which queſtionleſs had a far other meaning.* So on *Friday* the 9th of *Auguſt* it was ſent by a Trumpet to *Eſſex*, at *Liſtithiel*; who the next Day vouchſafed them the ſhort Anſwer *which followeth this Letter.*

Auguſt.

The enſuing Letter ſubſcribed and ſent.

My Lord,

The Letter.

" WE having obtained His MAJESTY's Leave to ſend to this
" to your Lordſhip, ſhall not repeat the many gratious Meſſa-
" ges, Endeavours and Declarations which His MAJESTY hath
" made, and have been ſo ſolemnly proteſted in the Preſence
" of God and Men, that we wonder how the moſt ſcrupulous
" can make any doubt of the Real and Royal Performance
" of them. But we muſt before this approaching Occaſion tell
" your Lordſhip that we bear Arms for this End only, to de-
" fend His MAJESTY's known Rights, the Laws of the King-
" dom, the Liberty of the Subject, the Privilege of the Par-
" liament, and the true Proteſtant Religion, againſt Popery
" or Popiſh Innovations. And this being the profeſſed Cauſe
" of your Lordſhip's taking Arms, we are confident that con-
" curring in the ſame Opinions and Pretences, we ſhall not by

August. " unnatural War weaken the main Strength of this King-
" dom, and advance the Design of our common Enemies, that
" long since have devoured us in their Hopes. My Lord,
" The exigent of the time will not suffer us to make any la-
" boured Declarations of our Intentions; but only this, that
" on the Faith of Subjects, the Honours and Reputation of
" Gentlemen and Souldiers, we will with our Lives maintain
" that which His MAJESTY shall publickly promise in Order to
" a bloodless Peace. Nor shall it be in the Power of any pri-
" vate Person whatsoever to divert this Resolution of ours,
" and the same we expect from you. And now we must take
" leave to protest, That if this our Proffer be neglected, which
" we make neither in fear of your Power, nor distrust of
" our own, but only touched with the approaching Miseries
" of our Nation; that what Calamities shall oppress Posterity,
" shall lie heavy upon the Souls and Consciences of those that
" shall decline this Overture, which we cannot hope so seasona-
" bly to make again, if this Conjuncture be let go. And therefore
" it is desired that your Lordship and six other Persons may meet
" our General to Morrow, (at such an indifferent place as you
" shall think fit) attended with as many; or if you shall find
" it any way Inconvenient to come in Person, that then your
" Lordship will appoint such or so many to meet with the like
" number from hence, that may consider of all Means possible
" to reconcile the unhappy Differences and Misunderstandings
" that have so long afflicted the Kingdom; and for the Security
" of your Lordship and those that shall come with and be employ-
" ed by your Lordship, we do engage our Faith and Honour,
" and do expect the same from your Lordship, desiring withal
" your very speedy Answer, which must be a Guide to our
" Proceedings; concluding that if this shall be refused, we shall
" hold our selves justified before God and Men, whatsoever
" shall be the Success. So we rest,

From the Army the 8th of August 1644. *Your Lordship's Humble Servants,*

Maurice	*Joseph Bamfield*	*Edw. Porter*
Brainford	*Anthony Thelwel*	*Geo. Armstrong*
Tho. Wentworth	*Jo. Owen*	*Rich. Nevil*
Percy	*Tho. Stradling*	*Tho. Pigot*
Cleveland	*Robert Howard*	*Jo. Brown*
Tho. Blagge	*Jo. Stocker*	*Ad. Scroop*

Amys

Amys Pollard	*Bar. Jenkes*	*Herbert Lundesford*	*Auguſt.*
Ja. Hamilton	*Hen. Miller*	*Barth. Pell*	
Rich. Thornehill	*Rich. Fielding*	*Hen. Shelley*	
Jo. Topping	*Tho. Weſton*	*Tho. Pawlet*	
Ja. Dundaſſe	*Paul Smith*	*Theod. Kyrton*	
Giles Strangways	*Guy Mouldſworth*	*Anthony Brocket*	
R. Smith	*Phi. Honywood*	*Druery Leigh*	
Nich. Samuel	*Tho. Culpeper*	*Arthur Slingesby*	
Lyndſey	*William Leak*	*David Skrimger*	
Northampton	*Jo. Luntler*	*Ja. Murray*	
Jacob Aſteley	*Jo. March*	*Cha. Compton*	
Richard Cave	*Cha. Fowlke*	*Ed. Nott*	
Bernard Steward	*James Carye*	*Jo. Rideck*	
Bernard Aſteley	*Geo. Goring*	*Alex. Standiſh*	
Theo. Gilby	*Ralph Hopton*	*Jo. Stewart*	
William Leighton	*Joſeph Wagſtaffe*	*Jo. Gambling*	
William Murrey	*Tho. Baſſet*	*Jo. Greenvile*	
Tho. Blackwall	*Char. Lloyd*	*Arthur Hemingham*	
Tho. Bellingham	*George Liſle*	*James Haſwell*	
Richard Page	*William St. Leger*	*Will. Maxwell*	

My Lords,

Eſſex his Anſwer.

" In the beginning of your Letter, you expreſs by what " Authority you ſend it. I having no Power by the Parliament " (who have employed me) to treat, cannot give way to it " without Breach of Truſt,

My Lords, I am,

Liſtithiel Auguſt 10. 1644.

Your Humble Servant,

ESSEX.

For his Highneſs Prince Maurice *and the Earl of* Forth.

THIS ſhort and unexpected Anſwer produced this Good, that it gave His MAJESTY and Army aſſurance that there was no other way but by Force to reduce theſe Rebels. In order to which, new Directions were ſent to Sir *Richard Greenvile* to make haſte and join with the Army; and the Lord *Hopton* with 1000 Horſe and 2000 Foot of Prince *Maurice*'s Army was ſent towards

August. towards him to assist him, in case the Rebels should attempt to hinder his Advance. About the 7th of *August* Sir *Richard Greenvile* quartered at *Grampont*, and the next Morning was attacked by some of the Rebels Horse, but he made his way good with the Slaughter of some few of them; and that Night at *Bodmin* he surprised a Party of their Horse, slew some, and took others Prisoners. The next Day he waited on His MAJESTY at *Boconnock*, and gave him an Account of his Actions and Proceedings, with a Particular of his Strength, which was really not above 1800 Foot and 600 Horse; above 100 of which were of the Queen's Troop, left behind when Her MAJESTY embarqued for *France*, under the command of Captain *Edward Brett*; who had done very good Service in that County, and very much confirmed and kept the *Cornish* Force together. This Troop was added to the Regiment of the King's Guard under the Lord *Bernard Stewart*, and Captain *Brett* made Major of that Regiment.

11th Sir *Richard Greenvile* brought his Force to *Bodmin* and himself waited on His Majesty.

Resolutions then taken to streighten the Rebels Quarters.

THAT Day being *Sunday* the 11th of August, it was resolved that Sir *Richard Greenvile* should the next Day draw from his Quarters at *Bodmin*, and endeavour to possess himself of *Lanhetherock*, the Lord *Roberts*'s House two Miles West of *Boconnock*, and a Mile beyond *Reprin* Bridge, which is over the River that runs to *Listithiel*, and thence to *Foy*, thereby the better to streigten the Rebels Quarters; which he performed without any Opposition, and likewise possessed himself of *Reprin* Bridge, and thereby made a Communication between our Quarters. And it was farther thought necessary that some Means should be used to let the Souldiers of *Essex*'s Army understand His MAJESTY's earnest Desires for Peace, and withal to make them Offers of Grace and Pardon. To which end many Papers were prepared to this effect, attested under my Hand, and scattered towards their Quarters.

12th Sir *Richard Greenvile* possesses *Lanhetherock* and *Reprin* Bridge.

12th HisMajesty's Offer of Pardon to all of *Essex*'s Army who would come in and submit.

"WHEREAS His MAJESTY hath often and earnestly endeavoured by Treaties both with those at *London* and with the General of the Rebels Army at *Listithiel*, to reconcile these unhappy Differences, and procure a settled Peace, and farther gave way that his Highness Prince *Maurice*, the Earl of *Brainford* His MAJESTY's General, and all the principal Officers of both His Armys, should offer Terms of Peace full of Honour and Safety to all those of that Army, for the prevention of the farther shedding of Blood; all which have been denied. And His MAJESTY understanding that many of His good Subjects have been seduced, and others

enforced

" enforced to take up Arms, and are now in that Army ; did *Auguſt.*
" therefore out of his Compaſſion of them, and for their Pre-
" ſervation at a Council of War held this 11th of *Auguſt* at
" *Boconnock*, Order and accordingly command me as Secretary
" of that Council to ſignifie under my Hand His MAJESTY's
" Gracious Pleaſure, that if any Officer or Souldier of that
" Army will either come over and ſerve in His MAJESTY's Ar-
" my, or ſhall deſire to return Home; every ſuch Perſon ſhall
" either be entertained according to his Quality with all Fa-
" vour, or have a Paſs freely to return home, or go whereever
" he pleaſeth.

BUT they produced no Effect; for neither His MAJESTY's nor the Officers Letters were ever communicated to that Army, and theſe were no ſooner found but they were ſuppreſſed.

Sir *Richard Greenvile* having done his part on that ſide, we were not idle on ours; but concluded that if we did not block up the River at *Foy*, to hinder the bringing in of Proviſions by Sea, and keep the Paſſes on that River or Creek, between our Quarters and that Town, to hinder the Rebels Excurſions, we might lye long enough where we were, and inſtead of ſtarving the Rebels be ſtarved our ſelves. To that purpoſe we firſt poſſeſſed a Ford and a Paſs on that Creek with good Guards; and then Sir *Jacob Aſteley* and General *Goring* went to view *Hall*, a Houſe of the Lord *Mohun*'s over againſt *Foy*, and *Pernon* Fort, a Mile below it, at the Mouth of the Haven. Theſe they found very tenable, and thereupon 200 Men were drawn out of the Army with two or three Pieces of Ordnance, and ſent thither under the command of Captain *Richard Page* of Sir *James Pennyman*'s Regiment, (ſince dervedly made Collonel of that Regiment for his ſingular Vigilance and Valour) and with him Captain *William Garraway* one of no leſs Courage than Abi-lity in his Profeſſion: Theſe two Captains made good thoſe Places, of which Captain *Page* was made Governour the 14th of *Auguſt*, and maintained them ſo well, as that they made *Foy* uſeleſs to *Eſſex*, not ſuffering any Proviſions to be brought in to him from the Sea. This no queſtion conduced exceedingly to our Advantage, (though it was long neglected;) and 'tis miraculouſly ſtrange that *Eſſex*, having the Poſſeſſion of *Foy*, did not foeſee it, and poſſeſs himſelf of thoſe Places; which if he had done, we could never have brought him and his Army into thoſe Neceſſities they after fell into.

13th The Paſs at St. *Viepe* and a Ford below it poſſeſt.

14th Forces put into *Hall* Houſe againſt *Foy* and *Pernon* Fort at the Mouth of the *Haven.*

Here *Eſſex* loſt a great Advantage.

THIS being fully ſettled, we had little to do but to expect the Event; as believing it would not be long before *Eſſex* would

be

Auguſt. be neceſſitated either to attempt on us, or to endeavour his Eſcape. But before the laſt came to paſs, we were put to ſome Variety, both of Counſels and Actions. Now in this Time of Expectation, we had leiſure to enquire after the Actions of thoſe Rebels we had left behind us, and in what Conditions His MAJESTY's Garriſons ſtood; whereof *Baſing* we left beſieged, and *Banbury* and *Dennington* Caſtles were ſince ſurrounded by the Rebels; the one by Collonel *John Fiennes* Son to the Lord *Say*, the other firſt by *Middleton* Lieutenant General of the Horſe to *Waller*, and afterwards by Collonel *Horton* Adjutant General to *Brown* the Woodmonger. But how ſtoutly the firſt had been defended now above 13 Weeks, with the ſlaughter of 700 or 800 of the Aſſaylants by the Maqueſs of *Wincheſter*, is very manifeſt. And it is no leſs evident that Collonel *Boys* the couragious Governour of *Dennington* Caſtle, did in few Days about this time deſtroy at leaſt 300 Officers and Souldiers of *Middelton's* Forces, and enforced him to leave that place as he found it in the King's Obedience; his pretence being to make haſte into the Weſt, (though he came too late to the Relief of *Eſſex.*) As for *Banbury*, that place was kept by Sir *William Compton*, Brother to the Valiant and Loyal Earl of *Northampton*, and Lieutenant Collonel *Green* Deputy Governour there. So Mr. *Fiennes* had no great Reaſon to expect it ſhould be either negligently or cowardly maintained againſt him; yet he went on with his Siege, and continued it near 3 Months from this time; but what Succeſs he had therein you ſhall hereafter hear.

Baſing ſtill beſieged.

Banbury beſieged by *Fiennes.*

Dennington. attempted by *Middleton.*

A word or two of Sir *William Waller*, and then we will return again to our *Corniſh* Actions, who after he had led his Army up and down *Buckingham* and *Berkſhire*, faced *Boſtal* Houſe with ſome Loſs; went himſelf to *London*, and there ſolicited for Recruits (for it is nothing for this great Conqueror to wear out two Armys in a Year.) But it was long before he could get a ſufficient Force to appear again like a General. And therefore his Lieutenant General *Middleton* was ſent with his Horſe into the Weſt, both to hinder our Proviſions out of *Somerſetſhire*, and to endeavour to join with *Eſſex*. Who about the 10th of this Month with a Force of near 2000 Horſe and Dragoons, came into that County, where the Commiſſioners had provided large Quantities of Proviſions ready to be conveyed to *Exceter*, and thence to the Army. But the Greatneſs of his Strength made our Horſe left about *Chard* conclude it to be unſafe to convey it that way, and therefore they

Waller returned to *London* to recruit.

Middleton. advanced into *Somerſetſhire.*

they drew towards *Bridgewater* with the Proviſions. And the 13th Sir *Francis Doddington* came to that Garriſon, leaving the Carriages at *North-Petherton*, two Miles from that Town; where that Night a Party of 500 Horſe of *Middleton*'s Force commanded by Major *Carre*, fell into thoſe Quarters; but their Body being divided by miſtake, they made not the Advantage they might have done by this Surpriſal. Upon the Allarm Sir *Francis Doddington* drew out of *Bridgewater* with a Party of Horſe, which Sir *John Berkley* ſent to convey the Proviſions under the command of Major *Killigrew*, and ſome Foot of that Garriſon, and came time enough to relieve our Men, and then ſtoutly charged the Rebels, being well aſſiſted by Sir *William Courtney*. In the Charge Sir *Francis Doddington*, being not well ſeconded by ſome of the Horſe, was in Danger to have been loſt, had he not been reſcued by Sir *William Courtney*; who at that time received a Wound in the Thigh. Major *Killigrew* was there mortally wounded and taken Priſoner, and Captain *Gage* ſlain, and ſome few Troopers. Of the Rebels there were at leaſt 30 ſlain, and many wounded. Ours had the Purſuit of them two or three Miles: Major *Carre* was then taken, and divers others Priſoners of ordinary Quality, and the Proviſions they had taken, regained. This Defeat put a ſtop to *Middleton*'s ſudden March into the Weſt, and made him to retreat to *Sherborn*; where we will leave him for the preſent, and again by the way of *Devonſhire* return to the Beleaguering of *Eſſex* at *Liſtithiel*: For at this time alſo the Rebels from *Barneſtaple* had ſtrongly beſieged *Apledore*; into which Place Prince *Maurice*, after the Revolt of *Barneſtaple* had put 40 *Corniſh* to make the River uſeleſs to that Town. To whoſe Relief the 17th of this Month Sir *John Berkley* Governour of *Exceter*, by His Majesty's Directions, ſent a ſufficient Force out of that Garriſon under the Command of Collonel *Allan Appeſley*; who upon the 20th of this Month forced them to quit the Siege, and to retire haſtily to *Barneſtaple*, thoſe in *Apledore* having during the Siege ſlain and wounded many more than 100 of thoſe Rebels.

Auguſt.

14th A Party of his Horſe defeated by Sir *Francis Doddington* near *Bridgewater*, and *Carr* who commanded it, taken.

17th *Apledore* relieved by Collonel *Allan Appeſley*.

We being now returned to *Boconnock*, can give no account of any memorable Action done either by ours or the Rebels Armys, for at leaſt eight Days together. All the Action, or rather Recreation we had, being every Day to ſee ours and their Parties piquier from their Guards, and ſometimes a Man or Horſe was ſlain. Only the 14th of this Month, His Majesty commanded the Lord *Percy* to reſign his Commiſſion of General of the Ordnance, and then conferred that Place on the Lord *Hopton*.

4th The Lord *Percy* gave up his Commiſſion as General of the Ordnance, which was given to the Lord *Hopton*.

Auguſt. 17th His Majeſty viewed the Paſſes againſt *Foy.*

ON *Saturday* the 17th of *Auguſt*, His MAJESTY attended with His Troop and the Queen's, rode to view the Paſſes on the River or Creek towards *Foy*, and from thence to *Hall* Houſe, oppoſite to that Town; where viewing it from a fair Walk, on which one of our Pieces was planted, they made divers Shot at him from the other ſide, being a little above half Muſquet Shot over, one of which ſlew a poor Fiſherman looking over a Ditch at the end of the Walk. From thence His MAJESTY rode round about the Head of another Creek to *Pernon Fort*, where he viewed the Entrance and Mouth of the Haven and the Town. The Rebels on the other ſide perceiving unuſual Numbers there, drew a Party of Muſquetiers to the Water ſide, and were not ſparing of their Shot, but did not any hurt. That Evening His MAJESTY came back to *Boconnock*, and the next Day adviſed with His Council what was now to be done, for as yet we ſaw little Fruit of the Poſture we were in, and leſs Prejudice done to the Rebels; therefore it was unanimouſly concluded that we ſhould draw all our Horſe and Foot out of our Quarters, and Sir *Richard Greenvile* ſhould do the like from *Lanhetherock*, and then march nearer to the Rebels on every ſide; and either engage them to fight, or place our Quarters ſo near theirs, as to keep them to greater Duties, or to take other Opportunities when we ſhould ſee the Place on which they lay. This could not be put in Execution until *Wedneſday* the 21ſt; on which Day all our Horſe were timely on the Heath, without our Quarters; out of which our Foot were inſtantly drawn, and all marched in Battalia thence to the South ſide of the Lord *Mohun*'s Warren. Sir *Richard Greenvile* moved at the ſame time from *Lanhetherock*. Our Parties of Horſe quickly got the Hill on the Heath without *Boconnock* Park, and our Foot as ſoon got Poſſeſſion of the oppoſite high Grounds which were incloſed, the Rebels firing ſome Houſes at the Foot of thoſe Incloſures near their own Quarters.

18th Reſolved to draw nearer the Rebels Quarters.

21ſt Our Armys poſſeſſed Ground very near the Rebels.

THESE Places being thus poſſeſſed, we then had leiſure to ſurvey the manner of their Quarters, and (ſeeing they would not draw out) to reſolve where to make our own. In the interim Sir *Richard Greenvile* without any great Oppoſition poſſeſſed himſelf of *Leſterman* Caſtle, which ſtood very conveniently for the Rebels, not a Mile above *Liſtithiel* on a riſing Ground near the River; thoſe who had the Cuſtody of it quitting it, and a Paſs over the River below it. All this while the Rebels did very little by way of Oppoſition, and were certainly ſurpriſed: but in the Afternoon they began to appear, and ſent ſtrong Parties both of Horſe and Foot to oppoſe

Sir *Richard Greenvile* then took *Leſterman* Caſtle and the Ford below it.

Sir *Richard Greenvile*'s farther Advance, and to regain the Caſtle and Paſs. Many Skirmiſhes there were between ours and them, they regaining ſome Fields that we had taken, and had certainly done more, had they not been ſtopt by two gallant Charges made by two ſmall Bodies of our Horſe. The firſt commanded by Major *James Smith*, who routed a Party of their Horſe, and charged their Foot up to a Hedge lined with Muſquetiers, who all gave fire upon him; whence notwithſtanding he came off in good Order, and kept his Ground without Loſs, himſelf being ſhot in the Arm. The other Charge was made by Sir *Robert Walſh* upon their Foot, and ſome Execution done upon them; yet I believe the number ſlain that Day was not forty Perſons of both Armys. *Auguſt.*

The Gallant Charge of Major *Smith.*

And of Sir *Robert Walſh.*

TOWARDS the Evening we drew our Army into Quarters; Prince *Maurice* being ordered with his Army to poſſeſs himſelf of thoſe high encloſed Grounds we got in the Morning, (the lower part of which were within leſs than Muſquet Shot of the Rebels;) the King's Army in the mean time drawing into the Encloſures on the South ſide of *Boconnock* Park, full Eaſt from Prince *Maurice*'s, the Heath parting them, being there not half a Mile over. Ours were defended with a ſtrong Ditch and Rampair of Earth towards the Heath, at the fartheſt Extent of which, towards the Rebels Quarters, was a Beacon Hill; upon which we the next Night raiſed a ſquare Work, and therein had a Battery of ſome Pieces which ſhot into their Quarters, they returning us daily twenty Shot for one of ours, which did us little hurt. But if the Rebels had but made a Work, or kept the Beacon Hill, *which was eaſie for them to have done for at leaſt ten Days before*, we could not have held the Ground we had got.

Here *Eſſex* loſt another Advantage in not keeping the Beacon Hill.

IN this poſition we had leiſure to ſurvey the manner of the Rebels Quarters, and how they diſpoſed their Forces; the moſt of their Foot being placed on two riſing Grounds, the one oppoſite to our new Fort, and the other to Prince *Maurice*'s Quarter, and within little more than Muſquet Shot from either. All or the greateſt part of their Horſe were quartered beyond *Liſtithiel* to the Weſt, and had Forrage in the Fields between that and St. *Blaſe*, and towards *Foy*. This manner of their lying raiſed an Opinion that we might have ſome great Advantage by attempting ſome of their Foot Quarters; of which that next to Prince *Maurice* was thought the eaſieſt to be gained. Beſides, His MAJESTY had good Reaſon to endeavour to bring it to a ſpeedy Iſſue; for his Army (eſpecially the *Corniſh*) was much diminiſhed, Proviſions grew ſhort, and *Middleton* was then coming on our Backs, to the Relief of *Eſ-*

23d Neceſſity inforced ſome ſpeedy Attempt upon the Rebels.

August. 23d. *Wherefore* His MAJESTY at a Council of War in the Field, of the Principal Officers of both Armys, resolved that Prince *Maurice*'s Army with Sir *Richard Greenvile*'s Force, should early on *Saturday* the 24th of *August* fall on that Quarter, and the King's Army be ready to second them if there should be occasion. These Resolutions being positive, His MAJESTY returned to His Quarters; rising very early the next Morning to observe the Event. When He came upon the usual Place of Meeting, which was between our two Quarters, He found the Execution deferred, and some Reasons given for it. And by way of Diversion a Proposition was then made, that General *Goring* with most of the Horse and 1500 Musquetiers should pass the River and lye about St. *Blase*, and towards the West, thereby to cut off all Provisions, and so to distress the Rebels. This was offered as more safe and likely to produce a speedy Effect. His MAJESTY well approved of this Design; *yet because He thought* the former not to be so difficult as was conceived, He therefore respited the last, and commanded the first to be again attempted, early the next Morning being *Sunday*. But it was so long before all things could be got in readiness, as that the Rebels (either by Observation of our Motions, or by Intelligence) knew what we intended, and so they drew a greater Force into that Quarter, and made themselves ready to receive us. Upon which it was concluded safest not to fall on, but actively to pursue the other Design: And that we might lose no time, General *Goring* with all (but 500 Horse for the Guards,) and Sir *Thomas Basset* with 1500 Foot, were sent immediately to the West beyond the Rebels, towards St. *Blase*; where they stayed to good Purpose, until the Rebels attempted their Escape. And now if it shall be asked whether it was well or ill done, not to have pursued the first Design of falling on this Quarter, the Answer will be easie; because we afterwards got the Rebels Army into our Power without Blood or Hazard, which this way we could not have done: Though (on the contrary) if our Affairs had otherwise succeeded, we should have *been blamed* for want of taking this Opportunity, and actively falling on the Rebels when they least suspected our Intentions.

Resolutions taken that P. *Maurice*'s Army should fall on the Rebels Quarters near his.

24th Another Design proposed, to send the Horse and some Foot beyond the Rebels.

The first Design resumed, which failing the other was put in execution.

HERE I cannot omit this Particular, that on *Sunday* when the Rebels Quarters should have been attempted, there was a Fellow employed from a Person of Eminency among us to blow up the Rebels Ammunition, who did his part, and put his lighted Match tyed to a Bag of *Wildfire* into a Cart of their Powder, which burnt within half an Inch of taking fire, when some

A Design to blow up the Rebels Powder.

ſome coming thither for Ammunition diſcovered it; and ſolemn Thanks were given for the Deliverance, though afterwards the Benefit of this Preſervation fell to us, we having this Powder (which ſhould have been ſo deſtroyed) delivered for our Uſe. *Auguſt.*

GENERAL *Goring* and Sir *Thomas Baſſet* being ſent on this Deſign, really made good the greateſt part of this Undertaking; poſſeſſing themſelves of S. *Auſtil*, and the Weſterly part of St. *Blaſe*; which was not above four Miles beyond *Liſtithiel*, and reduced their Horſe to that only Extent of Earth, between the River that fell in at *Foy*, and that at St. *Blaſe*, not above five Miles in length, and two in breadth; on which they having fed for the moſt part ſince they came to *Liſtithiel*, it could not now ſupply them any longer. Beſides, General *Goring* had made himſelf Maſter of the *Parre* near St. *Blaſe*; whereby he took from them their chief Place of Landing any Proviſions from Sea; which queſtionleſs brought the Rebels into a real Sence of their ill Condition, and to blame thoſe Councils that had brought them to that Streight. For now they could live no longer there, nor have any Proviſions by Sea; beſides they were hopeleſs of any Addition of Force, that little Defeat given to *Middleton*'s Party near *Bridgwater*, having retarded his March ſo long, as that by the 29th of this Month, he was got no farther than *Tiverton*. To oppoſe whom, Sir *Francis Doddington* (who was entred the North of *Devon*) and Sir *John Berkeley* with what Force he could make at *Exceter*, intended to join, and ſtop his farther Advance. This Condition neceſſitated *Eſſex* to take thoſe Reſolutions which he thought moſt for the Safety of his Army, and particularly of his Horſe; imagining that when they were eſcaped, he might well enough retire to *Foy*, and there embarque his Foot. But had he either known our preſent Condition, or made uſe of what he could not but know, that our Horſe were engaged behind him; he might have either brought us to fight without our Horſe, or made his Retreat good over the Heath without much Oppoſition. And then if he had been but four Hours March before us, and entred the encloſing Country, it had not been in our Power to have done him any other Miſchief than at moſt to compel him to leave his Cannon; the ſingle gaining of which had been but a poor Victory to His MAJESTY after ſo long and tedious an Expectation. But the Event made it evident that God did diſpoſe of the Rebels Actions more to our Advantage, than we could poſſibly have deſigned them: For had they proſecuted their Intentions

26th
General *Goring* reduceth the Rebels to Streights.

Middleton got into *Devonſhire*.

28th
Eſſex being brought to great Neceſſity for want of Victuals prepares for his Eſcape.

any

August. any other way, and been more confident of their Strength, and set but a true Esteem on ours, our Victory had not been so easie.

FIVE Days were now past before we had any Assurance that this dividing of our Force would produce any good Effect; besides the Season of the Year, and illness of the Weather in that narrow Country, made us impatient, and wearied our Expectations. At length at seven of the Clock in the Evening upon *Friday* the 30th of *August*, two Foot Souldiers of the Rebels Army (whereof one was a *French* Man) came over from them, and assured us, that they intended that Night to break through us with their Horse, having drawn them all on this side of the River and Town of *Listithiel*; and that they intended to march with their Foot to *Foy*, there to embarque. This Intelligence was very particular, and being confirmed from other Parts, it was believed. Whereupon His MAJESTY gave instant Order for both Armys to stand to their Arms all Night, and if their Horse attempted an Escape, to fall on them from their Quarters, the Passage between both being little above a Musquet Shot over. So that they must needs come into the Power of one of them, and chiefly under the Command of a little Cottage fortifyed with a strong Ditch, which stood between our Quarters, where we had placed fifty Musquetiers. Besides, Advertisement hereof was sent to General *Goring*, to our Guards on the Passes, and to the Foot against *Foy*; and likewise to Sir *Edward Waldgrave*, who lay with his Regiment near *Saltash*, with Order to break down the Bridges, to hinder their Passage that way, but this last came not timely enough. The Affairs of the Army being thus settled, every one was watchful in his Charge, and the Night grew dark and misty. About three in the Morning, the Rebels Horse drew out of their Quarters, and passed between ours in great Fear and Disorder; though the Night hindered us from doing any Execution upon them. 'Tis true some Pieces were shot from the King's Quarters, but did them little Hurt, and our Men in the Cottage (I know not why) let them pass within Pistol Shot, and never gave Fire. The manner of their Retreat that Day to *Saltash*, we shall refer to this Relation of the Earl of *Cleaveland*, and the Officers of his Brigade, who had the Horse Guards that Night.

30th
The first certain Notice brought of the Rebels Intentions.

In order whereunto Provision was made

31st
The manner of the Escape of the Rebels Horse.

" UPON *Saturday* being the last of *August*, the Rebels about
" 3 in the Morning (it being very dark) with their main Bo-
" dy of Horse stole away betwixt both Armys of the King's
" commanded by the Earl of *Brainford* and Prince *Maurice*.

" The

" The whole Body of the Horſe being then abſent, except *August.*
" 250 of my Lord of *Cleaveland*'s Brigade; who being ſo ex-
" traordinarily over numbered, were able to do little or no
" hurt to the Rebels, other than the taking of a Lieutenant
" of Major *Manwaring* in Collonel *Harvie*'s Regiment, with
" ſome few other Troopers, till 'twas Day Light: When
" we diſcovered the Rebels Body of Horſe marching over the
" Heath paſt our Armys Reach of Foot; when immediately
" we were commanded with our 250 Horſe to advance after
" them, with command to obſerve their March, and not
" to engage our ſelves. We had not marched half a Mile, but
" under the falling of a Hill, not far before us, we diſcovered
" two ſmall Bodies of Horſe, which at firſt we apprehended
" to be the Rebels, but preſently by our Scouts found them to
" be ſome of Sir *Thomas Aſton*'s Horſe, about 100; who ha-
" ving received the Allarm, were newly come up from their
" Quarters. Theſe being before us, followed the Rebels till
" they came to the entring of a Lane, where they halted for
" us, having ſent a commanded Party of 20 Horſe into the
" Lane after the Rebels; when immediately, came up to us
" 150 more of the County Horſe of *Cornwal*, being part of
" the Horſe commanded by Sir *Richard Greenvile*, and then
" under the Conduct of Captain *Mohun*. Theſe Horſe being
" come together (being in all not above 500,) inſtantly drew
" out a commanded Party of 60 Horſe for our Forlorn, com-
" manded by Major *Dundas*, Major to my Lord of *Cleaveland*;
" who being ready to advance, the commanded Party of
" Sir *Thomas Aſton* brought us Intelligence of the way the Re-
" bels took, and of the Diſtance they were before us, with
" ſome Priſoners they had taken. When ſuddenly the Party
" advanced, and our Body cloſe at the Heels of them through
" that Lane; where, as we marched, we met ſome few more
" Priſoners brought in by Sir *Thomas Aſton*'s Men, and a Trum-
" peter of Sir *Robert Pye*'s, and found two or three of the Rebels
" killed by them in the Lane. We were no ſooner through
" the Lane, and had recovered a Hill, but the Rebels main Bo-
" dy being about 2000, (as we did judge them) ſhewed them-
" ſelves about a Mile before us, upon *Caryton* Down; betwixt
" whom and us there was a narrow Lane, into which our
" Forlorn was entred and halted by command, till we perceiv-
" ed the Rebels draw off and marching away. Then they were
" commanded to advance, and we followed; and with what
" wary Expedition we could, recovered *Caryton* Hill; when in
" the Bottom we diſcovered four ſmall Bodies that brought

" up

August. " up the Rear, the Enemy ready to enter the Lane going into " St. *Ives*; which Major *Dundas* with his Party by command " did endeavour to engage, (we having drawn up the rest of " the Horse into three Bodies) commanded by Sir *Thomas* " *Aston* in the Van, by my Lord of *Cleaveland* in the Battail, " and Lieutenant Collonel *Stewart* in the Reserve) but could " not charge them before they recovered the Lane. Then " Captain *Abercromey* with a full Troop of Dragoons was com- " manded by Sir *William Balfore*, the General of their Horse, " into the Rear; when not long after, Major *Dundas* was shot " in the Shoulder by a Dragoon, but his Arms saved him then; " notwithstanding he still followed them till unfortunately he " was shot by another of them in the Thigh; who being too " far advanced before his Party, he being fallen from his Horse " was immediately snatched up by the Rebels, and carried " away by them, upon which the Party retreated. Upon Ad- " vertisement whereof, immediately near 40 Horse of my " Lord of *Cleaveland*'s Brigade, and 16 of the County Horse " of *Cornwall* were sent out in two Partys, under the Command " of Lieutenant Collonel *Leak*, Lieutenant Collonel to Col- " lonel *Ford*, and Major *March* Major to Collonel *Thornhill*, " both of my Lord *Cleaveland*'s Brigade, to disengage our " Forlorn, whom (their Commander being taken) we found " retreated out of the Rebels Danger; yet they being desirous " to recover (if it were possible) Major *Dundas*, advanced with " their new Parties only after the Rebels to a Bridge by Col- " lonel *Corryton*'s House, which was pulled up by them. Where " they being in a manner at a Nonplus, thought of returning; " when some of the Country comes to them, and gives them " Notice of another Bridge, half a Mile from that Place, " over which they might pass, and attend the Enemy. When " instantly they advanced and followed them to *Pilliton*, where " they discovered on the Top of a Hill before them, a Body " of 100 Horse; which presently they found to be some of " the King's, of Collonel *Bennet*'s Brigade, and of Collonel " *Lyndsey*'s Regiment, who having received the Allarm in " their Quarters thereabouts, were there drawn up upon that " Hill. They discovered the Rebels again in the Bottom, " the Horse marching down the Lane, and the Dragoons into " the Closes to secure their March; when immediately Lieu- " tenant Collonel *Leake*, and Major *Marsh* with their Parties, " both not exceeding 50 Horse and 20 Musquetiers, which " accidentally met with them, advanced after them, and " charged both their Horse and Dragoons in the Lane and

" Close,

" Cloſe, and after a little Diſpute routed them. And the Exe- *Auguſt.*
" cution was followed by Lieutenant Collonel *Leake* within
" leſs than a Mile of *Saltaſh*, and took many Priſoners, and
" killed many of them, and recovered Major *Dundas* again.
" Whilſt Major *Marſh* with ſome of thoſe Horſe followed
" down another Lane after Captain *Abercromy*, and about
" twenty Dragoons and ſome few Troopers, to a little Vil-
" lage called *Lee*; where the Captain with 16 of his Dragoons
" took a Houſe and defended it, until ſome of the Foot of
" the King's Life Guard, hearing of the Rout, commanded
" by a Lieutenant, ſallied out of a Caſtle not far from *Saltaſh*,
" and came down to our Aſſiſtance; who with the help of
" ſome of the Country Foot forced the Doors, where Cap-
" tain *Abercromy* and 16 Men with him were taken. After
" which as he was leading away to the Caſtle, we met with
" Sir *Edward Waldgrave* and ſome other of his Officers, who
" as we ſince underſtand, have 40 of them Priſoners. The
" Number of the Priſoners we took, we cannot certainly in-
" form you of, for ſome were delivered to the Foot of the
" Caſtle and carried thither; 16 that were taken in the Houſe
" with the Captain and as many more, we believe delivered
" to other Souldiers of the Caſtle, by thoſe Gentlemen that
" commanded the Parties that charged them. We have here
" with us Captain *Abercromy* and 20 common Souldiers, be-
" ſides the Country People who chearfully came in to us, have
" many in their Cuſtody. We are confident we took above
" 100 Horſe. The Night coming on we retreated, and quar-
" tered in the Field at *Pilliton*, four Miles from *Saltaſh*. The
" next Day being *Sunday* betimes in the Morning, having In-
" telligence the Rebels ferryed over at *Saltaſh*, we marched
" over *Newbridge*; but finding that the County Horſe and Foot
" would not go out of their County, we retreated over the
" Bridge again, and quartered near it all Night, and received
" Orders that Night to attend my Lord General the next Mor-
" ning, which we did accordingly.

Cleveland, Thomas Culpeper,
William Leake, Jo. Marſh.

THE next Morning by break of Day His MAJESTY had certain Notice from my Lord General of the Eſcape of their Horſe, that they were ſtill on the Heath, within view, and probably they might draw down behind the Woods, and fall on His MAJESTY in His Quarters. (Which queſtionleſs, if they had not been poſſeſſed with too great Apprehenſion they might

August. easily have done.) His MAJESTY therefore with His Regiment of Guards (who were by that time come from their Quarters at *Lanreath*) went presently unto the Heath, and thence sent the Earl of *Cleaveland*'s Brigade after them; and dispatched two Gentlemen of his Troop to *Exceter* to advertise Sir *John Berkley* that he might draw all his Force together to oppose them. Orders were likewise sent to Sir *Richard Greenvile* to march nearer to *Listithiel*, and to General *Goring* to draw towards us with speed.

31st. Then His MAJESTY marched to our new Fort at the extent of His Quarters, where He could perceive their Foot drawn through the Town of *Listithiel* into some high Fields towards *Foy*. Here His MAJESTY stayed until His Army could be drawn out of their Quarters and ready to march; a Party being sent down to possess the Bridge of *Listithiel*, which the Rebels were breaking: but they were quickly forced thence, making little Opposition. As soon as we had gotten Possession of that Town (which the Rebels had sufficienly plundered, and that Morning blown up the Church) Sir *Richard Greenvile* came with his *Cornish* into the Fields about it. The Rebels in the interim in good Order marched away towards *Foy*, having at the Creek (that comes up from thence about half a Mile on their left Hand) and in the Fields where they drew up beyond that Town left two Demi-Culverin being excellent Pieces, and a little farther two other Pieces and some Ammunition. The Rebels were no sooner on their March, but His MAJESTY attended with His own and the Queen's Troop passed through *Listithiel*, and so through Enclosures, to give way for the Army. The *Cornish* Foot had the Van, who were quickly in the Rear of the Rebels Army, and from Hedge to Hedge forced them to a hasty Retreat; at length the Rebels having got some Advantage of the height of Ground and Enclosures, made a stand, and with some few Horse forced our *Cornish* to a very hasty and unhandsome Retreat; to quit the Fields they had got, and retire to a Body of our Foot, commanded by Lieutenant Collonel *Leighton*; who made good his Ground, and rallyed them again. Upon this His MAJESTY sent presently Serjeant Major *Edward Brett* with the Queen's Troop to their Assistance, who in His MAJESTY's view forced the Rebels to retire, regained the Ground, and made his way through an Inclosure lined with Musquetiers, and did good Execution upon the Rebels; but being not seconded by the Foot, he returned in good order, having lost in this Charge but four of his Troop, and received a slight Shot in his Arm. His MAJESTY presently knighted him, this Action well deserving that Honour. If we had

The Rebels Foot march out of *Listithiel* towards *Foy*.

The Armys pursue them.

Four Piece of Ordnance relinquisht by the Rebels.

The *Cornish* Foot having the Van were repulsed.

13th The Gallant charge of Major *Brett*, then knighted.

had had but 500 Horſe at that time with the Foot, I believe we had utterly defeated them; and truly had the Rebels but that number there, we had been put to Streights, and our Victory would have been more difficult. This happened about Midday, and we were for ſome few Hours after content with what we had got, expecting the coming of our Horſe, and that Sir *Thomas Baſſet* with his Foot would fall on them from St. *Blaſe*, on their Flank; which he accordingly did about two in the Afternoon. About which time all our Body of Foot was come up, and the Van led by Collonel *Appleyard*, and Lieutenant Collonel *Leighton* advanced and charged the Rebels. The Lord *Bernard* with his Troops ſeconded them; for three of their Troops (being all the Horſe they had) charged our Foot; but upon the Lord *Bernard*'s Approach they retired, and our Foot gained much Ground. About four in the Afternoon General *Goring* came to His MAJESTY, and upon the place received His MAJESTY's Orders to march Weſtward in purſuit of the Rebels Horſe. In which time our Foot were ſo notably charged by the Rebels, *that they gained two Cloſes from us*; but after an Hour's hot Diſpute (we being countenanced by the Earl of *Northampton*'s Horſe, who was then newly come up) *we not only regained what we had loſt, but forced them to retire* to the Ruins of an old Caſtle, whither we could not purſue them, the Night coming on during this Charge. While this was doing, one Regiment of the Rebels (being Collonel *Warr*'s) marched towards the Creek, either reſolving to have fallen on our Flank, or ſecured their own Paſſage. But finding their main Body retreated, and ſome of our Foot making towards them, they at firſt made a ſtand, but preſently after began to ſtagger, and in great Diſorder to quit that Field, and run back with their Cannon and Colours towards their main Body. So that had not the Night come on, we had undoubtedly deſtroy'd that Regiment, and poſſibly their Army; yet in all the Actions of this Day, I believe there were not 200 of both Armys either ſlain or taken Priſoners.

Auguſt.

Want of Horſe a great Defect then in either Army.

In this charge the Rebels loſt much Ground.

General *Goring* and the Horſe come up, and ſent after the Rebels.

The Rebels retreat to Caſtle *Dore*.

31ſt

Collonel *Warr*'s Regiment in great diſorder.

THE Night approaching, His MAJESTY quartered in the Fields with His Army, yet ſo near as one of the Rebels Cannon Shot fell within twenty Yards of him, as he was at Supper.

THE next Morning being *Sunday* the firſt of *September*, His MAJESTY held a Council with the Principal Officers of His Army; and upon full debate, it was reſolved, that it was the ſafeſt Courſe not to attempt the Rebels that Day, but to re-

Septem.

1ſt

Septem. fresh the Souldiers, to make Avenues through the Hedges, and to prepare all things for an Attempt the next Day. With this Resolution each Commander returned to his Charge; His MAJESTY in the interim desirous to reduce His Subjects to their due Obedience without farther Effusion of Blood, caused a Proclamation to be prepared, offering Pardon to all those of that Army that would come in, submit, and lay down their Arms. But before the same was digested, *Boteler* Lieutenant Collonel to *Essex*, lately taken at *Baconnock* and exchanged for Sir *John Digby*, came over from *Essex* to desire a Parley; who being reduced to these Streights, (of having the Ocean but a Mile behind him, our Army in his Rear, Sir *Thomas Bassett* on his Flank, and the Creek running to *Foy* on his left Hand) began too late to be solicitous of the Safety of his Army, though he principally intended his own. For that Morning from *Foy* he embarqued himself for *Plymouth*, with the Lord *Roberts*, Sir *John Merricke*, and others his particular Favourites, hardly escaping a Surprisal by our Force at *Pernon* Fort, at the Mouth of that Haven, leaving his Army and the Conditions to be made for them to Serjeant Major General *Skippon*. The Parley was accepted, and a Cessation concluded, Hostages being interchangeably delivered; on which the Rebels sent these ensuing Propositions, which were rejected.

Resolutions taken not to attempt the Rebels that Day, but prepare against the next.

Essex sends Col. *Boteler* to desire a Parley.

A Parley being granted, *Essex* retired to *Foy*.

From *Foy* *Essex* hardly escapes to *Plymouth*.

Propositions of the Chief Officers now in the Army of his Excellency the Earl of Essex.

The Rebels Propositions rejected.

" THAT *Philip Skippon* Major General, now Commander in " chief of the Army, with Major General *Whichcote*, with all " Collonels, Lieutenant Collonels, Serjeant Majors, Captains, " and all other Officers and Souldiers, with Ministers, Doctors " of Physick, Apothecaries, and all others depending upon the " said Army, as well those within the Garrison of *Foy*, as those " more immediately under the Command of his Excellency the " Earl of *Essex*, both Horse and Foot, may march with all " their Cannon, Artillery, Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, " their Colours displayed, Bullet in Mouth, Match fired, with " a safe Conduct to *Plymouth*, and thence with their Conve- " niency to *London* or elsewhere.

" THAT all Gentlemen or others that are now in the Ar- " my, and in the Garrison of *Foy* aforesaid, may have the like " Liberty with their Horses, Arms, and Baggage, either to

" march

" march with the Army, and thoſe of *Foy* to *Plymouth*, or elſe Septem.
" to their own Habitations, and enjoy their Eſtates without
" plundering, and have ſafe Protection accordingly.

" THAT none of the King's Armys, Souldiers or others, do
" plunder, moleſt or trouble any of the Army, and the Gar-
" riſon of *Foy*, and thoſe Gentlemen attending upon the Army
" during the March to *Plymouth*.

" THAT all ſick and wounded Officers and Souldiers, and others
" who are either in the Army or Garriſon of *Foy*, which by
" reaſon of their Indiſpoſition and Weakneſs cannot march with
" the Army, may have Liberty with their Baggage to tranſ-
" port themſelves for *Plymouth*, and that Shipping may be pro-
" vided with the firſt Opportunity for that purpoſe, with a ſafe
" Conduct, for which Hoſtages ſhall be given.

" THAT the ſaid Army, Garriſon of *Foy*, and the Gentlemen
" and others aboveſaid, may have 48 Hours time after the An-
" ſwer hereof, to ſend a Meſſenger with a Drum or Trumpet
" to his Excellency the Earl of *Eſſex*, and a ſafe Conduct for
" that purpoſe.

" THAT during the time of the Ceſſation, no Officer or Soul-
" dier, do diſcourſe with, or enter into the Quarters of each
" other; excepting ſuch as are agreed upon by the Commiſ-
" ſioners of each ſide.

" THAT after the forty eight Hours paſt, having recei-
" ved his Excellency's Approbation of the Articles agreed
" on, we deſire twenty four Hours Liberty to prepare for our
" March.

" THAT there may be ſix Days allowed for our March to
" *Plymouth*, after the Day we begin to march.

" THAT all Teams for Carriage with the Carters which
" have been preſſed for this Service, may have Liberty to
" go Home with their Horſe and Harneſs, and have a ſafe
" Conduct.

AND Prince *Maurice*, the Earl of *Brainford*, and the Lord *Digby*, were by His MAJESTY employed to treat with the Rebels; who appointed Collonel *Berkley* a *Scot*, *Chriſtopher Whichcote* a City Collonel, and Lieutenant Collonel *Botelar*. After a long Debate, and high Demands, the Concluſion brought forth the enſuing Articles.

" *Articles*

Septem.

Articles of Agreement made the first of September 1644. *between his Highness Prince* Maurice, *and his Excellency the Earl of* Brainford *and* Forth, *Generals of His* MAJESTY'S *Armys on the one part; and* Philip Skippon *Serjeant Major General of the Army, and* Christopher Whichcote *Serjeant Major General of the* London *Brigade, and the rest of the Officers of the Army under the Command of the Earl of* Essex, *now quartered on the West Side of the River of* Foy, *on the other Part.*

1. "It is agreed, that all the Officers and Souldiers as well of "Horse and Foot, under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, "being at the time of the Conclusion of this Treaty on the "West Side of the River of *Foy*, shall to Morrow being the "second of *September* by eleven of the Clock in the Morning, "deliver up near the old Castle in their own Quarters, all "their Cannon and Train of Artillery, with all Carriages, "Necessaries and Materials thereunto belonging; and likewise "all the Arms offensive and defensive, both of Horse and Foot; "and all Powder, Bullet, Match and Ammunition what-"soever, unto such Officers as the General of His MAJESTY'S "Artillery shall appoint to receive the same; except only the "Swords and Pistols of all Officers above the Degree of Cor-"porals, who are by this Agreement to wear and carry the "same away.

2. "*Secondly*, it is agreed that immediately after the Dilivery "up of the said Artillery, Arms and Ammunition, *&c.* That "all Officers and Souldiers both of Horse and Foot of the "said Army, shall march out of their Quarters to *Listi-*"*thiel*, with their Colours both of Horse and Foot, Trumpets "and Drums: And that all Officers of Foot above the Degree "of Serjeants, shall take with them such Horses and Servants "as properly belong unto themselves; as also all reformed "Officers their Horses and Arms, not exceeding the Number "of fifty: And also to take with them all the Bag and Bag-"gage, and Waggons, with their Teams of Horses properly "belonging to the said Officers.

3. "*Thirdly*, It is agreed, that they shall have a safe Convoy "of 100 Horse from their Quarters to *Listithiel*, and thence

"in

" in their March the neareſt convenient Way to *Pool* and *Ware-* *Septem.*
" *ham*; provided that they ſecure the ſaid Convoy's return to
" *Bridgewater*, or His MAJESTY's Army, and that in their March
" they touch not at any Garriſon.

" *Fourthly*, It is agreed that in caſe they ſhall march from 4.
" *Pool* to any other Place by Land, that neither they nor any
" of them ſhall bear Arms, more than is allowed in this Agree-
" ment, nor do any hoſtile Act until they come to *Southampton*
" or *Portſmouth*.

" *Fifthly*, It is agreed that all the Sick and Wounded 5.
" Officers and Souldiers of that Army (who are not able to
" march) ſhall be left at *Foy*, and there ſecured from any
" Violence to their Perſons or Goods, and care taken of them
" until ſuch time as they can be conveniently tranſported to
" *Plymouth*.

" *Sixthly*, It is agreed that all the Officers and Souldiers 6.
" of that Army, for the better Convenience of their March,
" ſhall be permitted to receive all ſuch Moneys, Proviſions of
" Victuals, and other Accommodations as they ſhall be able
" to procure from *Plymouth*; to which end they ſhall have a
" Paſs granted for any Perſons, not exceeding the Number of
" Twelve, whom they ſhall ſend for the ſame.

" *Seventhly*, It is agreed that there be no inviting of any 7.
" Souldiers, but that ſuch as will voluntarily come to His
" MAJESTY's Service ſhall not be hindered.

" *Laſtly*, The Subſcribers on both Sides do agree and engage 8.
" their Faiths and Honours, that all the above written Articles
" ſhall be kept inviolate.

Maurice, Brainford,
Ph. Skippon, Chriſtopher Whichcote.

UPON which on *Munday* Morning the ſecond of *September* 2d
they drew into a Body, and delivered up their Arms, Can- All the Re-
non, Powder, Bullet, Match, and all neceſſaries belonging to a bels Arms, Artillery
great and well furniſhed Train; being about 36 Piece of and Ammu-
Cannon, with thoſe taken the *Saturday* before; 100 Barrels of nition deli-
Powder, with Bullet and Match proportionable, and above vered.
5000 Arms (a great and glorious Victory being gotten without
Blood.) The Rebels as ſoon as they had lain down their Arms,
marched away, ſome of them being plundered by our Souldiers,
the Occaſion being given by carring away Arms againſt the
Artciles, (eſpecially the *Corniſh* both Men and Women had
no Compaſſion on them) though His MAJESTY and all the
chief

Septem. chief Officers of the Army used their utmost endeavours to prevent it, and severely punished the Actors on the Place. They were near 6000 Foot very well armed and provided; *So that it is most strange how so brave a Body of Men and so well provided, could suffer themselves to be brought to this Condition.* As they marched through *Lisstithiel*, the Inhabitants forced them to restore what they had robbed from that Place and the Country. From thence they drew up into a Body on the Heath; and although it was towards the Evening, they marched away, never thinking themselves secure till they were got out of this County of *Cornwall.*

Endeavours used to prevent plundering the Rebels.

THIS disarmed Multitude was conveyed according to the Articles to *Pool* and *Southampton*, by a Party of Horse commanded by Lieutenant Collonel *Adrian Scroope*, to whom (on his Departure from them) Major General *Skippon* gave a large Testimonial of his Civility and Care. Yet in their March (which was very hasty, and for want of Provisions) many of them perished, they losing daily above 300 Men; so that at *Pool* they were reduced to the Number of 1000, and those in no very good Condition; most of their Officers by that time had left their Charges and were gone to *London.* This was the Effect of our *Cornish* Victory, which gave a happy Period to our long Expectations, the Success being equal to our Desires, and far above our Hopes. And although at a Distance, it was conceived we might have made greater Advantages, and have had the Officers and Souldiers Prisoners, as well as their Arms; yet if such had but known or been in our Condition, they would have been of another Opinion, and highly valued our Success, and the *dexterous* managing *of this Action.*

3d The great Distress of the Rebels in their March.

THAT Evening His MAJESTY returned unto His Quarters at *Boconnock*, and stayed there the next Day to refresh His Army (in which time about 100 of the Rebels Foot came in and were entertained in the Army) yet from the Field on *Munday*, Sir *Richard Greenvile* with the *Cornish* Foot and Horse, was sent towards *Plymouth* to joyn with General *Goring.* By the way he possessed himself of *Saltash*, which the Rebels quitted, leaving therein 11 Piece of Odnance, with some Arms, and Ammunition. This probably gave some stop to his speedy joyning with General *Goring*, and the Rebels more easie Retreat. For *Essex* having stayed two Days at *Plymouth*, on *Tuesday* the third of *September* imbarqued for *Southampton*, and that Day his Horse commanded in chief by Sir *William Balfore*, began their March from *Buckland* near *Plymouth*, taking some

2d Sir *Richard Greenvile* with the *Cornish* Horse and Foot, sent to joyn with General *Goring.*

By the way he possesseth *Saltash.*

ſome Foot from thence and *Saltaſh*, to make good their Retreat. This cauſed General *Goring* to forbear fighting with them, his Foot being not then come up; yet upon *Wedneſday* the 4th of *September*, he ſent a commanded Party of Horſe to fall on their Rear, who did ſome Execution on them two or three Miles, taking ſome Priſoners. At length by the unfortunate Loſs of a moſt hopeful gallant Gentleman, Captain *Samuel Wenman*, and ſome diſorder in purſuing them, ours were forced to retire and quit their Priſoners. That Night ours quartered at *Oakehampon*, and they got to *Crediton*. In the interim, Sir *John Berkley* was with a good Force from *Exceter* advanced as far as *Chayford*, to intercept their Paſſage, but they having Notice of his being there, avoided him; ſo as they were gone out of *Devonſhire* before General *Goring* and he were joined, which was not until the *Friday* following at *Tiverton*. General *Goring* (in Obedience to his Orders, which were not to follow *Eſſex*'s Horſe too near *Middleton*'s freſh Horſe) followed them to *Hatherley*, *Middleton* being then within eight Miles of *Torrington*; yet Sir *John Berkley*'s Horſe had the next Day an Encounter with a part of thoſe Horſe at *Tiverton*, and forced them thence diſorderly. At *Kyrton* the Rebels Horſe ſevered, one part making their Eſcape towards *Lyme*, and the other went towards *Barneſtaple*, and joined with *Middleton*. On *Thurſday* General *Goring* lay at *Kirton*, and Sir *John Berkley* at *Tiverton*. That Night both *Middleton*'s and *Eſſex*'s Horſe believing themſelves to be overpowered, prepared for their Eſcape; which they preſently made over *Exmore* on the North of *Devon*, and ſo by *Dunſter* to *Taunton*, not ſtaying at any Place until they came there. By that time they were ſo wearied and over watched, that a very ſmall Number of freſh Horſe might have deſtroyed their great Body. Our Horſe were likewiſe much haraſſed in this Purſuit, and not in a Condition to follow them in their haſty Flight. So General *Goring* ſtayed at *Tiverton*, refreſhed his Troops having an Eye on the Rebellious Town of *Barneſtaple*, at that time not defenſible, being very much unprovided of Ammunition and Men, having only 600 Foot that *Eſſex* left there when he went into *Cornwall*. This is the perfect Account of the manner of the Eſcape of the Rebels Horſe, with our Purſuit; wherein I believe, all Circumſtances conſidered, little more could have been done than what our Horſe performed, the Rebels Fears giving them Wings to make good their Eſcape.

Septem. 3 The Rebels Horſe purſue their Retreat from *Plymouth*.

Their Rear fallen on by our Horſe, wherein Captain *Wenman* ſlain.

Sir *John Berkley*'s Force purſued them through *Tiverton*.

5 The Rebels eſcape through *Exmore* to *Taunton*.

The Rebels Horſe extreamely weakned, and the King's much harraſſed.

DURING this Action, His MAJESTY gave Order for the bringing after him of the Cannon and Ammunition taken from the Rebels, and then marched from *Boconnock* to *Liskerd*, on *Wed-*

Septem. 4th His Majesty at *Liskard.* The next at *Tavestock.*

nesday the fourth of *September*, and thence on *Thursday* the 5th passed out of the Loyal County of *Cornwall*, over the River of *Tamar* at .... Bridge, and quartered that Night at *Tavestock*; where His MAJESTY was for these Reasons obliged to stay some time. First to get His Armys together, especially that of Prince *Maurice*, which consisted most of *Cornish*, who were gone home to rejoice with their Friends for this Deliverance: Then to refresh our Foot, and to take them into care for Cloaths against the Winter, and the length of a March: And lastly for our Arms and Ammunition left behind in *Cornwall*, which could not possibly be brought up without time. During which (at the earnest Proposal of the Western Gentlemen) the Design of getting *Plymouth* was set on Foot; which I believe was hearkned unto, rather to please those Gentlemen (who had deserved so well of His MAJESTY) and by that means to draw our Foot out of *Cornwall*, and by fastning a Quarter near it, so to Block them up, and to satisfie the Country, who otherwise would be subject to Excursions from thence) than out of any real Opinion that it would be speedily taken, or that it was fit for His MAJESTY to lay Siege unto it. Tho' if it had succeeded, it would have been more for His MAJESTY's Honour and Advantage than any Place that had been gained to His MAJESTY's Obedience since the beginning of this War. Besides, not to have looked upon that Town, to observe its Condition, and what Effects His MAJESTY's Presence with a victorious Army would produce, (especially in that Conjunction) would have been esteemed an Errour. These were the Reasons that induced the undertaking that Action; which though it did not prove successful, yet it was not accompanied either with Dishonour or Loss, no formal Siege being laid before it. And by that means, and in that time His MAJESTY had again got His Army together, and His Warlike Provisions were come unto him; both which, had His MAJESTY marched Eastward, would not have overtaken him, nor that Town been blocked up, as by that means it was. Yet this Proposition was not so absolutely embraced, as that in was presently concluded, many Debates intervening, especially that of gaining an happy Peace; which His MAJESTY conceived would be much facilitated by His late Victory. And to that end, although His MAJESTY had not yet received any Answer of His former Message sent from *Evesham*, yet He now renewed it with the ensuing Addition, and desires of a speedy Answer; which was sent from *Tavestock* on *Sunday* the 8th of *September*, enclosed in a Letter from the Lord General to the Earl of *Essex*,

The attempting of *Plymouth*, earnestly proposed by the Gentry of those Parts.

It had been dishonourable not to have looked upon that Place after so great a Victory.

8th His Majesty again renewed His Message sent from *Evesham.*

to

to be by him preſented to the Lords and Commons at *Weſt-minſter*, which was this. *Septem.*

" It having pleaſed God in ſo eminent a Manner, lately to " bleſs Our Armys in theſe Parts with Succeſs; We do not ſo " much Joy in that Bleſſing, for any other Conſideration, as " for the Hopes We have that it may be a means to make " others lay to Heart, as We do, the Miſeries brought " and continued upon Our Kingdom by this unnatural War; " and that it may open your Ears, and diſpoſe your Minds " to embrace thoſe Offers of Peace and Reconciliation, which " have been ſo often and ſo earneſtly made unto you by Us; " from the conſtant and fervent Endeavours of which, We " are reſolved never to deſiſt. In Purſuance whereof, We do " upon this Occaſion, conjure you to take into Conſideration " Our (too long neglected) Meſſage of the 4th of *July* from " *Eveſham*, which we again renew unto you; and that you " will ſpeedily ſend us ſuch an Anſwer thereunto, as may " ſhew unto Our poor Subjects, ſome Light of a Deliverance " from their preſent Calamities, by a happy Accommodation. " Towards which, We do here engage the Word of a King " to make good all thoſe things which We have therein pro- " miſed, and really to endeavour a happy Concluſion of this " Treaty; and ſo God direct you in the Ways of Peace. The Meſſage

To this Meſſage they gave no Anſwer, but near three Months after, ſent to deſire a ſafe Conduct for ſome of their Party to deliver Propoſitions for Peace; which were ſuch as never Conquerour impoſed on a vanquiſhed Nation, much leſs demanded by Subjects of their lawful Prince.

By this Time the Deſign of looking upon *Plymouth* was reſolved on, and to that End all fitting Proviſions were made, and the Army ordered to march towards it on *Munday* the 9th of *September*, which they did accordingly. Our Rendezvouz was on *Buckland* Heath, where the Appearance of our Foot anſwered not our Expectation. That Night they quartered four Miles ſhort of *Plymouth*, and the next Morning drew unto a Work a Mile from that Town, (made by the Lord *Hopton* and called by his Name) thence, about two in the Afternoon they advanced nearer that Town, the King's Army having the right Hand, and Prince *Maurice* the Left: And notwithſtanding the Rebels fired all their Ordnance on our Foot, they poſſeſſed themſelves of Quarters within half Muſquet Shot of their Works, forcing them even to their turn Pikes, with ſome Execution, and little Loſs to us. 'Tis poſſible, had we abſolutely reſolved to have fallen on, or had had a ſtronger

9th The Deſign of looking on *Plymouth* reſolved on

10th Our Armys poſſeſſed themſelves of Quarters near the Town.

Septem. Army, the Town at that time might have been gained; for they were fain for want of Foot, to arm the Seamen, whom we distinguished by their Colours. The Quarters of the King's Army was near their great Fort, called *Maudlin* Fort; and Prince *Maurice*'s near *Lipsham* Work; which Ground they kept during our stay before the Town, the Rebels within in all that time not offering so much as to make a Sally. The Armys being placed in this manner, His MAJESTY was gratiously pleased to send this ensuing Invitation to the Governour and Mayor to return to their Allegiance, which wrought no other Effect than the Answer following.

The Town not very well manned.

C. R.

11th HisMajesty's Message to the Garrison in *Plymouth.*

"As We do not receive more Comfort in God Almighty's "eminent Blessing upon Us, in Our late Victory, out of any "Consideration than that it was obtained with so little Blood-"shed of Our Subjects; so we esteem it not only Our Duty, but "also the best Acknowledgement We can return to the Giver "of such a Blessing, to make it Our special Care in all Oc-"casions, to reduce Our Subjects (if it be possible) unto their "Obedience, rather by Acts of Grace and Mercy, than of "Power. To which end, We have thought fit before We "employ the latter towards you of Our Town of *Plymouth*, "to make you a voluntary and free offer of Grace and Fa-"vour, in the full Pardon of all that is past, to all Persons with-"in the said Town; as also Admission and Encouragement in "Our Service to such, both Mariners and others, as shall offer "themselves: And in the Assurance of Our doing all that in "Us lyes to restore you unto that Happiness which you en-"joyed under Us in the Times of Peace, particularly by the "leaving you free from any Garrison, but only in the Fort "and Island, where there hath been always one kept in the "most quiet and peaceable Times. All this We do engage "to you the Word of a King most really to perform; and "farther to grant unto you of Our said Town, all such other "things as can be reasonably demanded of us for its farther "Benefit and Security, in Case you shall according to your "Duty and Allegiance submit unto your King, now in Person "requiring you so to do; if not, the Blood which shall be shed "in the reducing you will lie upon your own Heads.

Given at Our Camp before Plymouth 11th *of* September 1644.

To the Governour and Mayor of Our Town of Plymouth.

May

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

Septem.

"THE Town of *Plymouth* is kept for the Service of the King "and Parliament, to which purpoſe we intend to defend it "with our utmoſt Power, againſt all Violence and Hoſtility "which ſhall be urged upon us; the Souldiers and Inhabitants "of this Town, having ſeveral times by ſolemn Oaths ob- "liged themſelves hereunto, and doubt not of enjoying ſtill "that Divine Protection which thus long hath bleſſed their "Arms.

The Rebels Anſwer.

Plym. 12th Sept. 1644.

James Kerr,
John Caws, Mayor.

THIS obſtinate and rebellious Anſwer would queſtionleſs have induced many a Prince to have ſet up his Reſt, and engaged all his Power rather than to have gone away unrevenged; but His MAJESTY whoſe *Nature is not vindicative*, and having many Difficulties to paſs before He made His Winter Quarters, *Likewiſe* remembring that *Banbury* and *Baſing* were then cloſely beſieged, firſt examined His Strength, in caſe He ſhould entertain the Thoughts of attempting to gain the Town by Aſſault, and in the next place (His Affairs hardly admitting Him the Expence of any more time there) to provide to block it up, and ſecure the Country from Excurſions, thereby in time to reduce them to their due Obedience. Wherefore upon an exact ſurvey of our Numbers, and out of a true Sence of the hazard of Aſſaults, wherein the Lives of ſo many valiant and faithful Souldiers would be expoſed, His MAJESTY concluded it to be unfit to be attempted by *Aſſault or a cloſe Siege*. And therefore preſently deſigned Sir *Richard Greenvile* to be Commander in chief of all the Forces that ſhould be left thereabouts to block up that Town, who chearfully embraced that Charge. And although at the preſent the Forces that were left with him, were not above 500 Foot and 300 Horſe, yet he hath ſo actively purſued both the levying Forces, keeping them in good Order, and blocking up that Place, as that his Strength is ſince increaſed into an Army, and that rebellious Place brought into as much Neceſſity as a Port Town can poſſibly be reduced unto by blocking up.

12th

His Majeſty's great Temper notwithſtanding this obſtinate denial.

13th

Sir *Richard Greenvile* made Commander in chief of the Forces to block up *Plymouth*.

GENERAL *Goring* in the interim ſummoned *Barneſtaple*, and drew his Horſe near that Town, to keep them in, who were in great Streights for want of Ammunition and other Proviſions.

General *Goring* ſummons *Barneſtaple*.

Yet

Septem. Yet before they returned any Answer, Sir *Francis Doddington* with his Horse fell upon *Ilfercombe*, a small Sea Port not far from *Barnestaple*, and took it with 20 Piece of Ordnance, as many Barrels of Powder, and near 200 Arms. The gaining of this Place much facilitated the repossessing of *Barnestaple*, who knew it self not in a Condition to withstand a Siege; yet to set the best face on it, they offered to yield the Town on such Conditions as they proposed, which were in general, "That the Town might have no Garrison put into it: That "the Souldiers might march away to *Southampton* with all their "Arms, Colours, and Drums: That the Townsmen might "have the Liberty of free Trade: And that the true Protestant "Religion should be upheld, and no new Oaths imposed on "them, but such as are established by Act of Parliament. Which I observe the rather to shew how miserably they are seduced, this Article implying their Belief that His MAJESTY intended to introduce another than the Protestant Religion. Now although many of these Demands were high; yet considering the time of the Year, the Remoteness of the Place, and other real Considerations not to engage our Army to besiege it, His MAJESTY was pleased to condescend to the Terms proposed, and to regain the Allegiance of that Place with the granting those Conditions. Their Garrison quitting that Town the 17th of *September*, leaving therein above fifty piece of Ordnance, many Arms, but little Ammunition.

Sir *Francis Doddington* taketh *Ilfercombe.*

Barnestable surrendred upon Terms rather necessary than honourable.

14th HisMajesty's Armys drew off from *Plymouth* in good Order without Loss.

BUT to look back to His MAJESTY and His Army before *Plymouth*, after His MAJESTY had resolved that Sir *Richard Greenvile* should undertake the blocking that Town, and that the Forces wherewith he was to begin that Work were put under his Command, His MAJESTY gave Order for the drawing off His Army; which was done on *Saturday* Morning the 14th of *September* in very good Order; *Prince Maurice's* marching first, His MAJESTY's next, and 300 commanded Foot in the Rear, to make good the Retreat. Early that Morning His MAJESTY came from His Quarters at *Widie*, a small Village near the Lord *Hopton's* Work, to the top of the rising Ground; where we had a Battery, to see the Armys draw off: Where he was saluted with five or six Shot from the Rebels Forts, most of which fell very near him. Our Armys notwithstanding made good their Retreat, without any Loss, and made a Stand at the Lord *Hopton's* Work; whence they marched that Night to *Tavestock*, having not lost in this time lying before *Plymouth* above thirteen Men. Thence on *Munday* the 16th His MAJESTY marched with His Army to *Oakehampton*, and himself

16th His Majesty quartered at *Oakehampton.*

ſelf with His Troop and the principal Officers of His Court went the next Day to *Exceter*; leaving the Armys to come by eaſie Marches to *Creditons*, *Bradnich*, *Cullumpton*, and ſo to *Tiverton*, where they were on *Saturday* the 21ſt. *Septem.* 17th At *Exceter.*

At *Exceter* His Majesty with His Council ſeriouſly examined, as well the Strength of His Army, as how He might ſupply them with ſome Money and Cloaths againſt the Winter; the Defects of which had ſince we came into the Weſt viſibly appeared, and it was now high time to provide a Remedy for this growing Evil. For I am well aſſured that of above 4000 of the King's Army of Foot, and 4500 of Prince *Maurice's*, when they firſt joined at *Crediton*, the firſt was at this time much diminiſhed, and the other not half that Number. Beſides our Horſe were much haraſſed, and diſcontented for want of Pay. So that whatever thoughts our Friends in the South had of our Power, and that we miſſed great Opportunities in not advancing; yet if they truly examine our Condition at this time, and ſo forward, they will really find that we did as much as was poſſible, either in point of Time, or in reference to our Strength, and the Condition of an Army that had been on hard Duty, and made long Marches above ſix Months together. 18th. The Neceſſity of providing Money and Cloaths for the Army, conſidered. Armys much decreaſed.

This preſent State of His Majesty's Army obliged the Commiſſioners of this County to provide ſpeedily 2000*l.* in Money, to ſatisfie the Horſe, and 3000 Suits of Cloaths for the Foot; beſides good Proportions of Shoes and Stockings, ſent for by Letters from *Taveſtock* to the ſeveral good Towns in this County; moſt of which during or Stay at *Exceter* were brought in and diſtributed. The Commiſſioners of *Devon* undertook theſe Proviſions.

The Cloathing and raiſing Money for His Majesty's Army being in this manner undertaken; that which next fell under Conſideration, was the ſecuring this and the adjacent Countys, when the Armys ſhould be marched into the Eaſt, from the Violence of the Rebels from *Lyme* and *Taunton*. And therefore thoſe two Garriſons were to be blocked up as well as *Plymouth*, and fit Perſons and Forces to be appointed to effect the ſame. Sir *Richard Cholmeley* with his Regiment (lately the Lord *Pawlet's*) was preſently appointed to lye at *Axminſter*, to be aſſiſted and receive Orders from Sir *John Berkeley* for the blocking up of *Lyme*; which he accordingly undertook, and performed with much Courage and Ability; until by the Rebels attempting of his Quarters, about the end of *October*, wherein they were repulſed, he was unfortunately ſlain in their Purſuit. And to block up and reduce *Taunton* 19th Sir *Richard Colmeley* appointed to block up *Lyme.*

Sir

Septem. Sir *Francis Doddington* was thought the aptest Person, and at first made Choice of. But because the manner of doing it, and the Forces wherewith he should attempt it, was not yet fully stated, the Consideration of these Particulars was (the 19th of *September*) referred to a Committee of the Council; who finding that the Forces wherewith Sir *Francis Doddington* was principally to undertake this Work, were to be drawn from others who proposed more plausible and probable Ways of effecting that Design, he was not employed; and the Charge thereof committed to Collonel *Edward Windham*, Governor of *Bridgewater*, assisted by *John Coventry* Esq; and others. But what his Success hath been therein, is evident, that place being (after it was reduced to Streights) relieved by a great Party of the Rebels Horse in *December* following, and the Country thereby exposed to miserable Plundering and Destruction.

Sir *Francis Doddington* made choice of to block up *Taunton*.

Afterwards Collonel *Windham* appointed for that Work.

23d His Majesty having settled His Affairs in this Order, and left the greatest Part of the Artillery taken at *Listithiel* in *Exceter*, on *Munday* the 23d of *September* went thence to *Hunniton*; whence that Morning His Army marched towards *Chard*; in the way thither he overtook them, and quartered at *Chard* that Night, and so until the 30th of *September* following. This was the longest time the Armys stayed at any place until we returned to *Oxford*. For which I shall only add these Reasons to my former; the first that although His Majesty rested at *Exceter* almost a Week, yet His Armys still marched, and therefore required Rest; and next we were enforced to stay there for those Provisions of Money and Cloaths the Commissioners of *Devon* had undertaken to provide, without which the Army would not have been well pleased to have gone away.

The greatest part of the Artillery taken in *Cornwall*, left at *Exceter*.

23d His Majesty quartered at *Chard*.

From hence we shall have leisure to take a prospect of His Majesty's Affairs in the East, and to observe what *Waller* had done since we last mentioned him; for by this time *Middleton* with his Horse was retreated to him, and *Essex's* Horse got to *Southampton*, and other parts of *Hampshire*. *Waller* being again trusted with new Recruits of Foot, was come as far as *Shaftsbury* and the parts of *Dorsetshire*, being joined with *Middleton* to hinder our Advance; and to make up a full Body to salute us before we made our Winter Quarters. *Manchester* with at least 5000 Horse and Foot, was likewise come as far as *Reading* with Directions to join with *Waller*; who, it appears, had rather Orders to observe and advertise our Motions, than to attempt any thing upon us, he still dislodging

Middleton's Horse joined with *Waller* about *Shaftsbury*.

Manchester at *Reading* with 5000 Horse and Foot.

as

as we came near him. This was the Condition of the Rebels Forces; whereon I may obſerve, that if we had not reſted a Day after the Blocking up of *Plymouth*, and getting our Foot together; yet our ſpeedy Advance had been to no other end, than to put the Iſſue of His MAJESTY's Affairs to the Uncertainty of a Battel with theſe united Forces; which we had reaſon to avoid, although our ſtay was not at all grounded on any Apprehenſion of their Strength or Power. *Septem.*

AND now it will be fit briefly to obſerve the gallant Behaviour of His MAJESTY's Garriſons of *Banbury*, *Dennington*, and *Baſing*, and what Succeſs the Rebels had in the continuing of thoſe Seiges. We ſhall begin with that of *Banbury*, where young *Fiennes* had from the 27th of *Auguſt* (being aſſiſted by *Cromwell*, *Mancheſter*'s General of his Horſe) with Batteries, Mines, and Storming attempted the taking of that Caſtle; wherein, and by many Sallies made upon them, the Rebels were much decreaſed. On *Friday* the 20th of *September* they raiſed more Batteries, but were ſo diſturbed by the Garriſon, as they were beaten out of their Works towards the Bridge, and good Execution done upon them. The next Day they ſhot exceſſively and plyed ours with Granadoes of 112*l.* weight. The Multitude of great Shot upon the Weſt Wall of the outward Caſtle, made a Breach of near thirty Yards; whereupon on *Munday* the Rebels attempted to ſtorm it, the Number of the Aſſailants was at leaſt 1000. They brought Faggots with them the better to paſs the Moat, and aſſaulted the Caſtle at five Places at once. To the Breach, they brought great Ladders; but the couragious Defendants ſuffered them not to raiſe ſo much as one of them, but notably defended the place, and cut them off with great and ſmall Shot. At laſt the Rebels finding themſelves deceived in their Hopes, drew off; and had ſo many ſlain and wounded as they were ready to quit the Seige. In this attempt the Rebels loſt near 300 of their Souldiers, and many of their beſt Officers, and therein and ſince have made 150 Granado Shot, and of Cannon Shot above 800, without doing any notable Prejudice to the Defendants; who had but nine Men ſlain in oppoſing this deſperate Aſſault, and ſtill defended themſelves, until at length they were relieved by the Earl of *Northampton* Commander in chief of that Place.

20th

The couragious behaviour of the Defendants in *Banbury* Caſtle.

THE next in order is *Dennington* Caſtle, to which at this time a Siege was layed by one *Jeremy Horton*, Adjutant General to *Brown*, aſſiſted by *Mancheſter*'s Force from *Reading*. But becauſe it was but now begun, we cannot in purſuance of the

27th

The Siege of *Dennington* now begun.

Septem. Method of this Discourse insert the Particulars in this place, most of the Actions being done in *October*; in which Month we shall take a fit time to insert them, as being no less *considerable* than those of *Banbury*.

Basing being valiantly defended 16 Weeks, was now relieved by Collonel *Gage*.

THE last in order, though first in Action, is the Garrison of *Basing*, which had now near sixteen Weeks defended themselves against the collective Body of *Norton*'s, *Onslowe*'s, *Jarvas*'s, *Whitehead*'s, *Jones*'s, and *Morley*'s Forces, all Collonels under the Rebels; though the chief Commander there was *Norton*. And it was now more than time to think of the Relief of that Place; which was accordingly the 9th of this present *September* performed with no less Courage than singular Success, by Forces drawn out of His MAJESTY's Garrisons of *Oxford* and *Wallingford*, under the Conduct of that discreet Commander Collonel *Gage*. For the manner of this Action, I shall refer you to this exact Relation penned by himself, and addressed unto the Lord *Digby* principal Secretary of State, which was received at *Chard* the 26th following.

My Lord,

The manner of relieving *Basing*.

" It hath pleased the Lords here, having lately commanded me out upon an Expedition of His MAJESTY's Service, " to command me now to write to your Lordship a true Relation of that Service; in which as there is nothing meriting " your Knowledge, so you must expect to have the Truths " I shall tell but lamely related by my unskilful Pen. In obedience therefore to their Lordships Commands, I departed out " of *Oxford* upon *Munday* Night the 9th of this Month, with " somewhat more than 400 Musquetiers of Her MAJESTY's " and Collonel *Hawkins*'s Regiments, and 250 Horse of my " Lord Treasurer's Regiment commanded by Collonel *Web*, of " Sir *Arthur Aston*'s Regiment commanded by Lieutenant Collonel *Bunckle*, and the Horse of *Borstall* House commanded by " Lieutenant Collonel *Campian*, twelve Barrels of Powder, " 1200 Weight of Match, with order to relieve *Basing* House " (long besieged by the Rebels) and put in such Provision of " Victuals as the Country there affords. With these Troops " I marched towards *Wallingford*, where I found Captain *Walters* with about fifty Horse of his Troop, and as many Foot " of that Garrison; and having marched all Night, we reposed and refreshed our Men upon *Tuesday* Morning at *Chaulsey*. " From whence I dispatched an Express to Sir *William Ogle* " Governour of *Winchester* Castle, who had promised Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* 100 Horse and 300 Foot of that Garrison,

" to

" to help to raiſe the Siege of *Baſing*, whenſoever the Lords *Septem.*
" ſhould have any ſuch Deſign. I ſent by this Expreſs a Letter
" of Credit of Mr. Secretary's to Sir *William Ogle*, deſiring him
" with his Men to fall into *Baſing* Park, in the Rear of the
" Rebels Quarters there, betwixt four and five of the Clock in
" the Morning, being *Wedneſday* the 11th of *September*; whilſt
" I with the Troops of *Oxford* fell on upon the other ſide, and
" my Lord Marqueſs from within the Houſe plyed them with
" Sallies. Having diſpatched this Expreſs, and refreſhed my
" Men, I marched forward with as much Speed as the Foot
" Souldiers could march towards *Aldermaſton*; where I inten-
" ded to repoſe and refreſh again, paſſing through the Coun-
" try for Parliament Men, with *Orange* Tawny Scarfs and
" Ribbands in our Hats. Thither I ſent Captain *Walters* be-
" fore with his Troop, and the Quartermaſters of each Regi-
" ment, to have Proviſions in a readineſs againſt the Souldi-
" ers arrived, intending only to refreſh and reſt two or three
" Hours. But Captain *Walters* finding ſome Parliament Scouts
" in that Town, forgot his Orange tawny Colours and fell foul
" with the Enemy, taking ſix or ſeven of them Priſoners, by
" which he unmasked and diſcover'd us to be Royaliſts. But
" at laſt the groſs of our Troops arrived thither about eight,
" and reſted till eleven a Clock upon *Tueſday* Night, and then
" ſet forwards again, and marched all Night, arriving within
" a Mile of *Baſing* betwixt four and five of the Clock upon
" *Wedneſday* Morning; our Foot being extreamly ſurbated and
" weary, though I had endeavoured to eaſe them what I could
" in the whole Journey, either by ſetting them up behind the
" Horſemen, or making the Horſemen alight and the Foot ride,
" or by encouraging them with Hopes of great Pillage, or with
" Promiſes of Money when they returned to *Oxford*. I was
" no ſooner arrived there, but Lieutenant *Swaineley* met me,
" ſent by Sir *William Ogle* from *Wincheſter*, to tell me that
" he durſt not venture to ſend his Troops to aſſiſt me, in re-
" gard ſome of the Enemy's Horſe lay betwixt *Wincheſter* and
" *Baſing*; ſo that I was forced to enter into new Councils,
" and call the Officers together to take new Reſolutions. And
" becauſe we were diſappointed of ſo conſiderable a Party as
" that of *Wincheſter*, and preſumed the Enemy might draw to
" a Head, having Notice of our coming, we reſolved not to
" diſmember our Forces, and fall on in ſeveral Places (as we
" would have done if either the *Wincheſter* Forces had arrived,
" or we could have ſurpriſed and taken the Enemy at unawares)
" but to fall on jointly with all our Forces in one place. In

Septem. "order to which, I commanded the Men to be ranged into "Battallions, and riding up to every Squadron, gave them "what good Words and Encouragement I was able (though I "confess it needed not, most of them being so well resolved "of themselves) and delivered them the Word (St. *George*,) "commanding every Man to tye a white Tape, Ribband, or "Handkerchief, upon their right Arm above the Elbow, which "was the Sign and Word I had formerly sent to my Lord "Marquess, (left by his sallying and our falling on, we might "for want of a distinctive Sign fall foul upon each other.) "We marched on, Collonel *Webb* leading the right Wing, "and Lieutenant Collonel *Bunckle* the left Wing of the Horse, "and my self the Foot; till at the upper end of a large Cham-"pian Field, upon a little rising or ascent of a Hill, near certain "Hedges lined by the Enemies Musquetiers, we discovered a "Body of five Cornets of Horse standing in very good Order to "receive us. But before we could come up to them we were sa-"luted from the Hedges with a smart Volley of Musquet Shot, "more terrible than damageable: For Collonel *Webb*, notwith-"standing with the right Wing of my Lord Treasurer's Horse, "charged the Enemy so gallantly, that in a Moment they all turn-"ed Head and ran away; Lieutenant Collonel *Bunckle* with our "left Wing falling in likewise after them, and following the "Chase with the right, till the Rebels Horse were gotten in-"to a Place of Safety. In this Pursuit, what Men or Horse "of the Enemys were lost I cannot learn certainly; but cer-"tain I am, we took a Colour or Cornet of theirs, which I "understand was Collonel *Morley's*, the Motto of which was, "*Non ab Equo sed in Æquo Victoria*; a Motto not so proper to "theirs as our Cause, the Equity of which gave us the Victo-"ry, with the true and genuine Signification of the Motto. "Upon the routing of their Horse I advanced with our Foot, "and after two Hours disputing the Business beat them from "Hedge to Hedge, till at last they abandoned all their Quarters "and Works on that side, and gave us free Entrance into the "House. Where after I had put in the Ammunition I brought "with me, and paid my Lord Marquess the Respects due to a "Person of his Merits and Quality, leaving him in the House "100 White-Coats of Collonel *Hawkins's* Regiment, I marched "with the rest of the Horse and Foot towards *Basingstoke*, a "Town a Mile distant from *Basing* House, and with small Re-"sistance possessed my self of it, (for the Parliament Commit-"tees who lodged in that Town, having notice of our coming, "quitted the Town the Night before, and drew most of their

" Forces

" Forces into one Head, which we broke.) From thence all *Septem.*
" that Day I continued ſending to *Baſing* Houſe as much Wheat,
" Malt, Salt, Oats, Bacon, Cheeſe, and Butter as I could get
" Horſes and Carts to tranſport. There I found a little Ma-
" gazine of 14 Barrels of Powder, with ſome Muſquets, which
" I likewiſe ſent into *Baſing* Houſe; and thence I ſent 40 or
" 50 Head of Cattel, with 100 Sheep. Whilſt theſe things
" were doing at *Baſingſtoke*, my Lord was not wanting to
" himſelf in *Baſing* Houſe, but from thence with the 100 White-
" Coats I left him, and ſome of his own Garriſon, he ſallyed
" out into *Baſing* Town; from whence he chaſed and utterly
" beat the Enemy, killing 40 or 50 of them, and forced the
" reſt to retire into the Park, where they had raiſed a ſtrong
" Fort, into which they drew all their beaten Foot. In *Ba-*
" *ſing* Church we took Priſoners young Captain *Jarvaſe* and
" Captain *Jepſon*, Sons of the two moſt active Rebels of that
" Country, who remain Priſoners in *Baſing* Houſe. By this time
" the Day began well near to be ſpent, and the Enemy ha-
" ving received ſome freſh Supplies of Horſe, appeared much
" more numerous and gay than in the Morning, and made ſhew
" of a deſire to fight with us again, advancing for that purpoſe
" over a large Champian, almoſt within Muſquet Shot of
" our Horſe, which ſtood ranged in a Field without *Baſingſtoke*,
" betwixt two large Hedges lined by me with Muſquetiers.
" There we ſtood facing each other, till at laſt I perceiving
" our Squadrons of Horſe to grow thin, many Men ſtealing
" privately out of their Ranks, and both our Horſe and Men
" extreamly tired and faſting; I gave order to the Horſe to
" retire by Degrees, and paſs through the Town towards *Ba-*
" *ſing* Houſe, whilſt I with the Foot made good the Avenue
" or Paſſage on that ſide the Town where the Enemy ap-
" peared. And when I underſtood the Horſe were all paſſed
" through the Town, and put again into their Squadrons on
" the other ſide towards *Baſing* Houſe, I my ſelf with moſt of
" the Foot, retired likewiſe through the Town to our Horſe,
" leaving Captain *Poore* with 60 or 70 Muſquetiers to make
" good that Avenue; and being come up to our Horſe, I ſent
" Order to Captain *Poore* to retire likewiſe with moſt of his
" Men, leaving only a Serjeant at the Avenue with 20 Muſque-
" tiers, to diſpute the Paſſage till we were all entred into *Baſing*
" Houſe. From thence I ſent afterwards for the Serjeant with
" his Men, who all came off ſafe, the Enemy not once attemp-
" ting to enter into the Town, but retiring to their Quarters,
" not long after they perceived our Horſe to retire. I muſt

" not

Septem. " not lodge that Night in the Town; as well because I saw
" the Enemy grow strong, and our Horse and Men extream
" weary and fasting, as because there were many Avenues which
" must have been maintained; and I feared our Men would quit
" their Guards and betake themselves to the Houses, drinking
" and committing Disorders in the Night. But the next Day
" early I sent Lieutenant Collonel *Bunckle* thither again with
" all the Horse and Foot, as well to refresh the Souldiers, as
" to be sending continually all that Day Provisions into the
" House. Mean while I spent the Day in contriving our Re-
" treat to *Oxford*, and sending out several Spies to observe the
" Motions of another Enemy drawing to a Head from *Abing-*
" *don*, *Newbery*, and *Reading*, to hinder our Retreat homewards.
" And I found by the unanimous Relations of all my several
" Spies, that they of *Abingdon* were lodged at *Aldermaston*,
" they of *Newbery* at *Thacham*, they of *Reading* at *Padworth*,
" Places upon the River *Kennet*, over which I was to pass in
" my Retreat: And that *Norton* with his Horse and Foot,
" which lay in *Basing* Park, was to follow me in the Rear
" whensoever I began to march, which he conceived I could
" not do but he should have Notice of it. I resolved there-
" fore in my own Breast without acquainting any Man, to
" make my Retreat that very Night; having, during the short
" time I had been at *Basing* House, partly out of *Basingstoke*,
" and partly out of *Basing* Town, put at least a Month's Pro-
" visions into the House and drawn in two Pieces of Artillery of
" the Enemies (the one a Demi-Cannon) which lay engaged be-
" twixt the House and the Enemies Trenches, neither of them da-
" ring adventure to draw them off. But the more to amuse the
" Enemy, and give him Cause to think that I thought of no-
" thing less than of so sudden a Retreat, I sent out certain War-
" rants that Afternoon, which I knew would fall into the Ene-
" mies Hands, to the Towns of *Sherborne* and *Sherfield* to bring
" speedily a certain Quantity of Corn into *Basing* House, up-
" on Pain (if they refused) of sending them 1000 Horse and
" Dragoons to set their Towns on Fire before next Day at
" Noon. Having thus disposed of all things, and being un-
" able to serve my Lord Marquess much more than I had done
" by any longer stay there; (though by staying longer I might
" have endangered the Loss of the *Oxford* Tropps) somewhat
" before Night, I sent Order to Lieutenant Collonel *Bunckle*
" to retire with the Men from *Basingstoke*, and march to *Ba-*
" *sing* House, as the Night before, but not to permit his
" Men to enter into the House till farther Order: Whither

" when

" when the Men were arrived, I told my Lord Marqueſs of *Septem.*
" my Reſolution to depart that Night, and of the Neceſſity
" of it; and begging of him two or three good Guides, which
" he readily gave, I took leave of his Lordſhip and began to
" march away without ſound of Drum or Trumpet, about
" eleven a Clock that *Thurſday* Night, and gave order to all
" my Scouts, in caſe they met any of the Parliament Scouts in
" the Night, they ſhould likewiſe give themſelves out to be
" Parliament Troops, marching from before *Baſing* Houſe to
" the River *Kennet*, to lye in wait for the *Oxford* Forces
" that were to come that way. And thus we paſſed the
" *Kennet* undiſcovered by a Ford near *Burghfield* Bridge,
" (the Bridge it ſelf having been broken by the Enemy) our
" Horſe taking up the Muſquetiers in Croup; and afterwards
" the *Thames* by another Ford at *Pangbourne* within a Mile of
" *Reading*, about eight or nine a Clock upon *Friday* Morning.
" And from thence marched into the Town of *Wallingford*,
" where we reſted and refreſhed our wearied Men and Horſe
" that Night, and the next Day arrived ſafe (God be praiſed)
" at *Oxford*. Having loſt in this Expedition Captain *Sturges*
" a gallant young Man of the Queen's Lifegard, young Mr. *Sto-*
" *ner* of *Oxfordſhire*, Cornet to the Troop of *Wallingford*, a
" Servant of Sir *Edward Hide*'s, with ſome others to the num-
" ber of eleven in all, and forty or fifty hurt, but not dange-
" rouſly. What Loſs the Enemy had we cannot yet learn, but
" we took about 100 Priſoners of them. And thus, my Lord,
" to comply with the Order I received, I have troubled your
" Lordſhip with a tedious Relation, for which I humbly beg
" your Pardon, and the Honour to be eſteemed,

My Lord,

Oxford this 16th *of September* 1644. *Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble Servant,*

HENRY GAGE.

NOTWITHSTANDING this gallant Action and preſent Relief of *Baſing*, the Rebels returned again and cloſely beſieged that place; until the 20th of *November* following, when they gave it over before Collonel *Gage* came, who was going the ſecond time to raiſe that Siege. The Rebels return to the Siege.

Now to return to His MAJESTY at *Chard*, who during His ſtay there, principally intended the eaſing and recruiting of His

Septem. His Foot, and settling of the Forces before *Lyme* and *Taunton*; sending Sir *Edward Waldgrave* with his Regiment of Horse to quarter at *Bridport*, and 100 Foot to possess *Chidrook* House, to block up those of *Lyme*, until Sir *John Berkley* should relieve them: And ordering Sir *Edward Rodney* with his Regiment of Foot, and Collonel *Francis Windham* Governour of *Dunster* Castle, to assist Collonel *Edmond Windham* in the distressing of *Taunton*. His MAJESTY likewise gave Order to the Commissioners of the County of *Somerset*, speedily to raise 3000*l.* in Money, and to provide as many Suits of Cloaths with Shoes and Stockings for his Army; in expectation of which, we possibly spent a Day or two more in *Dorsetshire*, than otherwise we should have done. From hence also His MAJESTY to leave no ways unassayed to dissabuse His People, issued a Proclamation, declaring His MAJESTY's Resolution for the settling of a speedy Peace by a good Accommodation, and an Invitation of all His Loyal Subjects to join together for His Assistance therein.

Forces appointed to assist in the blocking up of *Lyme* and *Taunton*.

The Proclamation.

" AMONGST the many Troubles wherewith (for more than " two Years last past) We have been involved, nothing hath " more afflicted Us, than the real Sense of Our Subjects Suf- " ferings, occasioned by this most unnatural War; and the " chief of Our Care hath been (and by God's Assistance shall " still be) to settle them in a happy Peace; with that Free- " dome of enjoying the Exercise of their Religion, Rights, " and Liberties, according to the Laws of this Kingdom, as " they or any of their Ancestors enjoyed the same, in the best " Times of the late Queen *Elizabeth* or Our Royal Father. " And as We have always profes'd in the Sincerity of Our Heart, " that no Success should ever make Us averse unto Peace; so " have we always, when God hath blessed Us with any emi- " nent Victory, solicited the Members of both Houses of Par- " liament remaining at *Westminster*, by frequent Messages for " a Treaty conducing thereunto. And in particular upon Our " late Victory over the Earl of *Essex* his Army in *Cornewall*, " (which We wholly attribute to the immediate Hand of God) " We presently dipatch'd a Message to them, to desire a Trea- " ty for Peace and Accommodation. Of which, as likewise " of that former Message for Peace, which We sent them from " *Evesham* the 4th of *July* last, We have yet received no " Answer. And therefore have resolved with Our Army to " draw presently towards *London*, and Our Southern and Ea- " stern Counties, not looking upon those Parts as Enemies to

" Us,

" Us, and ſo to ſuffer by the Approach of Our Army, or the *Septem.*
" Diſorders thereof, (which We will uſe all poſſible Means to
" prevent;) but as Our poor Subjects oppreſſed by Power, (of
" which We reſt aſſured the greater part remain Loyal to Us)
" and ſo deſerving Our Protection. And we hope that at a
" nearer Diſtance of Place, there may beget ſo right an Under-
" ſtanding between Us and Our People, that at length We may
" obtain a Treaty for Peace, and a full, free, and peaceable
" Convention in Parliament; and therein make an end of theſe
" unhappy Differences by a good Accommodation. In which
" We hereby aſſure all Our People upon Our Royal Word
" and the Faith of a Chriſtian, (which is the greateſt Security
" We can give them) that We will inſiſt only upon the ſetling
" and continuance of the true reformed Proteſtant Religion,
" Our own undoubted known Rights, the Privileges of Par-
" liament, and Our Subjects Liberty and Property, according
" to the Laws of the Land, and to have all theſe ſetled in a
" full and free Parliament: Whereby the Armys on both ſides
" may be preſently disbanded, this Kingdom may be ſecured
" from the Danger of a Conqueſt by Foreign Forces, all
" Strangers now in Arms may return to their own Countries,
" and Our poor Subjects be freed of thoſe grievous Burthens,
" which by reaſon of the late Diſtractions have (much againſt
" Our Will) too much preſſed them. And to the end Our
" Subjects may no longer be miſled by falſe Pretences, We do
" deſire all of them, as well in Our own Quarters as where
" the Rebels have uſurped a Power, to take into ſerious Con-
" ſideration the Duty and Loyalty which by the Law of God
" and their Oath of Allegiance they owe unto Us; and more
" particularly that part thereof which concerns the Defence
" of Our Perſon, and Aſſiſtance of Us againſt Rebels, and ſuch
" as riſe in Arms againſt Us; which they may find plainly ſet
" down in the Statute of the 11th Year of King *Henry* the 7th
" *Cap.* 1. And We do hereby require Our Subjects, within
" Our own Quarters, thorough or near which We ſhall paſs,
" by that Duty they owe to Us and their Country, that they
" forthwith prepare themſelves with the beſt Arms they can
" get, to be ready, and to go along with Us in this preſent
" Expedition (We reſolving to take ſpecial Care to place them
" under the Command of Gentlemen of Quality of their own
" Countries, to their good Content and Satisfaction.) And
" We likewiſe require and authorize all our good Subjects,
" as well the Trained Bands as others of Our City of *London*,
" and Our Southern and Eaſtern Counties, to chuſe their

Septem. " own Commanders and Leaders, amongst those Gentlemen " and Citizens that are of approved Loyalty to Us, and Lovers " of the Peace of their Country. And upon Our Approach " towards those Parts, to put themselves into Arms, and march " in warlike Manner to assist Us in this good Work, and free " themselves from the Tyranny of their fellow Subjects, under " which they groan. Commanding and authorizing them to " seize such Places of Strength in those Southern and Eastern " Counties as the Rebels have possessed themselves of; to " oppose with Force of Arms such Persons as shall resist them " in obeying these Our Commands; and to apprehend and se- " cure the Persons of all such as shall endeavour to continue " this Rebellion, and to hinder the setling of the Peace of this " Kingdom, in a full and free Convention of Parliament (the " only visible Means left, by the Blessing of God, to redeem " this Nation from utter Ruin.) Wherein We will afford Our " utmost Protection and Safety unto all Our Subjects that shall " give Obedience to these Our Commands. And as We doubt " not but that all Our good Subjects will come cheerfully to " Our Assistance for so good an end, (beyond which We do " not require it) so We trust that God, who hath hitherto won- " derfully preserved Us, will crown this Action with happy " Success, for his Glory and the Welfare of this poor Nation.

On *Monday* the 30th of *September*, His Majesty having so disposed His Affairs, both in the Counties of *Devon* and *Somerset*, as was conceived most conducible to His Service, marched away from *Chard* with His Army, consisting at this time of 3500 of his own Foot, and about 2000 of Prince *Maurice*'s, and near 4000 Horse of both Armys. His Majesty dined that Day at the Lord *Paulet*'s House at *Hinton* St. *George*, and quartered at *South Perrot* in *Dorsetshire*. Here his Highness Prince *Rupert* (having been about a Month at *Bristol*) first came to His Majesty, and gave him an Account of his Proceedings in the North, and where he had left his Force that he brought thence; which were about 2000 Horse under the Command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. Here the Design was first approved, that those Horse and about 2000 Foot under General *Gerrard* should be united in a Body, and march out of *Monmouthshire*, and other parts where they then lay, into *Gloucestershire*, and from thence either to join with us, or in a Body to divert the Rebels from uniting their Force to oppose our March; for we foresaw that we should be engaged to fight before we could make our Winter Quarters.

30th His Majesty enters *Dorsetshire*.

Prince *Rupert* attended His Majesty.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and General *Gerrard* to advance to His Majesty's Assistance.

On

October.

1st

On *Tueſday* the firſt of *October* His MAJESTY quartered at *Mayden-Newton*, where He had Intelligence that the Night before, a Party of Horſe of Sir *Robert Howard's* Regiment had beaten up a Quarter of *Waller's* Horſe at *Whitchurch* in that County, taken a Captain and about 20 Priſoners. Which probably cauſed *Waller* to diſlodge from *Blandford* and to go to *Shaftsbury* and the Parts of *Wiltſhire* adjacent. We had then notice likewiſe, on the *Saturday* before, a Party of *Sydenham's* Horſe had a Deſign to ſurpriſe Sir *Edward Waldgrave* in his Quarters at *Bridport*; but the vigilant old Collonel, inſtead of being taken, got between the Rebels and Home, and at *Portſham* near *Abbotsbury* fell upon them; where ſome few were ſlain, 40 Horſe and a Cornet taken.

A Quarter of *Waller's* Horſe beaten up by Sir *Robert Howard.*

Sir *Edward Waldgrave* takes 40 Horſe at *Portſham.*

His MAJESTY came to this Place, and ſo from *Chard* in order to go to *Dorcheſter* as being in the midſt of *Dorſetſhire*; from whence He might with moſt Eaſe relieve *Portland* Caſtle, and ſettle the Affairs of that County. But it not being certain that *Waller* was diſlodged from *Blandford*, and the Rebels Garriſons of *Weymouth* and *Pool* being within Diſtance, it was not thought ſo ſecure but that we might receive an Affront. On theſe Conſiderations *Sherborne* was concluded the moſt proper Place to diſpoſe the Buſineſs of that County. Whither we diverted our Courſe, marching thither on *Wedneſday* the ſecond of *October:* where His MAJESTY ſtayed until *Tueſday* the 8th of *October* following. As ſoon as His MAJESTY came thither, His Council applyed themſelves to the Execution of thoſe Reſolutions which were the Cauſe of His ſtay there; which were principally to raiſe Forces to ſecure that County, and quicken the Levies of Men and Money in *Somerſetſhire*, (this Town being very near that County.) To perform the firſt, His MAJESTY made Sir *Lewes Dive* Serjeant Major General of the County of *Dorſet*, and left him (with his own Regiment of old Souldiers of 150, and the Regiment of Horſe and Foot of Collonel *James Strangeways*, at that time about 200 Horſe and 50 Foot) to command in chief there, and by the Countenance of that Strength to raiſe their Numbers to 500 Horſe, 100 Dragoons, and 1500 Foot, which the Gentry of that Country engaged themſelves to do in a very ſhort time. And from hence the Commiſſioners of *Somerſetſhire* were ſent unto, to make good their Undertakings for Money and Cloaths for the Army. Some of the Principal of thoſe Commiſſioners attended His MAJESTY here, and humbly preſented this enſuing Petition; which I conceive had its firſt riſe from His MAJESTY's Proclamation at *Chard.* To

Waller diſlodged from *Blandford.*

2d

His Majeſty quartered at *Sherborn.*

Sir *Lewes Dive* made Major General of that County of *Dorſet.*

The Commiſſioners of *Somerſetſhire* quickned to provide the Money and Cloaths for the Army.

October. this Petition His MAJESTY's Answer is annexed, and the Gentlemens Address to the Lords and Commons at *Westminster*, together with the publick Declarations of their Intentions.

To the King's most Excellent MAJESTY, *the humble Petition of the Gentry, and Freeholders, and others Your* MAJESTY's *Loyal and Protestant Subjects of Your County of* Somerset.

Most Humbly sheweth,

The *Somersetshire* Petition.

"THAT among the many Miseries that the present War "hath brought upon them, it hath been a great Comfort to "them to see Your pious Inclinations to and continued En- "deavours for setling Peace again; and had hoped that Your "MAJESTY's gratious Message to that Purpose would have "produced that desired Effect: But not finding the Success an- "swerable to their Expectations, and Your MASJETY being now "upon a March nearer towards *London*, they humbly beseech "Your MAJESTY that they may have Liberty to wait in Per- "son upon Your MAJESTY, and at a nearer Distance of Place "become Petitioners to the Lords and Commons of Parliament "assembled at *Westminster*, to embrace Your MAJESTY's gra- "tious Offers of Peace, and put an End to the Calamities of "this distracted and almost ruined Nation; with due Care to "the Preservation of the true reformed Protestant Religion, "Your MAJESTY's Rights and Honour, the Privileges of Par- "liament, and Your Subjects Liberty and Property, according "to the Laws of this Your Kingdom. And in Case they may "not obtain so just a Request, they shall hold their Lives best "spent in assisting Your MAJESTY to compass that by the Sword, "which by any other fair and just way could not be effect- "ed. To which end, they desire Liberty to put themselves in "Arms; and as they always lived, shall rejoice to dye Your "MAJESTY's most Loyal and Faithful Subjects.

Sturmiter October 9. 1644.

"I am commanded by His MAJESTY to signifie to the Petitio- "ners, That He well approves their hearty and Loyal Affections, "and is gratiously pleased to accept of the free Offer of their "Service to Him with Thanks; and gives them free Liberty to "meet and put themselves in Arms according to their Desire,

"and

" and wait upon him; and doth freely give leave to them to *October.*
" become Petitioners of the Lords and Commons of Parliament
" aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, for compoſing the unhappy Diffe-
" rences of this poor Kingdom in a peaceable way; and ſhall
" be glad to have the Petitioners, and all other His Loyal
" and well affected Subjects preſent with Him, and be Wit-
" neſſes who is in the Fault, if they be not preſently reſtored to
" a happy Peace again. He hereby aſſuring them, That He will
" only inſiſt upon the Preſervation of the true Reformed Pro-
" teſtant Religion, His own known Rights, the Privileges of
" Parliament, and His Subjects Liberty and Property accor-
" ding to the Laws of the Kingdom; and ſhall endeavour to
" have all theſe ſettled in a full and free Convention of Par-
" liament. And becauſe He would not have the good Inten-
" tions of the Petitioners fruſtrated, He wiſheth them to take
" Care to make ſuch Proviſions as may be neceſſary for their
" Journey, and they ſhall not fail of His beſt Aſſiſtance like-
" wiſe therein. And His MAJESTY doth command the Sheriff
" of the ſaid County to ſummon the *Poſſe* thereof, or any
" other Perſons, Inhabitants of the ſame, at ſuch times and
" to ſuch Places as the Commiſſioners ſhall think fit for the
" Advancement of this Buſineſs.

RICHMOND and LENOX.

The DECLARATION.

" WHEREAS we lately conceived very great Hopes, that thoſe Their De-
" many gratious Overtures from His MAJESTY to thoſe at *Lon-* claration.
" *don*, eſpecially that from *Eveſham*, and that from *Taveſtoke*
" (ſince his late Succeſs) might have given a Riſe to ſuch a hap-
" py Treaty as might have cleared thoſe Miſunderſtandings be-
" tween His MAJESTY and His People, and conſequently have
" put an end to thoſe bleeding Differences; but, contrary to
" our Expectation, thoſe gratious Meſſages have found either
" ſuch cold Reception or unſatisfying Anſwers, that they have
" been hitherto fruitleſs and ineffectual: We are reſolved not-
" withſtanding all our Diſcouragements, by laying before them
" the Calamities of the Kingdom, once more to invite them
" to the ſame Sence thereof which we have; and as we
" have been Witneſſes of His MAJESTY's Gratious Offers, ſo
" we will wait upon Him to be Witneſſes of His Perfor-
" mance of them, being all of us ſuch Perſons whom the Pro-
" feſſion of the Proteſtant Religion and our Intereſt in the Li-

" berties

October. " berties and Properties of the Subject, obliges to have as tender " a Respect of the Violation of these as any they can have. " The Summ of our Resolution is to follow His MAJESTY to- " wards *London*, (as one Man) either to propose to them, or " receive from them such Propositions as may restore this King- " dom to all the Comforts and Blessings of Peace; that having " always agreed in the same Pretences, we may no longer make " our selves the Wonder of this present Age, nor the Amaze- " ment of the future, when they shall enquire why so much " Blood hath been shed, there hardly appearing any Difference " even so much as in Words. And whosoever in this County " shall refuse to accompany us, we shall look upon him as an " Enemy to Peace, and shall proceed against him accordingly; " not doubting (though we are the first who have undertaken " unanimously to desire a Concurrence in mediating this Peace) " but that the universal Kingdom being involved in the same " Misery, will either second or approve this our Example. " But if these our Proffers of Peace can find no place with " our Opposers, it will be then so evident by their Refusal who " are the Continuers; and, by their continuing the Dispute will " be so cleared who were the Contrivers, of these Mischiefs; " and consequently the Authors of all the Miseries we have " suffered, and from henceforth of whatsoever we shall suffer. " That all Men who have any Bowels left towards their Bleed- " ing Country, any Sense of Pity, any Desire of Peace, or " Wearinesse of War, will join with us in following His MA- " JESTY either to redeem the Kingdom from these Miseries " by an happy Victory, or our selves from them by dying in " the Pursuit of it. And we doubt not but to have that Bles- " sing upon us, which is promised to those that seek Peace " and ensue it.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.

The humble Petition of the Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others His MAJESTY's *Protestant Subjects of the County of* Somerset.

Their Petition to the Parliament at *Westminster.*

" THOUGH we have been very much discouraged from ma- " king any Addresses to you of this Nature, by Reason that " those many made by His MAJESTY have been hitherto inef- " fectual; yet being moved, not only by His constant and " unwearied Example, but by that most gratious Expression

" of

" of His Sence of our Miſeries in this particular that He de- *October.*
" ſcends to ſuffer us to make an humble Overture of that for
" which, in all Equity, He ought to have been petitioned by
" you. And believing that you, who have an equal Share in the
" Sufferings, cannot but have an equal Senſe of the Calamities
" of the Kingdom; we humbly offer to your Conſideration
" that we who profeſs the ſame Proteſtant Religion, and have
" an equal Intereſt in the Liberties and Properties of the Sub-
" ject with you, cannot be ſo falſe to our ſelves, as either
" to give up that to Popery, or thoſe to an Arbitrary Go-
" vernment. That as we come now to hazard our Lives with
" His MAJESTY upon a well grounded Belief of His Promiſes,
" ſo we will be no leſs ready to engage them in being Sure-
" ties for His real Performance: And therefore deſire you to
" lay by the too tender Senſe of thoſe imaginary Evils which
" you only fear, and to join Hands with us in a happy Trea-
" ty for the removal of thoſe real Evils which we ſo ſenſibly
" ſuffer. And as we have always met in the ſame Profeſſions,
" ſo we may at laſt meet in the real Performance of what we
" have ſo long profeſt, the Maintenance of the Proteſtant Re-
" ligion, the Safety of His MAJESTY's Perſon and undoubted
" Rights, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and juſt
" Privileges of Parliament.

Now in regard of His MAJESTY's ſpeedy Advance, and the Impoſſibility of the ſudden forming this notable Deſign, His MAJESTY then found not the Effects of theſe Reſolutions; yet upon a ſecond Petition of theirs, and His MAJESTY's Gracious Anſwer and Conſent to their Deſires, a Ground Work hath been laid of raiſing a powerful Army (in that and other the aſſociated Counties) under the Command of his Highneſs Prince *Charles*, whoſe Fortune and Conduct time I hope will ſhew no leſs happy than that Prince's, his Royal Anceſtor, whoſe Attribute he bears.

THESE publick Buſineſſes being thus ſetled, His MAJESTY gave order for the redreſſing divers Diſorders in the Government of His Army; and at the Deſire of his Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, cauſed an Eſtabliſhment to be framed both for the Pays and Numbers to be in Garriſon in *Briſtol*; which being digeſted, his Highneſs on *Saturday* the 5th of *October* went thence for that City (attended by the Lord *Digby* and the Lord *Hopton*) both to ſettle that Garriſon, and to haſten General *Gerrard* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* out of *Wales* and thoſe Parts to His MAJESTY's Aſſiſtance.

5th Prince *Rupert* rerurns to *Briſtol* to ſettle that Garriſon and to haſten *Langdale* and *Gerrard*.

AND

October. AND now His MAJESTY finding that although He had at this place setled much of His Affairs, yet He could not from hence so well relieve *Portland*, as from *Blandford*; thither therefore He began His March on *Tuesday* the 8th.

6th Collonel *Hurry* returns to the Rebels.

HERE though it concern a private Person, I cannot but mention that from hence Collonel *Hurry* had his Pass to go beyond the Seas; but he made use of it no farther than to the Rebels Army, to whose Service he again returned; of whom I shall say no more but that a *Turncoat* Souldier *can hardly prove an honest Man.*

10th His Majesty at *Blandford.*

THAT Night His MAJESTY quartered His Army at *Stalbridge*, *Waller* being then about *Shaftsbury*, but He presently dislodged. The next Night the Army lay between *Sturmister* and *Blandford*, whither upon the 20th they came. His MAJESTY had His Quarters at *Brianstone*, the House of Mrs. *Rogers*, Widow of *Richard Rogers* Esq; who died the Year past, and was a Person of much Merit and Fidelity, and of very great Interest in that County. Here the Relief of *Portland* Castle was no less wisely designed, than actively pursued. The numbers drawn out of the Army for that Purpose were 500 Horse under the Command in chief of the Earl of *Cleveland*, and 600 Foot commanded by Sir *Bernard Asteley*, with three Piece of Cannon; to whom Sir *Edward Waldgrave*'s Horse from *Bridport*, and the 100 Foot left at *Chidrocke* were to be joined. With this Force the Earl of *Cleveland* and Sir *Bernard Asteley* marched thence on *Saturday* the 12th quartering at *Dorchester*, from thence the next Day they came near it, got Provisions ready to put into the Castle, and early on *Monday* Morning finished the Work. The manner of doing this acceptable Service, I must confess, I know not; otherwise I should not have failed to do the Earl of *Cleveland* and Sir *Bernard Asteley* that Right they so justly deserved. Thus much is evident, that they sufficiently furnished that Place with all manner of Provisions for some Months, raised the Siege before it, cloathed and paid the Souldiers, and with them the then Governour Collonel *Ashburnham* came thence, who had so long laboured with the Wants both of Men and Provisions to keep the same, and Sir *Walter Hastings* was then made Governour of that Castle.

13th *Portland* Castle relieved and victualed by the Earl of *Cleveland* and Sir *Bernard Asteley.*

Sir *Walter Hastings* made Governour of *Portland.*

HERE His MAJESTY received this Account from Sir *Richard Greenvile* of his Proceedings before *Plymouth*; that on *Friday* the 4th of *October*, the Rebels from that Town assaulted *Saltash* and took it by the Cowardice of those within; and the next Day more of them landed at *Milbrook*, and took the Works between that and *Saltash*. But the Country People and

and Souldiers thereabouts fell on them, kill'd 44 of the Rebels Horſe and took 33 Foot Priſoners. Sir *Richard Greenvile* preſently blocked up the Town, which thoſe within defended ſtoutly until *Munday* Night following; when he, impatient of expecting any more Aid, reſolved with his ſmall Forces to attempt it, being about 700 Men; which was ſo well performed, that after two Hours Diſpute he maſtered the Town, and killed and took more Priſoners than his whole Force was; the Red Regiment, and the Rebels Maiden Troop of 80 Horſe, being all either ſlain or taken. Sir *Richard Greenvile* intended to have executed his Priſoners being taken without Quarter, but he deferring his Intention, His MAJESTY out of His wonted Clemency gave him Directions not to do it.

October. 4th Sir *Richard Greenvile* recovers *Saltaſh* with notable Execution on the Rebels.

His Majeſty's great Mercy in ſparing the Rebels.

His MAJESTY having now ſetled the Affairs of this County of *Dorſet* in the beſt manner as either His Strength or the Time would poſſibly admit, had now good reaſon to have an Eye both to Winter Quarters, and to the Relief of *Banbury*, *Dennington* and *Baſing*; which were ſtill ſtreightly beſieged and reduced to very great Streights, eſpecially *Banbury*. And having likewiſe frequent Advice from *Oxford*, that *Mancheſter* was about *Reading* and *Newbery*, with about 500 Horſe and Foot and 24 Piece of Ordnance, that four Regiments of the Trained Bands of *London* were coming towards him, and that *Eſſex* was about *Portſmouth* with about ... 000 Horſe and Foot, His MAJESTY had more cauſe to attempt ſomething actively before their Forces were joined, both for the Relief of thoſe Places, and to be able to fight with any of them ſingly. And therefore upon *Munday* the 14th of *October* His MAJESTY marched to *Cramborne*, and thence the next Day to *Salisbury*, where He had Advice that it was not poſſible for Prince *Rupert*'s Force to come unto Him in ſuch a time as the preſent Neceſſity of His Occaſions did require; and upon certain Notice that Sir *William Waller* was then at *Andover* with about 3000 Horſe and Dragoons, it was (*upon General* Goring's *Motion*) by His MAJESTY and the whole Council, reſolved that it would exceedingly advance His MAJESTY's Deſign to attempt on him there, before he was joined with *Eſſex*'s Forces (who at this time were about *Baſing*) and if that ſucceeded, we might with more eaſe endeavour the Relief of *Baſing* and *Dennington*. However our Advance would probably draw them from thoſe Sieges to unite, and then our Work was done, it being in our Power to retreat and ſtand upon the Defence until Prince *Rupert* was come up; theſe Reſolutions being taken, they were put in execution in this manner.

Mancheſter about *Reading*, whither the Rebels were drawing their Forces to oppoſe His Majeſty's Advance.

15th His Majeſty came to *Salisbury*.

Waller then at *Andover*.

15th It was thought beſt to attempt on ſome of the Rebels before they were all joined.

October. FIRST the greatest part of the Cannon and Carriages of the King's Army, with the sick Souldiers (such as were unable for this March) we left behind at *Lonford* House, where we placed a Garrison of 100 Men under the Command of Collonel *Griffin*; and those of Prince *Maurice*'s Army were left at *Wilton*, with his Cannon and Baggage; and a Collonel and

17th some Foot left to defend that Place. Then the Rendezvouz

Resolved to beat up *Waller*'s Quarters at *Andover*. was appointed to be the next Morning being *Friday* the 18th of *October* near *Clarindon* Park at seven of the Clock precisely, and all the Horse to be there from their Quarters at that time; and lest *Waller* should have any Notice of our Intentions, Guards were placed on all the Avenues of the City, and Order given that no Person should go out of it after six a Clock at Night without His MAJESTY's Order. The Design being thus laid, His MAJESTY with His Army marched very early out of *Salisbury*, and was with His Army at the Rendezvous by

18th the time appointed; but Prince *Maurice*'s Foot, whose Quar-

The stay of Prince *Maurice*'s Foot probably hindred the Design. ters were at *Wilton*, came not up so timely, it being past eleven of the Clock before they were there. This Delay had almost altered our Resolutions, and questionless was the cause that we did not totally rout *Waller*. About twelve of the Clock we began our March in that Order as we intended to fight, and by three in the Afternoon were within four Miles of *Andover*, before *Waller* knew of our Motion. This made him bestir himself, and to draw out his whole Body towards us; but perceiving our Strength and good Order, he drew back into the Town, leaving a strong Body of Horse and Dragoons to make good his Retreat. Our Van charged and routed them, with some Execution, but did not instantly pursue them through the Town, the Way into it being lined with Dragoons, which they

General *Goring* forced *Waller* out of *Andover*. presently quitted, and then General *Goring* entred the Town, and followed them in their Rear. If upon the first Advance we had but sent 500 Horse over a Pass below the Town, they could not possibly have escaped us. As it was they were scattered and made haste away, being closely pursued by our Horse,

The Night a great Advantage to the Rebels until the darkness of the Night hindered any more Action, and gave them the Opportunity in this Terror to fly through *Whitchurch* to *Basing* and *Newbery*. His MAJESTY and His Army quartered at *Andover* that Night, and concluding the next Morning that this beating up of *Waller* and dispersing his

19th Forces, would put a Terror into the rest, He resolved to march

This Success caused the speedy Advance of the Army. forward; and to that end sent Order that all His Souldiers, Cannon and Baggage left at *Salisbury* and *Wilton* should instantly follow Him, as likewise the Earl of *Cleveland*, and the

Foot

Foot that were now on their March after the Relief of *Portland*. Whereupon His MAJESTY and that part of His Army marched to *Whitchurch*, where He ſtayed until *Munday* the 21ſt, by which time all His Force was come up. This ſpeedy Advance at that time, was by ſome eſteemed the firſt and only Error that had been committed ſince His MAJESTY left *Oxford*, for now we were engaged and could not in Honour retreat; neither could we give any Relief to *Baſing*, the Rebels then lying about it. As for *Banbury*, we might as well have endeavoured to raiſe that Siege by Forces ſent from *Andover*; and *Dennington* then needed not any Aſſiſtance, the Rebels being drawn thence the *Friday* before (the Notice of which came to His MAJESTY whilſt he lay at *Whitchurch*) yet nothing but the Conſequence made this an Overſight. We then concluding our ſelves not much overpowered by their Forces united; ſo as although we would not voluntarily attempt them, yet we would not avoid them if they ſought us out.

October.

This accounted the firſt Overſight.

20th His Majeſty at *Whitchurch.*

HERE according to promiſe we ſhall inſert ſome Paſſages of the Siege of *Dennington* Caſtle, and the diſcreet and gallant Behaviour of the Governour, Lieutenant Collonel *Boys*. That Siege was begun the 29th of *September* by Collonel *Horton*, with Forces from *Abingdon* and *Reading*; who being denied the Caſtle, made his Approaches, and raiſed a Battery on the the Foot of the Hill on that ſide towards *Newbery*, and plyed it ſo with his great Cannon, that after twelve Days continual ſhooting, he had overthrown three Towers and a part of the Wall. Then he ſummoned it again, having received Addition of Force from *Mancheſter*. His Summons and the Governour's Anſwer will be very proper to be here inſerted, to teſtifie the Inſolence of the Collonel and the diſcreet Courage and Reſolution of the Governour.

The gallant Behaviour of Collonel *Boys* in *Dennington* Caſtle.

SIR,

" We have formerly teſtified our Clemency in tendring you
" Quarter, upon your Surrender of the Caſtle for the Service
" of the King and Parliament; and now again we being deſirous
" (notwithſtanding our Encreaſe of Powers) to manifeſt our
" Mercy, do hereby once for all freely offer your ſelf and Men
" fair Quarter, in caſe you yield the Caſtle for the uſe above-
" ſaid, before *Wedneſday* next at ten of the Clock in the Fore-
" noon; and farther we here teſtifie (in the preſence of God)
" that if this our Favour be not accepted, and the Caſtle ſur-

Horton's Summons.

October. " rendred, there shall no active Man amongst you have his life,
" if God shall ever please to yield them to our Mercy.

Yours, JEREMY HORTON.

SIR,

Collonel *Boys* his Answer.

" NEITHER your new Addition of Forces, nor your high
" threatning Language shall deter me, nor the rest of these
" honest Men with me, from our Loyalty to our Sovereign;
" but we do resolve to maintain this place to the uttermost of
" our Powers; and for the matter of Quarter, yours may ex-
" pect the like on *Wednesday* or sooner if you please. This is
" the Answer of, Sir your Servant,

JO. BOYS.

UPON this second Denial, *Manchester* himself came to *Newbery*, and being denied it also, he resolved to storm it on

9th *Manchester* himself comes before it.

Wednesday the 9th of *October*, the Defendants being ready to receive him. But *Manchester*'s Forces being unwilling to go on, they left that Enterprize, and plyed it with their Artillery until the next Night; wherein they removed their Battery to the other side of the Castle, making their Approaches by Sapps. While they were doing this the Garrison sallyed and beat them out of their Trenches, killed a Lieutenant Collonel (their chief Officer there) with many Souldiers; shot their Cannonier through the Head, and brought away their Cannon, Baskets, with many Arms. This much disheartned the Rebels, yet the next Night they finished their Battery, and continued battering the Castle until *Friday* Night the 18th of *October*, and then they drew off their Ordnance and marched thence, having in nineteen Days spent 1000 great Shot, and done very little hurt to the Defendants.

18th The Rebels quit the Siege.

21st His Majesty at *Kingsclear*.

ON *Munday* the 21st of *October* His MAJESTY with His whole Army marched from *Whitchurch* to *Kingsclear*, which is in equal Distance between *Basing* and *Newbery*, with Intentions to have stayed there the next Day, and thence to have endeavoured the Relief of *Basing*; but that being too open a Place, and the Rebels stronger in Horse, we marched thence on *Tuesday* the 22d towards *Newbery*. All our Army was drawn upon *Red-Heath*, where Lieutenant Collonel *Boys* waited on His MAJESTY, who gave him the Dignity of Knighthood for his Loyalty and valiant Carriage in the Defence of *Dennington* Castle, and besides made him Collonel of that Regiment, which he before commanded as Lieutenant Collonel to the

Earl

Earl *Rivers*. From hence the Earl of *Northampton* with his own, the Earl of *Brainford*'s, and the Lord *Willmot*'s Regiments of Horſe, was ſent to endeavour the raiſing of the Siege before *Banbury*, the Rebels having by this time brought that place to the Point of rendring for want of Victuals. His Lordſhip willingly embraced the Employment, and made haſte thither: By the Way about *Farringdon* he took 22 Priſoners, and ſome Fat Oxen going to *Abingdon*. On *Thurſday* the 24th Collonel *Gage* with the Queen's Regiment of Foot and ſome Horſe from *Oxford* joined with him, and ſo they quartered at *Adderbury*; the next Morning they drew thence, and by ſeven of the Clock were within half a Mile of *Banbury*, where they found the Rebels Horſe (about 800) drawn up in five Bodies on the South ſide of the Town, near their Sconce; they faced ours without attempting any thing, until two or three Shot made by two Drakes brought from *Oxford* made them ſtagger and retreat ſomewhat diſorderly towards *Hanwel*. The Rebels Foot (about 700) then ran out of *Banbury*, having ſent their Cannon and Baggage away the Night before; the Rebels then retiring, were purſued by the Earl of *Northampton* and his Horſe (and in the interim Collonel *Gage* with the Foot relieved the Caſtle.) About a Mile ſhort from *Hanwell* he overtook the Rebels, and being then joined with Collonel *Webb*'s *Oxford* Horſe, he charged and quickly routed them; who made their Eſcape the eaſier, having lined two Hedges with Muſquetiers, which ſhot at ours as we purſued their Horſe, though in a Field near *Hanwell* they ſcattered and diſperſed themſelves. Their General young *Fiennes* was with the foremoſt, and firſt got to *Compton*, thence to *Warwick*, and ſo to *Coventry*, before he either ſlept or thought himſelf out of Danger. Their Foot eſcaped through Encloſures before our Foot came up. In the Purſuit we took one Field Piece and three Waggons of Arms and Ammunition, and ſlew very many between *Hanwel* and *Edghill*. There were then taken one Captain *Vnitt*, and Lieutenant *Vernon*, with 86 other Priſoners, four Cornets of Horſe, and 200 Horſes, ſix Barrels of Powder, and good ſtore of Match. We loſt in this memorable Action onely Captain *Brown* and nine Troopers, and ſome Officers and others were hurt. Thus was the Siege raiſed from *Banbury*, which had continued about 13 Weeks; in which time the Gallant Sir *William Compton*, Lieutenant Collonel *Green*, and all both Officers and Souldiers behaved themſelves ſo couragiouſly that they never admitted a Parley, nor gave the Rebels the leaſt Hopes of gaining that Place. And which is obſervable,

October.

22d The Earl of *Northampton* ſent to the Relief of *Banbury*.

24th Collonel *Gage* joined with him from *Oxford*.

25th *Banbury* releived.

25th Many of the Rebels ſlain and taken Priſoners.

October. servable, it was now relieved the very Day of the Month that both Town and Castle were rendred to His MAJESTY two Years since being the 26th of *October*.

22d His Majesty at *Newbery*. HIS MAJESTY in the interim lay still at *Newbery*, where He seriously considered the speediest Ways to relieve *Basing*; and then caused His Army so to be quartered as to do but little Duty, and yet to be secure from the Rebels; who (it was thought) would not attempt us in that Place, and whence His MAJESTY could not conveniently remove until He had done His Endeavours for the Relief of *Basing*; and that the Earl of *Northampton*, with that Addition of Strength he took with him to *Banbury* was returned. But the Rebels as well knowing His MAJESTY's Strength *as their own* (by the Information of *Hurry* who was with them, *who not long ago was mentioned as a Runagate*) which by this time (the Forces of *Essex*, *Manchester*, *Waller*, and the Trained Bands of *London* being joined) made up about 8000 Foot, and very near as many Horse and Dragoons, quickly apprehended this Opportunity; and in obedience to the Order of their Masters at *Westminster*, which were positive to fight with His MAJESTY, they drew from *Basing* on *Tuesday* the 22d and lay the two next Days in *Aldermaston* Park. On *Friday* they had their Rendezvouz on *Bucklebury* Heath, bringing with them three Days Provision. About twelve of the Clock that Day they first appeared with their whole Body between *Thacham* and *Shaw*, attempting to have obtained the Hill above *Shaw*, but they were repulsed by Prince *Maurice*'s Regiment of Horse and some Foot left to dispute that Ground; who in the Night drew thence by Order, and the next Morning the Rebels possessed that Hill with four great Bodies of Foot, and shot into our Quarters all that Day without doing us any Mischief. The rest of their Army drew round to encompass us on the West, this was the manner of their Attempt. And here it will be fit that our Position be represented, the better to understand the ensuing Action, and likewise our Intentions, which you must conclude were now solely to be upon the defensive part, and so by hard Duty and lying in the Fields to distress this collective Body of the Rebels; which had we kept our Ground on all parts, had in probability been effected. His MAJESTY quartered in the Town of *Newbery*, and first placed strong Guards on the South part of the Town; then the greatest part of his Army was placed towards the Rebels Quarters, as Mr. *Doleman*'s House at *Shaw*, in the Village near it, defended by the River that runs under *Dennington* Castle, in a House be-

The Rebels found their Advantage.

25th The Rebels first appeared.

His Majesty upon the defensive part.

26th The Position of His Majesty's Army.

tween

tween that Village and *Newbery*, about which a Work was caſt up, and at a Mill upon the River *Kennet*, all which lay almoſt Eaſt from the Town. Directly North from thence are two open Fields where moſt of our Horſe ſtood, and our Train of Artillery, and about half a Mile Weſt is the Village of *Speene*, and beyond it a ſmall Heath. In this Village all Prince *Maurice*'s Foot lay, with ſome of the Weſtern Horſe. At the Entrance of the Heath between two Hedges we caſt up a Work, which cleared the Heath and all the Fields to the North even to the River; to the South within the Hedge there was one narrow Field, and from thence a perpendicular Deſcent into a Mariſh, between that and the River *Kennet*. This was our Poſition, wherein, had the Taverſe been finiſhed and made down to the Mariſh (although we were inferiour in Number) yet we ſhould have been ſufficiently provided to have withſtood their Force. *October*.

EARLY on *Sunday* Morning being the 27th of *October*, about 1000 of *Mancheſter*'s Forces and the *London* Trained Bands came down the Hill, and paſſed the River that was by *Shaw*; and being not diſcovered, forced ſome of our Foot from a Paſs not far from the Houſe we had entrenched, where Sir *Bernard Aſteley* lay; who inſtantly drew out 400 Muſquetiers, fell upon the Body, and not only routed them, but cauſed them to do the like to two other Bodies that were coming to ſecond them. In the purſuit many of them were ſlain, divers drowned in the River, and about 200 Arms gained. This Action was ended ſoon after the riſing of the Sun, about which time the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Forces, all Sir *William Waller*'s, and part of *Mancheſter*'s Horſe purſued their Deſign to fall on the Quarter at *Speene*; of which we had Intelligence from *Dennington*, from whence their Motion was diſcovered: And had Sir *John Douglas* actively oppoſed them, (who was the Day before ſent with 300 Horſe and 200 Foot beyond *Dennington* Caſtle to that end) they could not ſo eaſily have paſſed the River. And to ſay the Truth, I believe we did not apprehend they would have attempted us that way, eſpecially that Day, for it was now three in the Afternoon, when (beſides our Forces that were placed at the ſeveral Paſſes) very few of the Reſerve that ſhould have been in the Field (where our Artillery lay) were there, being gone for Forrage. At that time the Rebels having paſſed the River, firſt poſſeſſed themſelves of a Wood on the Weſt end of the Heath beyond *Speene*, and thence diſcharged their Ordnance and marched in good Order, with very great Bodies of Foot winged with Horſe. Our Horſe made good

27th
The Rebels attempt to paſs, and are repulſed with Loſs.

The Rebels attempt to ſurround the King's Forces.

the

October. the Heath a while, but being overpowered were forced to retreat, and with them all our Foot, leaving behind them nine Pieces of Artillery, which the Rebels presently possessed and the Village of *Speene*. Our Foot retreated to the Hedge next the large Field between *Speene* and *Newbery*, which they made good. At this Instant the right Wing of the Rebels Horse being at least 500 advanced underneath the Hill of *Speene*, between that and the Marish, with 100 Musquetiers in their Van, and came into the open Field, where His MAJESTY's Guards commanded by the Lord *Bernard Stewart* then stood. Upon their Approach Major *Legge* was sent with a Party towards them, but being overpowered he made his Retreat good, and they still advanced under the Favour of their Musquetiers. The King's Guards then wheeled about to get more Ground, and many of our Horse then in our Rear fled disorderly to *Newbery*. By that time we had gotten Ground and that our Faces were towards them, they were within Carabine Shot, where they were immediately encountred by two Troops of the Queen's Regiment of Horse, commanded by Sir *John Cansfield*, with so much Gallantry and Courage, as that the Rebels seeing the King's Guards coming to fall on their Flank, this great Body of theirs presently fled, we having the Execution of them from thence near half a Mile, wherein we slew most of their Musquetiers and some of their Horse, and put so great a Terror into them, as that they durst not advance again that Night. In this manner was the Right Wing of the Rebels Horse defeated, which proved the Safeguard of His MAJESTY's Person and Army, there being on that side no other Force but His MAJESTY's Guards to defend them. His MAJESTY was in the interim in the midst of the Field, with His Son Prince *Charles* and divers of His Council and Servants; where by His Presence He did much encourage those that stood, and rallied those that were deserting the Field; though a whole Brigade of our Horse being stopped by His MAJESTY as they came down the Lane from *Speene*, and commanded by Him again into the Field, very basely forsook Him and ran into *Newbery*; out of which they were speedily forced by our Guards then placed at the Bridge. At the same time the Rebels Horse of their left Wing were advancing towards the North side of the great Field, but before they were got thither, General *Goring* put himself into the Head of the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Brigade (consisting of the Earl of *Cleveland*'s, Collonel *Thornehil*'s, *Hamilton*'s, *Culpeper*'s, and *Steward*'s Regiments of Horse) and being accompanied by the Earl himself, he fell upon them, and forced them back in great

The Rebels get *Speene* and take nine Piece of Ordnance.

27th

The Right Wing of the Rebels Horse defeated.

The left Wing of the Rebels Horse repulsed.

great Confuſion, and then got over the Hedge, where he was again charged by another Body, but he quickly defeated them alſo, and ſlew divers of the Rebels on the place. In this Charge the couragious Earl of *Cleveland* engaged himſelf ſo far, and by the illneſs of his Horſe which fell with him, was taken Priſoner. This Charge was the more gallant, becauſe this Brigade of Horſe, not only went over the Ditch to meet the Rebels, but paſſed by three Bodies of the Rebels Foot, who ſhot at them both when they purſued the Rebels and as they came back. *October.* 27th

The Earl of *Cleveland* unfortunately taken Priſoner.

In the interim the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Forces came down the Hill near *Shaw*, being 1200 Horſe and 3000 Foot, and at the ſame time that the others got *Speene*, they advanced towards the Guards; which the Lord *Aſteley* diſpoſed, under the Command of Collonel *George Liſle*, who had appointed Lieutenant Collonel *Page* to keep Mr. *Dolman*'s Houſe, placed ſome Dragoons in the Hedges and Lane near it, and Collonel *Thelwell* with his own Regiment and others of the *Reading* Brigade to be a Reſerve. The Rebels came ſinging of Pſalms, and at firſt forced forty Muſquetiers out of a Hedge, at which they gave a great Shout; but they were preſently charged by Sir *John Browne* with Prince *Charles* his Regiment of Horſe, and very good Execution done upon them; who inſtantly received another Charge of 1000 of the Rebels Horſe, and then retreated to the Foot in Mr. *Dolman*'s Garden which flanked that Field, and killed many of the Rebels. Whereupon their Horſe faced about, and Sir *John Browne* fell on their Rear, and cut off many of them, and kept the Ground all that Day. At the ſame time the Reſerve commanded by Collonel *Thelwell* came on, being about 400 Men; and after they had galled the Rebels with ſeveral Vollies, they fell on with the butt end of their Muſquets, and beat the Rebels not only from the Hedges, but quite out of the Field; the Rebels running off in great confuſion, leaving two Drakes, ſome Colours, and many dead Bodies behind them. In the mean time another great Body of the Rebels Foot fell on thoſe in Mr. *Dolman*'s Houſe, where they were ſo ſtoutly oppoſed by Lieutenant Collonel *Page* that they began to run, and were purſued up the Hill, with the notable execution of near 500 in a ſmall compaſs of Ground; which done, we had leiſure to draw off the two Drakes *of the Rebels* that were formerly engaged. By this time it was Night, and His Majesty come with His Regiment of Guards into the Field under *Dennington* Caſtle; where His Majesty obſerving the Strength and Oppoſition of

Mancheſter's Forces attempt Mr. *Dolman*'s Houſe.

The Rebels notably repulſed.

More than 500 of the Rebels ſlain, and two Drakes taken.

October. the Rebels, and that they had poſſeſſed *Speene*, and all the Ordnance in that part, was confirmed in the reſolution he had taken that Morning, which was, to march away early the next Day to *Wallingford*; to which end, all the Carriages had been that *Morning* drawn under *Dennington* Caſtle. Where-fore His MAJESTY ſent inſtant Order to His Nephew Prince *Maurice*, Lord *Hopton*, General *Goring*, and to Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, to draw off as ſoon as they could conveniently, and *according to the former Reſolution*, to march thither. But His MAJESTY withal, ſeeing the great Advantage the Rebels had, (*if they ſhould have the Conduct and Courage to purſue it*,) *thought it the fitteſt courſe for Himſelf and Son* to go to *Bath*, and by His Preſence to haſten *thoſe Welch and Northern Forces, which His Nephew Prince* Ruport *was then gathering together for* His Aſſiſtance: with which, (if His Army made a ſafe Retreat) He might ſpeedily return and join; or if the Succeſs proved otherwiſe (*which at that time was too probable*) then His MAJESTY was again at the Head of another Army. His MAJESTY having thus reſolved, marched thence preſently with His Guards and Servants (in all about 300 Horſe) and by the Morning was near *Marleborough*, and that Evening came to *Bath*, where He met Prince *Rupert*.

His Majeſty drew under *Dennington* Caſtle, and gave Order for the Army to march towards *Wallingford*.

His Majeſty goes towards *Bath* to join with Prince *Rupert*.

28th His Majeſty at *Bath*.

BUT now to look back, that part of the Army we left in the Field near *Speene* kept their Ground, and although it was a fair and Moonſhine Night, they were not aſſaulted any more by the Rebels from thence; who it ſeems were well content with what they had got. But the other Body who poſſeſſed the Hill above *Shaw*, were impatient of their Loſs, and once more with a great Body of Horſe attempted to have fallen on our Foot; but were ſo well received as that they ſpeedily retreated to the Hill again. This was the laſt Action between the Armies: But which of them had the better of the Day, will be a very difficult matter to decide. 'Tis true they firſt forced us out of our Quarters at *Speene*, and gained there and near it nine pieces of Ordnance; but the Horſe of both their Wings were forced back with ſome Execution; on the other ſide thoſe that fell on our Quarters at *Shaw*, were thrice beaten off with the loſs of two pieces of Ordnance, and (to ſpeak modeſtly) above 500 of them were ſlain on the Place, whereof I preſume ſome were Officers, though we could never hear of what condition. Of our part there were ſlain Sir *William St. Leger* Lieutenant Collonel of the Duke of *York*'s Regiment of Foot, Lieutenant Collonel *Topping*, Lieutenant Collonel *Leak*, Officers of Horſe; and upon a true account not a 100 common

The Rebels attempted no more from *Speene*.

A hard Queſtion which Army had the better of the Day.

Common Souldiers in all places. The Earl of *Brainford* Lieutenant General of His MAJESTY's Army received a Wound on his Head, and Sir *John Cansfield*, Sir *John Greenvile*, Lieutenant Collonel *Page* and ſome others were likewiſe wounded. And truly very much of our Happineſs and Preſervation is to be aſcribed to the ſingular Courage and Conduct of our Forces at *Shaw*, eſpecially to Collonel *Liſle* who commanded in chief there, and to Collonel *Thelwel*, Lieutenant Collonel *Page*, and the Officers and Souldiers under their Command; who likewiſe made their Retreat, as well as they kept their Ground. For in order to His MAJESTY's Commands, about ten of the Clock that Night, all the Army, both Horſe, Foot and Cannon was drawn from their ſeveral Guards to the Heath about *Dennington* Caſtle, wherein they firſt left moſt of their wounded Officers, with all the Ordnance, Ammunition and Carriages; and then Prince *Maurice*, the Lord *Goring*, the Lord *Hopton*, and Sir *Jacob Aſteley* marched away in good order to *Wallingford*, leaving Sir *Humphry Bennet* (who had behaved himſelf very well that Day) with his Brigade of Horſe to bring up the Rear; which was not at all diſturbed by the Rebels, who could not but know of our Retreat, and is an Argument they had enough of the Buſineſs, and were well pleaſed ſo to be rid of us. By the Morning all our Army both Horſe and Foot were got to *Wallingford*, where they refreſhed a while, and then had convenient Quarters aſſigned them about *Oxford*. The Earl of *Brainford*, in reſpect of his Wound ſtayed in *Dennington*, whither the next Day the Rebels (having firſt poſſeſſed themſelves of *Newbery*, and taken ſome few Straglers that could not be got out of the Town) ſent a Summons to have that Place delivered; and particularly Collonel *Hurry* came to perſuade the General to give his Conſent thereunto. But neither the General nor Sir *John Boys* would hearken to any of their Propoſitions; which fell from one Degree to another to be more reaſonable. For firſt they ſummoned it to be delivered, elſe they would not leave one Stone on another: To which Sir *John Boys* made this apt Anſwer, "That if they "did, he was not bound to repair it, but however (by God's "Aſſiſtance) he would keep the Ground. Then they offered him to depart with Arms, and laſtly, with all the Arms, Artillery and Ammunition then in the Caſtle: To which he returned this Anſwer, "That he had ſent ſo many Anſwers, "that he wondred they were yet unſatisfied; therefore he wil-"led them to take this his laſt Anſwer, That His Sacred MA-"JESTY had entruſted that Place in his Cuſtody, and though

October.

27th

The ſingular Valour and Conduct of Collonel *Liſle* and thoſe with him.

28th

All the Army ſafely retreated to *Wallingford.*

28th

The Rebels again ſummon *Dennington* Caſtle.

October. "they would give him Liberty to take with him whatever was "in the Castle, and (if possible) to carry the Castle it self "away, yet would he not forsake his Ground; but 'till His "MAJESTY who sent him thither should command him thence, "he was resolved to live and dye in the Place.

30th. The Rebels being denied and repulsed gave it over.

NONE of which, although he were over-prest with Numbers and could not expect speedy Relief, wrought either on his Courage or Loyalty. Upon these Denials they atempted to have forced it, but the Commander that led them on being slain, with some few more, they retired, being then hopeless of gaining that place. On *Monday* Night the Earl of *Brainford* and his Lady, not willing to be besieged in a Castle when the Army was in the Field, got a Guide, intending to repair to His MAJESTY at *Bath*, and to bring him an Account of the safe Retreat of His Army to *Wallingford*. By the way he was hotly pursued by a Party of the Rebels Horse, and his Lady and most of his Servants taken, but he came safe to *Bath* that Night. Whence His MAJESTY resolved, having refreshed Himself and His Company a Day, with the Force *Prince Rupert* had there, and those of General *Gerrard* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* who were then at *Evesham*, to march immediately towards *Oxford*, to join with them, and encrease His Army; wherein He was the more confirmed by the Intelligence brought Him on *Tuesday* in the Afternoon, by a Servant of the General's, that the Army had made their Retreat good; which was likewise assured by the General's Presence. In order to these Resolutions, His MAJESTY with Prince *Rupert* marched out of *Bath* on *Wednesday* the 30th of *October*, being attended with 300 of His own Troop and Followers, 200 of Prince *Rupert*'s Troop, and about 500 Horse and 300 Foot more. With this Strength His MAJESTY quartered that Night at *Shenston* near *Malmsbury*, and then on *Thursday* the 31st He came to *Cirencester*, where the Lord *Astley* not knowing that His MAJESTY and Prince *Rupert* were joined, or at least were so near, gave His MAJESTY an Account by Letter of the good Condition of His Army, with this Advice to His MAJESTY speedily to advance, and with the Addition of Prince *Rupert*'s Forces joined to His Army, to march again to *Newbery*, to disengage His Cannon and offer the Rebels Battel. This I observe the rather, because the Opinion of this excellent Commander and His MAJESTY's Resolutions were the same.

The Earl of *Brainford* hardly escaped, his Lady made Prisoner.

29th His Majesty resolved to return towards *Oxford.*

31st He received perfect Advice of the Safety of His Army.

Novem. FROM *Cirencester* on *Friday* the first of *November* His MAJESTY marched towards *Burford*, and by the way had Notice that General *Gerrard* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* with a Force

of

of about 4000 Horſe and Foot would quarter that Night at *Stow*. *Novem.* Whereupon to give the more Eaſe to the Troops, and to make Preparations for the March to *Newbery*, His MAJESTY left His Force at *Burford*, and went Himſelf with His own Troop and Servants to *Oxford*; whither He came that Night, and was received with the general Joy and Acclamation of all the People, having been abſent thence full five Months. In which time, (by the Divine Providence) His MAJESTY had paſſed through and overcome many Difficulties, and not only given a ſtop to the Rebels Proceedings, but upon the matter with a ſmall Force deſtroyed both thoſe Armys, that in the beginning of the Summer did ſo much endeavour his Ruin.

General *Gerrard* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* were at *Stow*.

That Night His Majeſty came ſafe to *Oxford*.

As ſoon as His MAJESTY came to *Chriſt-Church*, He conferred the Dignity of Knighthood on Collonel *Gage*, who in His MAJESTY's Abſence had ſo well deſerved, both in the Defence of this City and the Relief of *Baſing* and *Banbury*. And then His MAJESTY gave Thanks to all the Lords and others of the Council, who with ſo much Wiſdom and Vigilance had managed His MAJESTY's Affairs ſince His Departure. This being done, His MAJESTY the ſucceeding Days made all Preparation fitting for the Field, and cauſed a new Train of Artillery to be formed; which being done, all His Army was drawn together, and upon *Wedneſday* the 6th of *November* were in a full Body on *Bullington* Green, and with the Addition of *Gerrard*'s and *Langdale*'s Forces and ſome Foot drawn out of *Oxford* under the Command of Sir *Henry Gage*, were at leaſt 6000 Foot and 5000 Horſe. That Night they quartered in the Villages adjacent, and the next Day His MAJESTY marched with them to *Wallingford*, and the Day following being *Friday* the 8th of *November* to the two *Ilſleys* five Miles ſhort of *Newbery*.

Preparations ſpeedily to take the Field.

6th Rendezvouz at *Bullington*-Green.

HERE you muſt know that His MAJESTY made the greater haſte, firſt to diſengage His Ordnance in *Dennington*, and to put ſome Relief into that Place; then to attempt the Rebels, and to recover that Opinion (if any were loſt in the late Action) by daring the Rebels to give Battel, who were not then removed from *Newbery*; and above all to relieve *Baſing* ſtill beſieged by the Rebels. That Night ſome of our Horſe beat up a ſmall Quarter of the Rebels Horſe, by which I believe the Rebels had the firſt real Notice of our Advance. The next Day being *Saturday* the 9th of *November*, our Army marched in Battalia, expecting ſome Oppoſition: The Van was led by his Highneſs Prince *Rupert* and General *Gerrard*. In this order we marched, and got Poſſeſſion of the Heath on the Back-

8th The Rebels ſecure at *Newbery*.

Novem. side of *Dennington* Castle, from which a small Force of the Rebels might have kept us, the Entrance into it being steep, and the Way very narrow; and then we must have gone about and fallen in by the Way of *Speene*. On that Heath the Army was drawn up about twelve of the Clock, and every one prepared to fight. Thence in good order we marched by *Dennington* Castle, passing the River at a Mill, and two Ford below it without any Opposition, and thence drew into the large Field between *Speene* and *Newbery* where the Army was set in order. The Rebels in the interim drew a great Body of Horse and Foot into the other Field towards *Shaw*, having made Breastworks and Batteries on the Backside of *Newbery* towards both these Fields, resolving to keep that Town, which was the Reason they gave us so easie a Passage to the Heath behind *Dennington*. About three in the Afternoon we advanced within the reach of their Cannon, which they discharged amongst us without doing any hurt: Then a Body of our Horse charged another of theirs in the lower Field, and routed them, pursuing them almost to their Breastworks; when the Rebels Musquetiers placed in the Lane between the two Fields gave fire on our Horse, and caused them to retreat, (though without Disorder.) In the interim we could discover a great Body of their Horse on the Hill, on the South side of *Newbery*, almost at a stand, whether to come down or retire. The Armys being now on the point of being engaged, His MAJESTY advised with His Council what was fitteft to be done; who considering that He had already effected what He came for thither, which was to relieve *Dennington*, (Provisions being put in in the interim) that it was in His Power to draw off His Odnance and Ammunition thence; and that He had sufficiently regained the Opinion and the Honour of the Day, by passing of His Army over the River in the Face of theirs, and offering them Battel if they durst draw out; and withal considering how dangerous it might prove to force them to fight, having the Advantages of Breastworks and Batteries and a Town at their Backs, it was unanimously concluded that we should draw off, and attempt them no farther. And to let them know that we did it not out of any Apprehension, Prince *Pert* sent a Trumpet to give them Notice of our Intentions; so that if it had been in their Will, they might have fallen on our Rear. But they suffered us quietly to pass back with Drums beating and Trumpets sounding the same Ways we came over the River. His MAJESTY lay that Night in *Dennington* Castle, and all the Army about him.

9th The Army gets the Heath behind *Dennington* without Opposition.

The Army set in Battalia in the Field between *Speene* and *Newbery*.

A slight Skirmish between the Horse.

9th The Rebels would not engage themselves.

The Honour of the Day being His Majesty's, the Army was drawn off.

His Majesty lay that Night in *Dennington* Castle.

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In this Action we loſt one Captain of Horſe, and about fourteen Foot ſlain by their Cannon in the Retreat; and I believe the Rebels loſt twice that number. This was the ſureſt Game, though it was poſſible had we fallen on them at that time, we might have deſtroyed their Army; for they wanted not Fears within, and were not ſorry for our Retreat. The Generals of their Army there at that time were *Mancheſter* and *Waller*; *Eſſex* being gone to *London*; who afterwards ſent General *Goring* word, that had he been preſent we ſhould not have drawn off ſo quietly. On *Sunday* the 10th of *November* His Majesty drew out of *Dennington* Caſtle as many of his Cannon and as much Ammunition as He had Carriage for, and in good Order march'd over the *Heath*, and ſo towards *Lamborne*. In the way the Rebels with ſome Horſe attempted our Rear, but were repulſed with Loſs, and ſome of them were taken Priſoners. At *Lamborne* His Majesty quartered that Night, and ſtayed there the next Day to refreſh His Army, and until Proviſions could be made for them at *Marleborough*. To which purpoſe the Lords *Capell*, *Hopton*, *Culpeper* and the Treaſurer at War, were ſent that Day to ſee it performed: Who although it might be concluded a deſcending in them in reſpect of their Qualities, yet they valued the Safety of His Majesty and His Army above that Opinion. On *Tueſday* the 12th of *November* His Majesty and the Army came to *Marleborough*, where He found good Effects of the endeavours of theſe Lords, and much Proviſion prepared and more deſigned, as well for the Support of the Army, as to be ſent into *Dennington* (not ſufficiently ſtored) and to be carried either with the Army, or with a Party for the Relief of *Baſing*: For this was now the Queſtion, whether we ſhould attempt the Relief of that Place with the whole or a Party; at length it was concluded that the ſafeſt courſe woul be to do it by a Party. And Sir *Henry Gage* (who had once before with ſo good Succeſs relieved that Garriſon) was made choice of, who was to endeavour it in this manner; to have with him 1000 Horſe, every of which was to carry before him a Bag of Corn, or other Proviſions, and he to march ſo as to be at *Baſing* Houſe the next Morning after he parted from the Army; and there every Trooper to caſt down his Bag, and then to make their Retreat good as well as they might. This deſign Colonel *Gage* cheerfully undertook; and the better to effect it, *Hungerford* was thought a fitter Place to quarter with the Army, and thence to diſpatch him on this Enterprize; whither on *Sunday* the

Novem.

10th *Dennington* relieved, Cannon &c. drawn thence.

12th His Majeſty at *Marleborough*.

Preparation for the relief of *Baſing*.

Novem. the 17th of *November* His MAJESTY and the Army marched. In the interim the Rebels removed from *Newbery* to *Aldermaston*, and so about *Basing*; where apprehending it not possible to gain that Place, and being weary of this Winter War, they quitted the Seige the Day before Sir *Henry Gage* came thither, and retired all into their Winter Quarters. At *Hungerford* Sir *Francis Doddington* came to the Army with a Recruit of 500 Horse out of the West, and here His MAJESTY stayed until *Tuesday* the 19th to get the Provisions ready; which being done, the Army was drawn out to a Rendezvouz, and Collonel *Lisle* sent with 1000 commanded Men, with Provisions to relieve *Dennington*, and to bring thence the rest of the Artilery and Ammunition, which he perform'd that Day; and 1000 Horse were drawn out of the Army under the Command of Collonel *Gage*, and the Provisions laid before them, and so they marched thence. This being done, His MAJESTY went to His Quarters at *Shefford*, and the next Day lay at *Wantage*, and from thence on *Thursday* the 21st He marched to *Farringdon*. That Night the Foot under the Command of Collonel *Lisle*, and some of our Horse drew towards *Abingdon*, with a design on that Place; but they were prevented, and so they came to the Army the next Day.

19th
Collonel *Gage* sent thither with Provisions.

21st
His Majesty at *Farringdon*.
Some Forces drawn towards *Abingdon* without Succes.

HERE it will be fit to remember that *Browne* had for many Months possessed that Place, to the trouble of the Garrison of *Oxford*, and loss of the County of *Berks* to His MAJESTY; notwithstanding it was not then so absolutely fortifyed, but that if it had been fit to have engaged the Army, we must probably have gotten it in few Days; and then we had been here in as free a condition as ever, since the beginning of this unhappy War, though since he hath gained time and made it strong. At *Farringdon* His MAJESTY stayed a Day to expect the Issue of the Design for *Basing*, and to consider where to make His Winter Quarters; in which time, His MASJETY had certain Intelligence that the Rebels were gone thence, that Sir *Henry Gage* had put in the Provisions and was upon his March back, which good Success was above our expectation. This, and many other the good Services of Sir *Henry Gage* induced His MAJESTY, presently upon his Return to *Oxford*, to make him Governour of that City, in the place of Sir *Arthur Aston*, who was made unable to execute it by reason of a fall from his Horse and the breaking of his Leg, wherewith he languished many Months after. This Employment Collonel *Gage* enjoyed not long, being slain in the beginning of *January* following at *Culham-Bridge* near *Abingdon*, which he attempted

22d
The Rebels gone from *Basing* before Collonel *Gage* came thither.

Collonel *Gage* his good Service rewarded with the Government of *Oxford*.

tempted to have broken. The loſs of this Man was generally lamented, and with much reaſon; for if you conſider his Birth, Learning, Courage, and great Experience in War, with his ſingular Humanity and Temper, ſcarce any Prince had a worthier Servant. *Novem.*

The great loſs of Colonel *Gage.*

THE manner of the quartering of the Army, in reſpect it was a Buſineſs of much conſideration and would require time in the due ſettling thereof, was referred to Prince *Rupert*, who was before that time made General of all His MAJESTY's Armies, under Prince *Charles* his Highneſs. And ſo His MAJESTY leaving His Army about *Farringdon*, on *Saturday* the 23d of *November*, attended by His Regiment of Guard and ſome other Horſe, marched towards *Oxford*, paſſing not far from *Abingdon*, where ſome parties of the Rebels Horſe drew out but durſt not engage themſelves. About two in the Afternoon His MAJESTY came to His Reſidence in that City, where He yet continues with as much Honour and Safety as the Violence and Oppreſſion of ſo univerſal a Rebellion will give Him leave.

Prince *Rupert* made General of all His Majeſty's Forces under Prince *Charles.*

23d

His Majeſty's ſafe and happy return to *Oxford.*

R BRIEF

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BRIEF
MEMORIALS
OF THE
Unfortunate Succeſs
OF HIS
MAJESTY's
ARMY and AFFAIRS,
In the Year 1645.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Unfortunate Success

OF HIS

MAJESTY'S ARMY and NAVY

In the YEAR 1054.

BRIEF

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Brief Memorials of the Unfortunate Succeſs of His Majeſty's *Army and Affairs in the Year* 1645.

HIS MAJESTY in the Year 1645. having altered the State of His Army, and conſequently of His Affairs, by placing the ſole Power on His Nephew Prince *Rupert*, under the Title of Lieutenant General unto His Son the Prince of *Wales*, (whom about that time He likewiſe ſent into the Weſt) and having thereby deprived Himſelf of the Advice of thoſe who had formerly very much governed His Military and Civil Affairs, both by placing them Councillors and Officers about His Son; upon the matter, He was then ſolely left to the Council and Will of His Nephew. With whom He took the Field the ſeventh of *May* 1645. marching from *Oxford* to *Woodſtock*; near which place a Party of General *Goring*'s Horſe gave that Evening a Defeat to ſome of *Fairfax*'s Horſe that attempted a Paſſage over *Iſis*. This was a good Preſage, but the Reſolutions of the next Day were ſuch as laid the Foundation of our future Ruin. For although the whole Deſign of the Winter paſt was to march Northward for the Relief of thoſe Parts, and particularly *Pomfret* Caſtle; yet this March was the more haſtned under the Pretence of relieving *Cheſter* then beſieged, and in danger to be loſt; though the true cauſe was, the earneſt Deſire of Prince *Rupert* to be revenged of the *Scots* for the Defeat he had received the Year before; and had he not made too great haſte, he had come time enough to have done it; for at this Inſtant an Opportunity was offered him in all probability both of reſtoring the King, and making himſelf moſt conſiderable. For that Day the Army being drawn to a Rendezvouz near *Stow* on the *Would* conſiſting of 5000 Foot, and, with thoſe Horſe General *Goring* had then with him, of at leaſt 6000 Horſe,

Affairs

Affairs were then ſtated, that *Taunton* was then beſieged by us and brought to Extremity; that *Fairfax* with his new Army was then about *Newbery*, deſigning to relieve it; which if he could effect, it would give him a Reputation and enforce the keeping of an Army in the Weſt: Whereas on the contrary, if the King's Army bent that way, it would either keep *Fairfax* from relieving *Taunton*, or fight him before thoſe of his Party in the Weſt and *Cromwel* were joined, and then in all probability would gain the Victory, and ſo make the King Maſter of all. As for *Cheſter* and *Pomfret* Caſtle, they might expect the Iſſue of this Enterpriſe, which could not have been the Work of above fourteen Days. But Prince *Rupert*, poſitive in his Deſign, would not admit of theſe Reaſons, the rather being ſpurred on by the Northern Horſe, who violently purſued their Deſires of being at Home and preſerving their Country. Beſides in probability he was jealous of having a Rival in Command, and ſo feared *Goring* who had the Maſter Wit, and had by his late Actions gotten much Reputation; and therefore was the more willing that General *Goring* ſhould return for the Weſt, and take with him the Horſe under his Command, which were the beſt Horſe of the Army; and with them and the Forces then about *Taunton*, hinder the Relief of that place. This was concluded on the place, and preſently put in execution, contrary to the Sence of all about the King, except Prince *Rupert* and the Northern Officers. The King's Army (thus divided) marched to *Eveſham*; by the way the Garriſon in *Campden* Houſe was drawn out, and the Houſe (which coſt above 30000*l.* the building) moſt unneceſſarily burnt by Prince *Rupert*'s Command. The Souldiers under the Governour Sir *Henry Bard* were joined to the Army at *Eveſham*; Major *Robert Leg* Brother of *William Leg* then Governour of *Oxford*, Prince *Rupert*'s chief Favorite, was confirmed Governour of that place, contrary to the Opinions of a Council of War of Officers aſſembled for that purpoſe, who adjudged the Government to Collonel *Waſhington* by Priority of Commiſſion; but Prince *Rupert*'s Pleaſure was not to be contradicted, though Major *Leg* enjoyed his Command there not above fourteen Days longer, the Garriſon being then for want of Men to defend it, ſtormed and taken by *Maſſey* and the Forces of *Glouceſter*, and the Governour with all his Officers and Souldiers made Priſoners. The Loſs of this Place was of great Diſadvantage, ſtopping the Entercourſe between *Worceſter* and *Oxford*. As the Army marched through *Worceſterſhire* to better

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the Government of thoſe Counties to Prince *Maurice*, and to ſatisfie the Gentlemen of the Country, it was employed to beſiege *Hawkeſley* Houſe near *Bromſgrove*, poſſeſſed and fortified by the Rebels; which after two Days Siege and the draining of the Moat about it, was rendred, and all made Priſoners that were in it, being about 120 Perſons. This Action gave ſome Reputation to the Army, which by eaſie Marches made towards *Cheſter*. By the way at *Stone* in *Staffordſhire*, the Lord *Byron* Governour of *Cheſter* came to the King, and acquainted him, that the Rebels upon Notice of the Advance of the Army were drawn off, that he was not ſo preſſed but that he could well enough defend they place (if they drew not a greater Strength about him) for many Months; but ſince His MAJESTY and the Army was ſo far advanced, if He would ſtay but few Days in *Cheſhire*, He might make Himſelf Maſter of that Country by taking *Namptwich*, and ſo march Northward through *Lancaſhire*. But this Council as having more of particular than general Intereſt was not followed. The Fear of the Loſs of *Cheſter*, which had loſt us ſo fair an Opportunity in the Weſt being taken away, the Deſign of the North was then purſued, and the Army advanced as far as *Tetbury* Caſtle; where intelligence was brought that *Fairfax* had ſent a Party to relieve *Taunton*, and that himſelf with his Army was ſate down before *Oxford*. This ſtaggered our Deſign, yet not ſo as inſtantly to return thither, or ſolely to abandon it; but only ſo retarded it, as to put the Army in a Capacity to come to the timely Relief of that place if there ſhould be occaſion; and alſo to act ſomewhat to divert *Fairfax*'s Deſigns, by attempting the taking of *Leiceſter*, which was ſet on Foot as feaſible. Prince *Rupert*, whoſe Maſtery and chiefeſt Delight is in Attempts of this kind, was eaſily induced to undertake it; to which end, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was ſent to ſurround it with the Horſe, and about the laſt of *May* 1645. a Recruit of 800 Horſe under the Command of Sir *Richard Willys* Governour of *Newark* being come up, the Army was drawn about the Town. The next Day by the admirable Diligence and Command of Prince *Rupert*, a Battery was raiſed againſt a Stone Wall on the South ſide of the Town; which finiſhed, the Prince ſent a Summons; but a Satisfactory Anſwer not being returned in the time prefixed, he cauſed the Battery to play, and within four Hours time made a Breach. That Night the Army according to Orders, made a General Aſſault, and principally at the Breach; where they were repulſed twice, and had drawn off had not the Town been entred

tred on the other side by Sir *Henry Bard*, Collonel *Page* and the *Newark* Horse, on Foot with their Swords and Pistols. By the Break of Day all ours were entred the Line, and presently Sir *Robert Pye* the Governour, and all the Officers, Souldiers and Townsmen in Arms, being about 1200, were made Prisoners, and the Town miserably sackt without regard to Church or Hospital. It cannot be said whether for the time ours better attempted it, or they defended themselves; but I am confident we lost three for one in the Assault; the number slain on both sides being about 300, amongst whom of ours Collonel *St. George* and some Officers lay dead in the Breach. After the taking this Place, the Army rested four or five Days. The Lord *Loughborough* was made Governour, Collonel *Appleyard* Lieutenant Governour; who with Collonel *Page*, and Major *Bridges* were made Knights for their Valour and Conduct in this Action. During our stay the Breaches were repaired, and in regard of the largeness of the Line, a Design was laid only to fortifie the South part of the Town, the Country shewing great cheerfulness in assisting; and it is verily thought if in this Conjunction *Darby* had been but summoned, Sir *John Gel* would have rendred it; but Prince *Rupert* would not do it, out of this Punctilio of Honour, that if he had sent a Summons he was obliged (if the other had repulsed) to besiege it. As the gaining of this place made the King and His Army terrible, so the use that was made of it, and the Consequence thereof, conduced to our Destruction; for now instead of either retiring towards *Worcester* to join with General *Gerrard*, which was in few Days after by order to come to us with 3000 Horse and Foot, whereby we might have secured our new Conquests; or else of marching Northward with the Terror of being Victorious; we turned Faces towards *Oxford*, which I must needs say was much against the Will of Prince *Rupert*. But as he prevailed before against marching Westward, so now he yielded to the Importunity of those who possibly covered their private Designs under the Care of preserving the Duke of *York*, the Council, Magazine, and all the fair Ladies at *Oxford*; who likewise had too violent Apprehensions of their Dangers, and earnestly by Letters (as 'tis said) solicited Prince *Rupert* to their Rescue.

It was now about the fifth of *June* when we marched out of *Leicester*, and at our first Rendezvous we found the Loss we had by the taking that Place; for what with those that were slain and wounded when we took the Town, those were left there in Garrison, and those that ran away afterwards with

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their Plunder, we were not 3500 Foot; beſides the *Northern* Horſe were all diſcontented, and could hardly be kept from disbanding or returning home in Diſorder. But with much ado they being appeaſed we continued our March, and the next Day at *Harborow* had News that *Fairfax* was drawn off from *Oxford*, without having made any Attempt or Approach, and without doing or ſuffering much; and that after he had likewiſe attempted *Boſtal* Houſe, where he was notably repulſed by Sir *William Campion* the Governour, with ſome Loſs, that he was marched towards *Buckingham*. This was not welcome News, yet ſuch as obliged us rather to make towards him and hazard a Battel, than to march Northwards and be met in the Face with the *Scots*, and have him in our Rear. From *Harborow* the Army marched to *Daventry*, and there ſtayed five Days, both to mark the Motion of *Fairfax* and to receive ſome Proviſion from *Oxford*. Much about this time a Force of near 2000 Horſe and Foot drawn together out of the Garriſons of *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Monmouth* and *Ludlow*, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Lundesford*, Sir *Michael Woodhouſe*, and others, were by a far leſs number of the Rebels defeated near *Ludlow*, Sir *William Croft* ſlain. This Defeat was aſcribed to the ill Conduct and Strife of theſe Collonels about Superiority and Command. And although when we had the firſt Intelligence we could not ſee the ſad Effects of this Loſs, yet after the Battel at *Naſeby*, when we retreated into thoſe Parts and had occaſion to uſe them, we too ſoon felt it.

Upon the 13th of *June* Intelligence being given of the Advance of *Fairfax* to *Northampton*, our Army retired back to *Harborow* with reſolution to march the next Day to *Melton Mowbray*, and ſo to *Newark* there to ſtrengthen our Foot by Additions out of that and other adjacent Garriſons. But that Night an Allarum was given, that *Fairfax* with his Army was quarterd within ſix Miles of us. This altered our deſign, and a Council being preſently called, reſolutions were taken to fight; and rather to march back and ſeek him out, than to be fought or purſued, contrary (as 'tis ſaid) to Prince *Rupert*'s Opinion; it being our unhappineſs, that the Faction of the Court, whereof the moſt powerful were the Lord *Digby* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, and that of the Army ever oppoſed and were jealous of others. In the Morning early, being *Saturday* the 14th of *June*, all the Army was drawn up upon a riſing Ground of very great Advantage about a Mile from *Harborow*, which we left on our Back, and there put in order and diſpoſed to give or receive

the Charge. The main Battel of Foot was led by the Lord *Aſteley* Serjeant Major General, conſiſting of 2500: The right Wing of the Horſe being about 2000 by Prince *Rupert*, and the left Wing by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with the Northern and *Newark* Horſe; in the Reſerve were the King's Lifeguard commanded by the Earl of *Lindſey*, and Prince *Rupert*'s Regiment of Foot being 800, with the King's Horſe Guards commanded by the Earl of *Lichfield*, which were that Day about 500 Horſe. The Army thus diſpoſed made a ſtand on that Ground, and about eight of the Clock in the Morning, it was a queſtion whether the Intelligence were true; whereupon one *Ruce* the Scout-maſter was ſent to diſcover; who in ſhort time returned with a Lye in his Mouth, that he had been two or three Miles forward, and could neither diſcover or hear of the Rebels. This and a Report they were retreated, made Prince *Rupert* impatient; and thereupon he drew out a Party of Horſe and Muſquetiers both to diſcover and engage them, leaving the Army in that Place and Poſture.

BUT he had not marched above a Mile before he had certain Intelligence of their Advance, and ſaw their Van. Whereupon he drew nearer with his Horſe, and ſent back to have the Army to march up to him; and either ſuppoſing by their Motion, or being flatered into an Opinion they were upon a Retreat, he deſired they ſhould make haſte. This made us quit our Ground of Advantage, and in reaſonable order to advance. Having marched about a Mile and half, we could perceive their Horſe in the high Ground about *Naſeby*, but could not judge of their Number or Intentions. To be ſhort, the manner of our March being in full Campania, gave them the means of diſpoſing themſelves to the beſt Advantage; and the Heat of Prince *Rupert*, and his Opinion they durſt not ſtand him, engaged us before we had either turned our Cannon or choſen fit Ground to fight on. About ten of the Clock the Battel began, the firſt Charge being given by Prince *Rupert* with his own and Prince *Maurice*'s Troops; who did ſo well, and were ſo well ſeconded, as that they bore all down before them, and were (as 'tis ſaid) Maſters of ſix Pieces of the Rebels Cannon. Preſently our Forces advanced up the Hill, the Rebels only diſcharging five Pieces at them, but over ſhot them, and ſo did their Muſquetiers. The Foot on either ſide hardly ſaw each other until they were within Carabine Shot, and ſo only made one Volley; ours falling in with Sword and butt end of the Muſquet did notable Execution; ſo much as I ſaw their Colours fall, and their Foot in great Diſorder. And had our left

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Wing but at this time done half ſo well as either the Foot or right Wing, we had got in few Minutes a glorious Victory. Our Foot and right Wing being thus engaged, our left Wing advanced, conſiſting of five Bodies of the Northern and *Newark* Horſe; who were oppoſed by ſeven great Bodies drawn to their right Wing by *Cromwell* who commanded there, and who beſides the Advantage of Number had that of the Ground, ours marching up the Hill to encounter them. Yet I muſt needs ſay ours did as well as the Place and their Number would admit; but being flanked and preſſed back, they at laſt gave Ground and fled: Four of the Rebels Bodies cloſe and in good Order followed them, the reſt charged our Foot. At this inſtant the King's Horſe-guards and the King at the Head of them were ready to charge thoſe who followed ours, when a Perſon of Quality, 'tis ſaid the Earl of *Cornwath*, took the King's Horſe by the Bridle, turned him about, ſwearing at Him and ſaying, Will you go upon your Death? and at the ſame time the Word being given, March to the right Hand, (which was both from aſſiſting ours or aſſailing them, and (as moſt concluded) was a civil Command for every one to ſhift for himſelf) we turned about and ran on the Spur almoſt a quarter of a Mile, and then the Word being given to make a Stand, we did ſo; though the Body could never be rallyed. Thoſe that came back made a Charge, wherein ſome of them fell. By this time Prince *Rupert* was come with a good Body of Horſe from the right Wing; but they having done their part, and not being in Order, could never be brought to charge again, nor to rally any of the broken Troops; and ſo after all the endeavours of the King and Prince *Rupert*, to the hazard of their Perſons, they were fain to quit the Field, and to leave *Fairfax* Maſter of all our Foot, Cannon, Baggage and Plunder taken at *Leiceſter*. Our Foot had Quarter given them, but were all Priſoners, except ſome few Officers who eſcaped; and our Horſe made haſte, never ſtaying until they came under the Works of *Leiceſter*, and ſome not thinking themſelves ſecure there rode that Night to *Newark*, the firſt ſixteen, the other at leaſt thirty Miles from the Place of Battel. The Number ſlain that Day is uncertain, thoſe of Quality ſlain of the King's Army were Sir *Thomas Dalizon*, Sir *Richard Cave*, Sir *Peter Browne*, Collonel *Thomas*, Lieutenant Collonel *Davies*, and above 100 Officers and Gentlemen out of the Northern and *Newark* Horſe and Prince *Rupert*'s Troops. In the Purſuit the Rebels cruelly killed above 100 Women and Souldiers Wives, and ſome of them of Quality; and with a

Party followed us within two Miles of *Leiceſter*; whence in the Evening the King and Prince *Rupert* with the broken Troops marched to *Aſhby de la Zouch*, and from thence the next Day to *Lichfield*, and in two Days more to *Bewdley* in *Worceſterſhire*, where He reſted one Day. And upon Advice His MAJESTY reſolved for *Hereford*, and ſo for *Wales*, concluding with the Forces of General *Gerrard* and ſome new Levies deſigned in thoſe Counties, to form a new Army. This Opinion I fear excluded a better deſign, which had been to have made for the Weſt and to have joined with General *Goring*, and with that Army ſo reinforced and encreaſed by ſome of General *Gerrard*'s Foot that might have eaſily been tranſported over *Severne*, have tried the Fortune of a ſecond Day; the Iſſue of which, had it been loſt, could not have proved worſe than our being afterwards both in the Weſt and in other Places deſtroyed by pieces, without either Conduct or Honour. At *Hereford* the manner and the number of the Levies upon the Counties of *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, and the ſix Counties of *South-Wales* (ſuch as I remember ſhould have been about 5000 Foot) was put in ſome method; but before any thing was executed Prince *Rupert*, having a deſign for the Preſervation of *Briſtol*, went thither, leaving the managery of this Affair confuſed and in diſorder. At this Place General *Gerrard* came to us, having then under his Command above 2000 Horſe and Foot, ready upon their March to have joined with our Army, if we had had Patience to have expected them. From *Hereford* we went to *Abergavenny*, and there the Commiſſioners of the *Welch* Counties met us, and promiſed Mountains; but the effect (whether for want of a timely and active uſe of them, or that really they then began to reflect on their own Conditions, looking on the King as then having need of them, or remembring their former ill uſage, and the height of their preſent Commander General *Gerrard*) proved little or nothing to His MAJESTY's Advantage. Thence His MAJESTY went to *Ragland* Caſtle, and there ſtayed three Weeks; and as if the Genius of that Place had conſpired with our Fates, we were there all lulled aſleep with Sports and Entertainments, as if no Crown had been at Stake or in danger to be loſt, until the marching of *Fairfax*, after the regaining of *Leiceſter* and defeating of General *Goring* at *Lamport*, awaken'd us. This broke our deſign of a new Army, moſt of General *Gerrard*'s Foot, and ſuch as were levied upon the new deſign, being by Prince *Rupert* drawn over the *Severne* to reinforce the Garriſons of *Briſtol* and *Bridgwater*; and preſently upon it, the *Scots* advanced as far as *Worceſter*,

ceſter, taking by Storm ..... Houſe between that and *Hereford*, putting all to the Sword. This enforced us to new Counſels, which were that the King ſhould ſpeedily paſs over to *Briſtol*, and that all the Horſe under the Command of Geral *Gerrard* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* ſhould, by a Journey about, make their way over the *Severne* and come to us as ſoon as may be. This Reſolution was ſo near executed, as that the King was at the Waterſide near *Chepſtow*, where Prince *Rupert* from *Briſtol* met him, being well enough pleaſed that the King ſhould have come over, though he courted him not unto it. But I know not upon what Apprehenſion of ſome about the King, or Miſunderſtanding between them and Prince *Rupert*, the Deſign was changed, and the King went to *Cardiffe*, where he had ſpeedy Notice of the Loſs of *Bridgwater*; and then the former Change of Counſel was approved. By this time the *Scots* were ſet down and engaged before *Hereford*, which moſt concluded they would eaſily carry, and therefore it behoved the King either to endeavour to raiſe the Siege, or to think of his own Security; the firſt was thought poſſible, to which end Warrants were directed to the Sheriffs of the *Welſh* Counties to raiſe the *Poſſe Comitatus* of their Counties, and to be ready at a Day prefixed to join with the King's Force of Horſe to undertake it. But like unskilful Magicians, we by this means raiſed ſuch Devils as we could never lay again; for the diſcontented Gentry, eſpecially of *Glamorganſhire*, having got the People together, poſſeſſed them that it was fit they ſhould, now the King was there, deſire Redreſs of their Grievances; as to have their Contributions abated, and the Power of the County put into the Hands of ſuch Gentlemen as they ſhould nominate. Theſe and other Deſires of theirs, with many Complaints againſt General *Gerrard* and his Officers, kept them many Days in a Body of three or 4000 Men, and at laſt the King was enforced to grant them their Requeſts, though in ſuch a manner as they believed it was extorted; and farther to ſatisfie them, General *Gerrard* and his Officers were removed, and the Lord *Aſteley* made Commander of all thoſe Counties, and ſuch others placed as they nominated, under the Titles of Collonel Generals of the County and Governours of *Cardiffe*. But withal General *Gerrard* was made a *Baron*, which did not pleaſe them, though their greateſt diſtaſt was that, during many Debates before the King, General *Gerrard* did uſually upbraid them without any notable Reproof from His MAJESTY; which loſt the King both the Opinion and Affection of that People, who

were

were formerly very Loyal, and even at that time cheated into Diſobedience by their diſcontented Leaders; who now durſt with greater Confidence declare themſelves, in regard of the King's want of Power to ſuppreſs them, and that the remaining Forces of General *Gerrard*, then about *Carmarthen*, commanded by *Stradling* and *Egerton* (two young Major Generals) were about this time ſhamefully defeated by *Langhorne* and the Rebels of *Pembrokeſhire*, with whom their Mutiniers of *Glamorganſhire* had Correſpondence; eſpecially their Leaders, which were Sir *John Aubery*, *Carn*, *Pichard*, *Button*, and others. During His MAJESTY's ſtay at *Cardiffe*, Sir *Thomas Glemham* came thither with about 200 Foot, which were the remainder of the Garriſon of *Carliſle*, which had then been beſieged about eleven Months, and brought to great Extremity. It was rendred upon Honourable Terms to the *Scots*, commanded by *David Leſley* Lieutenant General of the *Scottiſh* Horſe, who conveyed them as far as *Hereford*, whither he came to their Army then beſieging that place. And 'tis obſervable that within three Days after Sir *Thomas Glemham* came thither, General *Gerrard* was made Lord *Gerrard* of *Brandon* in *Suffolk*, a Town wherein Sir *Thomas Glemham* hath both Intereſt, and is an Heir of the Family of *Brandon*, by which Name the other affected to be called. This would have troubled another Man --- But to the Buſineſs. The quieting of theſe People and drawing them together, ſo far as to attempt the raiſing of the Siege of *Hereford*, being found altogether impoſſible (for the Counties of *Monmouth*, and *Brecknock*, who lay moſt apt for this Deſign, were infected with the ſame Spirit) it was now high time for the King to conſider of his own Security, being environed with Danger, and having but Choice of theſe two Ways, either to embarque and paſs the *Severne* into *Devonſhire*, where the Prince of *Wales* and *Goring*'s Army then was, or elſe to endeavour to make his Way for the North. Againſt the firſt were theſe Objections, the Danger of His Perſon in croſſing the *Severne*; and the great Difficulty of getting the Horſe thither by a tedious March, which would be ſubject both to the Oppoſition of the *Scottiſh* and *Fairfax*'s Armys, who were then in their way; and without them He would be little more conſiderable than a private Man. Wherefore the ſecond was embraced, as having a far greater probability of Succeſs, in regard of the victorious Proceeding of the Marquels of *Montroſſe* then in *Scotland*. Wherefore in the beginning of *Auguſt* we made our way from *Cardiffe*, and over the Mountains by *Brecknock* and *Radnor* we came in three Days to *Ludlow*, and had by that time

time paſt the *Scottiſh* Quarters before they had Notice of our March. Thence by quick Marches through part of *Worceſter*, *Stafford*, and *Darbyſhire*, we came to *Welbeck* and reſted two Days. Whither all the *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen that had been in *Pomfret* Caſtle (lately rendred) came and attended His Majesty, and ſo did Sir *Richard Willis* Governour of *Newark*, and the Commiſſioners of *Lincoln* and *Nottingham*. Here our Deſign of haſtning to *Montroſs* received a Delay, it being rather thought fit to aſcertain a place of meeting with him, and to join in *England*, than to ſeek him out in *Scotland*. And in the interim, under the Countenance of the Horſe and ſome Foot drawn out of *Newark* and *Welbeck*, with the Power and Aſſiſtance of the Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire* then with us, to raiſe a Body of Foot, which they believed they ſhould eaſily do. To which purpoſe we marched to *Doncaſter*, and there the Gentlemen of *Yorſhire* put this Deſign in execution, and had brought it to that Perfection, as at three Days end there was a viſible Appearance of at leaſt 3000 Men that would have been there ready armed the next Day. But we by our ſtay there and at *Welbeck* for this Deſign, having made our Journey Northwards more difficult, and at laſt having certain Intelligence that *David Leſley* by a ſhorter way was come unto *Rotheram*, which was within ten Miles of us, with all the *Scottiſh* Horſe; we found it not only impoſſible to advance, but held it as unſafe to ſtay there; and ſo leaving many a poor Man that had ſhewn his willingneſs to the King's Service to the Mercy of the Rebels, we made our Retreat to no ſmall Content of *David Leſley*; who might thereby without Interruption attempt on *Montroſs*, as he afterwards did. Though had we but conſidered the Quickneſs of his March, and the Wearineſs of his Troops, and inſtead of retreating fallen then upon him, we had (as he hath ſince often ſaid) found him in an ill Poſture of Reſiſtance. But that Body of Horſe being all we had to truſt to, we were unwilling to engage it, but on ſuch Deſigns as had moſt probable Marks of Succeſs. From *Doncaſter* in two Days we came to *Newark*, and thence in two more to *Stamford*, with Deſign for *Oxford*, and thereabouts to refreſh our Horſe: But having Notice that there were ſome new Troops raiſed in *Norfolk* that were about *Huntington*, deſigned for the encreaſe of *Roſſiter*'s Force in *Lincolnſhire*; it was propoſed as feaſible by a quick March to ſurpriſe them, which was put in ſpeedy Execution. For the next Day two or three Troops were ſurpriſed by the way about *Stilton*, and after ſome ſmall Reſiſtance at and about *Huntingdon* the Town was forced;

their

their Commander a *Scotchman* and ſome other taken Priſoners, and the reſt ran in Diſorder to *Cambridge* and towards *London*. The Houſes of thoſe that fled out of the Town were plundered, and to ſay the Truth our Horſe made all Men Delinquents where they quartered thereabouts. Here His MAJESTY ſtaid two Days and made ſhew of fortifying the place, calling the Country to a Rendezvouz, who for Fear or Love ſeemed very forward to His Service. But His MAJESTY hearing there of the taking of *Sherburn* Caſtle, and apprehending that *Fairfax* would beſiege *Briſtol*, laid by the thought of this Place, and made haſte to *Oxford*; whither He came the 29th of *Auguſt*, on which Day died the Lord *Littleton* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Here He ſtaid one Day, and the Winter not being come, the Lords and People there were well enough content with His Abſence, as fearing His Preſence would cauſe a Siege; ſo the laſt of *Auguſt* He began His March towards *Worceſter*, that Morning giving the Cuſtody of the Great Seal to Sir *Richard Lane* Lord Chief Baron. His main Deſign then being to endeavour to raiſe the Siege of *Hereford*, which appeared the more eaſie in regard the *Scots* had ſent away their Horſe in purſuit of us; who were ſince engaged to march forward to ſave their own Country, then upon the matter ſolely maſtered by the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*. Our ſpeedy March from *Oxford* cauſed the ſtay there of the Duke of *Richmond* and many other Gentlemen, tired with the Tediouſneſs and Misfortune of the Summer.

IN two Days March we came to *Worceſter*, where as formerly we were certainly aſſured that *Fairfax* had beſieged *Briſtol*; which gave us more Content than Trouble, looking upon it as a place well fortified, manned and victualled, and that it would be ſo defended as might prove the Ruin of his Army; ſo we left it and imployed our Thoughts upon the other place. But having ſtaid two Days at *Worceſter* and formed our Deſign, we had certain Notice that the *Scots* were raiſed that Morning and on their march towards *Glouceſter*. This was not unwelcome to us, ſo the next Day we marched towards *Hereford*, miſſing a fair Opportunity of engaging them if we had been active, and probably of ruining their Army; for they were much waſted, and had only 800 Horſe to make good their Retreat; beſides they were in a ſtrange Country, not very acceptable to the People. But they made haſte to *Glouceſter*, and were with ſo much difficulty admitted to paſs through that place, as that they were forced to ſay, if they could not paſs there, they knew they ſhould be welcome to paſs through *Worceſter*, and poſſibly at this time Neceſſity might have made them honeſt.

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THE next Day at *Hereford* the King was received with full Expreſſions of Joy by all the Souldiers, and Gentry, and People of that Place; who really had merited very much by their Loyalty and Valour during the Siege. And however the Governour Sir *Barnaby Scudamore* (who was there Knighted) proved afterwards unfortunate by being ſurprized, he at that time had the Character of a vigilant and faithful Commander; and ſo had Sir *William Leighton*, Sir *Henry Lingen*, Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, and many other Officers with him in this Siege. The *Scots* being thus removed and gone, the next thing in thought was how to raiſe the Siege at *Briſtol*: And truly the Deſign was ſo laid, as that if it could have been timed it might well enough have ſucceeded. The firſt thing that was done in order to it, was by Letters from His MAJESTY to advertiſe Prince *Rupert* of our Being; that we had rais'd the Siege of *Hereford*, that the *Scots* were marched Northward, and that His MAJESTY intended ſpeedily to relieve him. And to that end, He either had or would ſend Orders to General *Goring* to draw what Force he could out of the Weſt, and to haſten it on that ſide. On this His MAJESTY intended to draw a Force of at leaſt 3000 Foot out of all His Garriſons of thoſe parts, to paſs them over *Severn* about *Beachley*; and at the ſame time our Horſe, which were then above 3000, to ford the *Severn* not far from *Glouceſter* and join with our Foot, and ſo on both ſides to fall on *Fairfax*'s Quarters. This was a very plauſible deſign in Paper; and I fear had *Fairfax* given us time, or Prince *Rupert* not been forced to render, it would have been a longer time than we fancied to our ſelves before we could have made all ends to meet. But I believe before the Letters were received by General *Goring* (if any were ſent) I am ſure before any of our Garriſons had Order to draw out their Forces, News was brought to His MAJESTY (then the ſecond time at *Ragland*) of the rendring of *Briſtol*; which was ten Days after the raiſing the Siege of *Hereford*. The manner of the ſtorming and taking of that City, and the rendring afterwards of the great Fort, I can ſay nothing to, but muſt refer you to Prince *Rupert*'s Declaration in his own Defence. Though very ſure I am, had it been the Misfortune of any other Perſon to have loſt this Place, he would have found Prince *Rupert* a ſevere Judge; and I am aſſured it was the Loſs of all our Magazines and Warlike Proviſions, and ſo by Conſequence in very ſhort time of South *Wales*, the Weſt, and all other Places in the Kingdom. This ſad News quickly brought us back to *Hereford*, and cauſed the Revocation of the Lord *Gerrard*

with his Horſe out of *Shropſhire*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Thomas Glemham* from *Cardiff*, who were ſent thither to awe the People of *Glamorganſhire*, as yet unſatisfied and not pleaſed with their new Commander the Lord *Aſteley*. And now the People of *Monmouthſhire* began to ſhew themſelves, being animated by *Morgan* of *Mahan*, *Herbert* of *Colebrook*, and others, who coloured their Diſaffection and Deſign of Revolt under the Pretences of Diſlike of Popery and Hatred to the Houſe of *Worceſter*; but the true cauſe was they were Creatures of the Houſe of *Pembrook*, and conſequently Rebels from the beginning. Yet to prevent their doing any more Miſchief their Perſons were ſecured, and ſo was Sir *Trevor Williams*; but he at the Inſtance of the Lord *Charles Somerſet* and others was preſently diſcharged, though this Obligation made him not at all the honeſter, neither to the King's Cauſe or that Family. From *Hereford* His MAJESTY ſent Sir *George Villers* to the Lords at *Oxford*, with Orders for them to demand Prince *Rupert's* Commiſſion, and withal Licenſe and a Paſs for Prince *Rupert* to depart the Kingdom; and with farther Directions to commit Collonel *William Legg* the Governour, and to deprive him of his Command, deſigning Sir *Thomas Glemham* to ſucceed.

Here we ſtayed a Week, and to ſay the truth we were in a Wood, neither the King or His Council knowing how to govern themſelves or their Affairs. Sometimes it was reſolved for *Worceſter*, then again for other Places, until at laſt Neceſſity made ſome Reſolutions to be taken. For whether our late Advance into the North and ſpeedy Retreat cauſed all the Forces of thoſe Parts to be drawn into a Body, or that they had Orders to draw into a Body from the Parliament, and to keep us in Action by attending us, I know not; but ſure I am by this time the whole Strength of the Northern Horſe under the Command of *Poyntz*, were between us and *Worceſter* with at leaſt 3000 Horſe and Dragoons, only the River of *Wye* for above a Week dividing our Quarters. At length we thought by Stratagem to avoid them, returning for *Worceſter*; and thereupon drew to a Rendezvouz on the top of a Hill eight Miles above *Hereford*, on the South ſide of the River, oppoſite to their Quarters; which looked as if it were intended for *Radnor*; but on the breaking up of the Rendezvouz, by a little Tour about, we returned and lodged that Night at *Homlacy* four Miles below *Hereford*. *Poyntz* on the other ſide not confident of his Strength, imagining that we had a deſign to paſs the River at ſome Ford thereabouts, and to attempt him that Night; and having ſome Forces to come to him the next Day

from

from *Glouceſter*, diſlodged likewiſe; and as we marched down on the one ſide of the River, ſo did he on the other to avoid us. The next Day early we forded the River, and believing him ſtill in his Quarters, we were confident we ſhould get *Worceſter* that Night without interruption. When at our Rendezvouz a Countryman came in and aſſured us that *Poyntz* was diſlodged, and that he was refreſhing his Troops in a Village not above two Miles before in our Way. This amazed us and changed our Reſolution; though had we been confident and advanced, we had fallen on him weary and unexpected; but our Buſineſs was not to fight. This News admitted no Delay, ſo preſently our deſign was altered from marching to *Worceſter*, (which was but in order to attempt the ſecond time to get to *Montroſs*, whom we then believed Maſter of *Scotland*,) into a longer, though ſecurer Paſſage through North *Wales* to *Cheſter*, and thence through *Lancaſhire* and *Cumberland*. So by a tedious March we lodged that Night at *Preſteen* at leaſt twenty Miles from our Rendezvouz, and in four Days more over the vaſt and rude Mountains of North *Wales* to *Cherk* Caſtle; where we came in ſuch a time as if Providence had deſigned us a Way of being fortunate and victorious. For not above three Days before, the Forces of ſome of the Rebels Garriſons thereabouts had ſurpriſed the Outworks and Suburbs of *Cheſter*, which they ſtill kept, and attempted the City to the Terror and Amazement of thoſe within; but our unexpected coming ſo near, gave them Courage and as much diſmay'd the Beſiegers, whom we concluded in our Power. And to that end Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was the next Morning ſent with moſt of the Horſe over *Holt* Bridge on the Eaſt ſide of the River *Dee*; and His Majesty with His Guards, the Lord *Gerrard*, and the reſt of the Horſe marched directly that Evening into *Cheſter*; the Deſign being that the Day following, which was the 27th of *September*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* ſhould have come up on their Backs, and that all the Force in the Town ſhould have ſallied out, and ſo have probably deſtroyed them. (At that Night Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* being drawn into a Heath about two Miles from *Cheſter*, intercepted a Letter from *Poyntz*, who by a ſhorter way had marched after us, and was then at *Whitchurch*, implying that he was come to their Reſcue, and deſiring them to ſend him ſome Foot to aſſiſt him againſt our Horſe; the next Morning he appeared and was charged by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and forced to retire with Loſs, and would have gone away if he could without a total Ruin; but being engaged, he kept at a diſtance, expecting

the Foot from *Cheſter*.) In the interim we in *Cheſter* not conſidering (until it was too late) in what poſture Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was, and there being no good Intelligence between him and the Lord *Gerrard*, ſent him Order to retreat towards *Cheſter*, where ſome Foot drawn out under the Command of the Lord *Aſtley* and Sir *Thomas Glemham* ſhould aſſiſt him, but could not do it, becauſe *Poyntz* would have then had his Rear. About Noon the Beſiegers began to draw out of the Suburbs and to march in haſte, which we concluded to be their Flight, and preſently moſt of the Horſe and Foot had Order to purſue them; but their haſte was to get to *Poyntz*, which they preſently did; and then was Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* forced to charge, and being overpowered was routed and put to flight. *Poyntz* purſues his Victory, following moſt of thoſe Horſe even to the Walls of *Cheſter*, near which the Lord *Gerrard* and the Earl of *Lindſey* were drawn out with their Troops, who charged and repulſed him. But the Diſorder of ours that fled was ſo great, and the Ground ſo ill for Horſe to fight on, as at laſt (their Muſquetiers coming up) thoſe Troops were likewiſe put to the worſt, and the noble Earl of *Lichfield* and ſome other Gentlemen were there ſlain, and many others Priſoners, as well of thoſe as of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*'s Horſe; amongſt whom the Principal was Sir *Philip Muſgrave*. The King all this while was a ſad Spectator of moſt of this Tragedy, ſtanding on the Walls of *Cheſter*. All our Horſe that fled were ſcattered about the Country, moſt of them making their way to *Holt* Bridge, where they came over, and others over the River before *Cheſter*. *Poyntz* being glad of Victory purſued them no farther. This Misfortune utterly broke our Deſign at that time for *Scotland*; which in one regard was a Happineſs, for in few Days after we had Notice of *Montroſs*'s Defeat; and had we been advanced, we had been too far engaged ever to have made a Retreat; though on the other ſide, had we got this Victory, we had upon the matter deſtroyed all the Forces of *Cheſhire* and *York ſhire*, and ſo had thoſe Counties at our Devotion, *Fairfax* being then ſo far engaged in the Weſt; or at leaſt it would have drawn him thence, and ſo left us ſomewhat to ſtrive for another Year. That Night and the next Morning the King ſtayed in *Cheſter*, and at His Departure gave the Lord *Byron* then Governour, and the Mayor and Citizens Order, if after eight Days they ſaw no poſſibility of farther Aſſiſtance or Relief, to treat for their own Preſervation. And ſo in ſome Danger He marched over the Bridge into *Denbighſhire*, with about 500 Horſe, believing the City muſt of neceſſity be rendred

dred before He could have diſpoſed of Himſelf. Though afterwards had thoſe whom He employed to relieve it done their Parts, or had not the deſigned Relief from *Ireland* been ſtopt by the Accuſation and Impriſonment of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, that place had not ſo ſoon fallen into their Hands, and might poſſibly have been the Baſis of a new Fortune to His MAJESTY. That Night His MAJESTY lay in the Caſtle of *Denbigh*, which is one of the ſtrongeſt and nobleſt Places I ever ſaw. The Governour was one Mr. *Salesbury* a Gentleman of that County, who under the Cover of a Countryman had more Experience, Courage, and Loyalty than many that made far greater ſhew. Here His MAJESTY ſtayed three or four Days, both to rally His ſcattered Troops, and to conſider what courſe to ſteer; and being here aſcertained of the Defeat given the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* on the Borders by *David Leſley*, that Deſign (had it been now in His Power to have gone) was no more to be thought on: So there were only left Him the Choice of theſe two, either to go for *Angleſey*, or endeavour a Retreat for *Worceſter*, for both which theſe Reaſons were given; firſt that *Angleſey* was an Iſland of Capacity to receive, and for ſome time able to maintain all His Troops (which being then come up, were by an exact view 2400 ſtrong) that it was difficult to be attempted on, eſpecially the Winter coming on; but that from thence His MAJESTY might ſend the better for Succour out of *Ireland*, and endeavour the Preſervation of *Cheſter*; and at the worſt at any time embarque for the *Iſle of Man*, and thence as Occaſion offered it ſelf, either for *Scotland* or *Ireland*. Againſt this it was urged, that it was unfit for a King to ſhut himſelf up in an Iſland, eſpecially not very well affected, which Diſaffection would encreaſe by our lying upon them; that Succours from *Ireland* were uncertain; and that if *Poyntz* preſs us hard, it could not be long defended; and as yet His MAJESTY had too great a ſhare in *England* to quit it in an Inſtant. Whereas if He made His Retreat to *Worceſter*, by Addition of Forces from that and the adjacent Garriſons, He might either fight *Poyntz*, or at leaſt keep thoſe Quarters entire, and expect the Succeſs of His Affairs in other parts. So upon the matter it was concluded, that if we made our way without Interruption, we ſhould quarter our Troops on the River of *Severn*, between *Bridgnorth* and *Worceſter*, and there ſtand on our Guard. To do this we were to watch our Opportunity, which was preſently offered; for *Poyntz* the better to diſtreſs thoſe within *Cheſter* and to obſerve our Motion, had drawn his Force over the River *Dee* at *Langothlin* Bridge, three

three Miles from *Cherk*; before he had Notice of it we were then a Days March before him, which we did without any Opposition. Between *Denbigh* and *Cherk* Prince *Maurice* met us with about 800 Horse, part of those being Prince *Rupert*'s that came from *Bristol* in three Days and Nights through *Montgomeryshire*; where we forded the *Severn*, and so through *Shropshire*, we got to *Bridgnorth*, where we expected the Execution of our former Resolutions, and some Rest after our tedious March. But here we had the News of the taking of *Berkley* Castle whereof Sir *Charles Lucas* was Governour, and of the *Devizes* where Sir *Charles Lloyd* our late Quarter Master General and chief Engineer commanded. The first was well defended, but the Loss of the other, in regard of the natural Strength of the Place and Ability of the Governour in Matters of Fortification, was not as yet ever answered by him. But our Misfortunes gave us not Opportunities to reward, and so we did not punish the Loss of these Places. And the Powerfulness of *Fairfax* in the West, were used as Arguments to alter our former Design, and *Newark* proposed as a more safe place for His MAJESTY's present Residence. But the true cause was believed to be this, the Lord *Digby* (who then chiefly governed His MAJESTY's Council, and by whose Advice it is thought the King revoked Prince *Rupert*'s Commission, and sent him Orders to depart the Kingdom without hearing what he could say in his Defence for the rendring of *Bristol*) by this time found all the Odium of that Action likely to fall upon himself; and that although Prince *Rupert* were willing to quit his Command, yet he was resolved not to be gone until he had seen His MAJESTY and justified himself for the rendring that Place. Wherefore the Lord *Digby* to prevent the breaking of this Cloud which threatned his Ruin, considering it was not only accompanied with the Anger of Prince *Rupert* and all his Party, and with the Hatred of the Lord *Gerrard* for the Loss of his Command in *Wales* (notwithstanding the Lord *Digby* got him a Barony in recompence) prevailed with His MAJESTY (contrary to the Sence of all then about the King) to undertake the Journey for *Newark* as to a Place of greater Security, hoping by time and the difficulty of Prince *Rupert*'s coming thither to lessen the Fury of this Storm, which if we had staid there would have speedily and violently fallen upon him; it being far more easie for Prince *Rupert* to come from *Oxford* to *Worcester*, than almost to any place in His MAJESTY's Power. Besides Prince *Maurice* was then Governour of that place, who was sensible enough of this Affront (as he conceived) put upon his Brother. So His

MAJESTY

MAJESTY having only ſtaid one Day at *Bridgnorth*, and ſent Sir *Thomas Glemham* to receive the Government of *Oxford*, we haſtned to *Lichfield*; and from thence with ſo much ſpeed to *Newark* as we were there almoſt before the Governour had Notice of our coming. By this time *Michaelmas* was paſt and *October* began, and His MAJESTY promiſing at *Bridgnorth* not to engage Himſelf farther North; in the firſt place ſent Sir *William Vaughan* back into *Shropſhire* with his Regiment, not only to recruit but to draw all the ſcattered Regiments together; and with Power if he ſaw fit Occaſion to endeavour the Relief of *Cheſter*. Then His MAJESTY applyed Himſelf to the regulating the great Diſorders of the Garriſon of *Newark*, reducing the Number of General Officers, who ſpent the greateſt part of the Contributions and were, unto about 2000 Horſe and Foot above twenty four Perſons that had Aſſignments according to their Qualities. This (although moſt juſt and neceſſary) occaſioned great Diſcontents, and encreaſed the Numbers of the future Mutiniers. In this time Reports were ſpred (whether real or feigned I cannot ſay) that *Montroſs* ſince his Defeat had given a like blow to *David Leſley*, and was with a powerful Force on the Borders: And therefore His MAJESTY was now again perſuaded the third time to endeavour the joining with him (this was foreſeen at *Bridgnorth*, where His MAJESTY obliged Himſelf to the contrary) but the Lord *Digby* (who ſaw himſelf purſued by Prince *Rupert* who was then come from *Oxford* to *Banbury*, where he met his Brother Prince *Maurice* with Intentions to find the King) and being not able to abide the Rencounter, prevailed again ſo far as to draw His MAJESTY Northward, only under the Pretence of gaining a Day or two's March to meet the Confirmation of this good News, or elſe to return; no Harm being done but rather good by eaſing our Quarters in the Interim. So His MAJESTY having ſtaid about a Week at *Newark*, we marched to *Toxford* and the next Day to *Welbeck*. By the way Reports, but no Truth, met us of *Montroſs*'s Succeſs. At *Welbeck* a Council was aſſembled, conſiſting of the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Lord *Digby*, Lord *Aſteley*, Lord *Bellaſis*, Lord *Gerrard*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*: There the Queſtion was put whether His MAJESTY ſhould either advance, ſtay there and expect more Certainty, or return to *Newark*. All but His MASJETY, the Lord *Digby*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* were for one of the laſt; but His MAJESTY was ſo far perſuaded and reſolved, as that He declared He would not at all have the Queſtion be, whether He ſhould advance or retire, but of the manner of His Advance;

Advance; for He ſaid He was brought to that Extremity He muſt either do ſo or be ſpeedily brought to a worſe Condition. This ſtopt the Mouths of all, and ſo the manner of Advance, and whether to march the next Day was debated, and at laſt reſolved for *Rotheram.* The Council then beginning to riſe, and the Officers going to give Orders for the Rendezvouz the next Day in *Worſop* Park, as if it had been by Providence, a Trumpet knocked at the Door (who had been ſent formerly from *Cardiff* to the *Scotiſh* Army with a Diſpatch to their General the Earl of *Leven*, and was carried with them into the North as far as *Berwick*) who having delivered his Letters, the Queſtion was asked him what he heard of the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*; he anſwered that the laſt time he heard of him he was about *Sterling* retreating for the North; and that *David Leſley* was in *Lothian* on this ſide *Edenborough*, and the *Scotiſh* Army between *Northallerton* and *Newcaſtle.* This made the Council ſtand at gaze, and the Lord *Digby* to declare himſelf, that now he thought it not fit for His MAJESTY to advance, but rather to retreat to *Newark*; and ſo preſently to the Satisfaction of all, Order was accordingly given. The next Morning all the Horſe were drawn into *Worſop Park* with Expectation to march back; when on a ſudden His MAJESTY declared that although it was not now fit for Him to march forward, yet He thought it neceſſary that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and the Northern Horſe ſhould adventure to get to the Marqueſs of *Montroſs.* Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* embraces the Propoſition, and deſires that the Lord *Digby* might go and command in Chief. It being put to the Lord *Digby* he chearfully accepted it, and preſently a ſhort Commiſſion was drawn on the Place to make him Lieutenant General of all the Forces on the North of *Trent.* So he preſently draws all the Northern Horſe into a Body, and accompanied with the Earls of *Cornwarth* and *Niddeſdale*, Sir *William Fleming*, and all the *Scots* then amongſt us, and with Sir *Richard Hutton* Sheriff of *York-ſhire*, he marches away to the Head of 1500 Horſe, and in a Moment was both Secretary of State and a General. This was a ſtrange and ſudden Alteration, and ſuch as I am aſſured was not thought of by all Parties until they met on the Place, though I am as confident it was privately agreed amongſt them before publickly propoſed.

THAT Night His MAJESTY returned to *Newark*, with about 800 Horſe of His Guards and the Lord *Gerrard*'s, having promiſed the Lord *Digby* to follow him in caſe he were ſucceſsful, and the Lord *Digby* advanced to *Doncaſter.* The next

Day

Day in his March, underſtanding there were about 1000 Foot to paſs by *Sherborne* to *Canvood*, he marched towards them, and eaſily defeated them, they all laying down their Arms. Then drawing into *Sherborne* to refreſh his Troops, he had Notice of the Advance of ſome Horſe towards him, commanded by Collonel *Copley*; whereupon he drew out of the Town as many Troops as he could, preſently got into Order with them, charged and routed moſt of the Rebels Bodies, driving them through the Town: Thoſe of his Party that were making ready in the Town, ſeeing the Rebels run, imagined it had been their Fellows and ſo fled; by which means he loſt the Opportunity of gaining ſuch a Victory as in the Conjunction might have made him Maſter of *Yorkſhire* Horſe and Foot, being then the greateſt Strength the Rebels had in *Yorkſhire*. But inſtead thereof he was forced to retreat to *Skipton* without any conſiderable Loſs, except of Sir *Richard Hutton* who was ſlain in the Encounter, who truly was a Perſon of much Honour and Loyalty. From *Skipton* he marched through *Weſtmerland* and *Cumberland* ſo far as *Donfrees* in *Scotland*; and there, whether his Troops were mutinous, or that there he ſaw little hope of getting to *Montroſs*, or that he received any conſiderable Defeat by the Oppoſition of the *Scotiſh* Horſe upon the Borders, I cannot ſay; but preſently after his Lordſhip, the Earl of *Nidiſdale*, *Cornwarth*, and all the *Scots*, with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and moſt of the Officers ſhipt themſelves for the *Iſle of Man*, leaving their Troops to ſhift for themſelves; and ſo thoſe 1500 Horſe were in few Days brought to nothing, and the Lord *Digby*'s Command to an end.

His Majesty had ſpeedy notice of the Misfortune of the Lord *Digby*, and then concluded it was not ſafe for Him to ſtay there longer. For by this time *Poyntz* was come with all his Force to *Nottingham*, and *Roſſiter* with the Force of *Lincolnſhire* to *Grantham*, and the Power His Majesty had left was not of Strength to oppoſe either of them. This troubled us all, to be as if it were in a Snare, and not to know how to get out, nothing now being left us but to watch an opportunity to ſteal back either to *Worceſter* or *Oxford*. In the interim Prince *Rupert* comes to *Belvoir* Caſtle, with ſome hazard, being charged by *Roſſiter* on the Way; but he brake through without Loſs, having his Brother Prince *Maurice*, and about 120 Officers and Gentlemen in his Company. Whither His Majesty writes him a Letter, commanding him to ſtay there until farther Order, and intimating His Diſpleaſure at his not giving Obedience to His former Command. Notwith-

standing which, the next Day he comes towards *Newark*, and upon Notice given, the Lord *Gerrard*, the Governour Sir *Richard Willis* with about 100 Horse go out two Miles to meet him, and as it were in defiance bring him into the Town to the Governour's House; which was more of Duty than the Governour ever paid to His MAJESTY coming three times thither, he never waited on Him but within the Ports. About an Hour after (accompanied with this Train) he comes in Court, finds the King in the Presence, and without any usual Ceremony, tells His MAJESTY he was come to render an Account of the Loss of *Bristol*, and to clear himself. His MAJESTY made him little Answer but went to Supper, Prince *Rupert* and his Brother standing by, His MAJESTY addressing Himself in Discourse to Prince *Maurice*. To be short, after some few Days Debate and Discourse of the Business, His MAJESTY by the Advice of the Lords then present caused a short Declaration to be drawn up, thereby clearing Prince *Rupert* of any Disloyalty or Treason in the rendring of that Place, but not of Indiscretion, as you may see in the Paper which is Printed; and so to the Satisfaction of Prince *Rupert* all things were agreed, and he restored to His MAJESTY's Favour. Presently after His MAJESTY finding by the Posture of the Rebels an Opportunity to pass by them, *Pointz* being then at *Southwell* on the North side of *Trent*, and *Rossiter* still at *Grantham*; resolves to be gone as upon *Sunday* Night, being about the 20th of *October*, which was kept very secret. But before He went, having observed the Differences between Sir *Richard Wyllis* then Governour and the Commissioners there resident, and that it would be destructive to His Service still to continue him Governour, He resolv'd so to remove and prefer him, as that Sir *Richard Willis* should find that not any dislike but the necessity of His Service required this Change. And to say the truth, I would rather have that Morning desired to have been Sir *Richard Willis* than any Man of his Condition or Rank in *England*; for I never saw the King so much court, or set so great an Esteem to any Man of his Quality as He did on him. Wherefore calling him into His Bedchamber, He told him His Design to be gone that Night, and that He intended to take him with Him, and to make him Captain of His Horse Guard in the Place of the Lord *Bellasis* (who had it by the Death of the Earl of *Lichfield*) and to leave the Lord *Bellasis* Governour: But withal, that He did it not out of any Disopinion of him, but that He found the Commissioners and he could not agree; who being many and having served Him well in that Place,

could

could not be ſo well removed as a ſingle Perſon. This troubled Sir *Richard Willis*, excuſing the taking of the other Command as of too great Honour; ſaying farther that his Enemies would triumph at his removal, and that his Fortune was not able to maintain him in this new Employment. His MAJESTY anſwers all theſe, promiſing him Support in that Condition, and ſo leaves him to conſider and goes to Church. Upon his Return and before His MAJESTY had dined, Sir *Richard Willis* accompanied with both the Princes, the Lord *Gerrard* and about twenty Officers of the Garriſon came into the Preſence; and when His MAJESTY roſe from the Table, Sir *Richard Willis* addreſſeth himſelf to Him and tells Him, that what His MAJESTY ſaid to him in private was now publick and the talk of the Town, which was to his Diſhonour. Prince *Rupert* ſaid, that Sir *Richard Willis* was to be removed becauſe he was his Friend; and the Lord *Gerrard* added, that it was the Plot of the Lord *Digby*, who was a Traytor and he would prove him ſo. His MAJESTY being ſurprized, would have drawn Sir *Richard Willis* into His Bedchamber as a Place of more privacy, but he would not, ſaying that he had received a publick Injury, and therefore expected a publick Satisfaction. This ſo quickened His MAJESTY's Courage as that He made them depart, both confounded and aſhamed. And before they got to Sir *Richard Willis*'s Lodging, their Coach overthrew and they all fell in the Dirt. Immediately they ſounded to Horſe, intending to be gone preſently, and by that time the Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord *Aſteley*, Lord *Bellaſis* and Mr *Aſhburnham* were come to the King. Where the Queſtion being put what was to be done, at laſt it was reſolved to let them go, and not to take any more notice of their Madneſs. Which Reſolution proceeded rather from His MAJESTY's Mercy than Juſtice; for if He had pleaſed He might have puniſhed them at His Pleaſure for this high Inſolency, all the Foot and moſt of the Gentlemen in the Town expecting Orders what to do. Preſently upon it the Lord *Bellaſis* was made Governour; and towards Night, they ſent a Remonſtrance or Petition ſigned by about ------ of them, deſiring Sir *Richard Willis* might receive a Tryal by a Court of War, and if they adjudged him faulty, then to be diſmiſſed his Charge; or elſe Paſſes for themſelves and ſo many Horſe as would go with them; and withal hoping His MAJESTY would not eſteem this Action of theirs to be a Mutiny. The laſt the King ſaid He would not Chriſten --- though it looked very like one; as for the Court of War, He would not make that the Judge of His Actions; but as many particular

Perſons as deſired Paſſes ſhould have them the next Morning, which were accordingly provided; and about ten of the Clock the two Princes and Lord *Gerrard* came and took their Leave, being brought privately into the Bedchamber; where 'tis ſaid the Lord *Gerrard* expreſſed ſome Sence of Folly in this Action. That Afternoon they departed the Town, being in all 200 Horſe, and went thence to *Wynerton*, a Garriſon depending on *Newark*, between that and *Belvoir*; where having ſtaid ſome Days and eaten up the Proviſions, they went to *Belvoir*; and thence ſent one of their Number to *London*, to deſire Leave and Paſſes to be gone beyond Seas. This inſolent and paſſionate Action of theirs (to give it no worſe Epithet) had now quite fruſtrated our Deſign for that time, though Neceſſity obliged His MAJESTY not to delay it too long. And therefore he ſent a truſty Meſſenger to *Oxford*, to give private Directions for the Horſe of that Garriſon to attend him about eight Days following between *Banbury* and *Daventree*. For *Poyntz* and *Roſſeter* being confident he could not eſcape them, were now drawn nearer, and had beſieged the Lord *Stanhope*'s Houſe at *Shelford*, another Garriſon belonging to *Newark*, wherein were the remainder of the Quartermaſter's Regiment of Horſe; and beſides kept Guards between that and *Belvoir*, but more on the way towards *Lichfield*, imagining we would endeavour to eſcape that way.

On *Monday* the third of *October* His MAJESTY ſent a Gentleman to *Belvoir* to underſtand the true State of the Rebels Quarters, and to advertiſe Sir *Charles Lucas* Governour of that Garriſon of our Deſign of marching thither that Night, with Order that his Troops and Guides ſhould be ready for us, but with Charge not to acquaint the two Princes and their Company with it (reſolving ſeeing they had ſo unhandſomely left him they ſhould have no Share in this Action.) Upon the return of this Gentleman Reſolutions were taken of marching that Night, but not publiſhed until an Hour after ſhutting in of the Ports. And then Order was given that all ſhould be ready in the Market Place by ten that Night, which was accordingly done; for by that time the Horſe were there ready, being in all four or 500 Horſe of the Guards and the Remains of other Regiments here. They were put in order, and every Man placed in ſome Troop; which done, about eleven of the Clock we began to march, the King being at the Head of His Troop in the midſt of the whole Body; by three of the Clock the next Morning we were at *Belvoir* without any Interruption or the leaſt Allarm of the Rebels. There the Governour

and

and his Troops with Guides attended us, we paſſing by without any Noiſe or the leaſt Notice to thoſe within; and by that time it was Day we paſſed the Danger of Purſuit. All that Day we marched paſſing by *Burleigh* on the Hill a Garriſon of the Rebels, ſome Horſe of which and of *Rockingham* Caſtle following in our Rear, and towards the Evening took and ſlew ſome Stragglers and others whoſe Horſes were tired; yet we ſtill marched, and about ſix that Evening (His Majesty being very weary) reſted four Hours at a Village about eight Miles from *Northampton*. At two that Night we began to march again, and were before Day the next Morning paſt *Daventree*, and before Noon we got ſafe to *Banbury*; where the *Oxford* Horſe met us, who that Evening brought us ſafe to *Oxford*. Thus in four Days and Nights we finiſhed our laſt March, which was only more fortunate than other our Undertakings that Summer, for the Succeſs was anſwerable to the Deſign.

His Majesty being now ſafe at *Oxford* had time to look about Him, and with fuller Councils to conſider both His Condition and what Remedies to apply for His future Preſervation. For upon His Return He found *Baſing* was lately before taken by Storm and all put to the Sword, all South *Wales* but *Raglang* Caſtle loſt, *Shelford* and *Weyrton* taken, the *Scots* advancing to beſiege *Newark*, *Belvoir* blockt up, the Rebels ſtill cloſe about *Cheſter*, and *Fairfax* with a victorious Army ſtill getting Ground in the Weſt. To oppoſe all which He had now no Army left, but in the Weſt and the Forces of ſome few Garriſons about *Oxford* and *Worceſter*; which conſidered, the Council could think of no other Means but to invite them at *London* to a Treaty; to whom His Majesty ſent many Gracious Meſſages to that purpoſe, ſo faſt one in the neck of another as if He would not be denied; but could never obtain any other Anſwers but ſuch as gave Hopes of better: And at laſt they having finiſhed their Deſign, which was to keep the King ſtill at *Oxford*, they concluded they would return Him Anſwer to all His Propoſitions in convenient time. And ſo this Treaty was the laſt Step to our Ruin, which was the more haſtned by our untimely Deſire of Peace; and miſtaking thoſe we had to do with for Enemies inſtead of Rebels (who muſt either live as abſolute Conquerours or die as Traytors) for by this Means the thought of new Levies, of His Majesty's endeavouring to get into the Weſt by His Preſence to enjoy that Army, or of going to *Worceſter* and gathering together the Forces in thoſe Parts, and haſtning Recruits from *Ireland* were laid aſide until

til it was too late; and thoſe Souldiers we had left being weary of their ill Fortune, and hoping for better Employments abroad, were the more eaſily debauched by the Rebels to Negligence and want of Reſolution, never fighting after. Yet that we might not ſeem wholly to neglect to preſerve what we yet had, Sir *William Vaughan* had Orders to draw out the Horſe of *Shropſhire*, *Worceſter*, and the Garriſon of *Cheſter*, which he being made then Major General of the Forces, advanced; but without Succeſs, receiving a ſmall Defeat about *Denbigh* by Forces under the Command of *Mitton*, and ſo was forced to retire. About this time Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice* and the Lord *Gerrard* having gotten from *Belvoir* to *Worceſter*, and there treated with Collonel *Pickering* about Conditions from the Parliament for their Departure, and finding they could not have Liberty of Paſſage without taking diſhonourable Oaths, bethought themſelves of their late Raſhneſs, and were by the Mediation of Friends admitted to come to *Oxford*, and upon their Submiſſion reſtored to His MAJESTY's Favour. Sir *Richard Willis* was denied this, but moſt of their Company ſwallowed the Oaths and went to *London*. At length the Lord *Aſteley* was deſigned Commander in chief of the Counties of *Salop*, *Worceſter*, *Stafford*, *Hereford*, and ſome Part of *Wales*, with large Power and Inſtructions to raiſe Forces and ſettle Contributions; and Sir *Charles Lucas* was made Lieutenant General of the Horſe. This gave us ſome Hopes; but his Commiſſion was ſo long in drawing, as that it was about the 27th of *December* before he was diſpatched; before which time *Hereford* by a Party from *Glouceſter* was ſurpriſed, and ſo much of our Hopes at an end. For by the Loſs of that Place, that and the *Welſh* Counties were made uſeleſs, and many Perſons of Honour and Intereſt that might have advanced the Deſign were there made Priſoners: And it's yet a Queſtion whether that Garriſon were betray'd or not, though for my part, I am ſo charitable as to have a better Opinion of the Governour than that he would do ſo baſe an Act, and yet put himſelf naked into our Power at *Worceſter*. Notwithſtanding this the Lord *Aſteley* went down, and Sir *Charles Lucas* with him, and endeavoured to raiſe Forces and ſecure thoſe Counties; but the old Difference between Governours and Commiſſioners ſtill continuing, and the Lord *Aſteley* favouring the laſt, nothing was done; the Governours of *Ludlow*, *Worteſter*, *Bridgnorth*, and *Dudley* joining againſt him; and ſo their Obſtinacy and Self-intereſt ruined this Deſign, as the like Differences had done His MAJESTY's Affairs in many other Places. Yet with much

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ado he got together ſome of ſeveral Garriſons, about 2500 Horſe and Foot, and endeavoured the Relief of *Cheſter*, though by reaſon of the Winter and height of Waters without Succeſs. About this time were come together all the Horſe Forces of our Garriſons of *Oxford*, *Banbury*, *Wallingford*, *Borſtal* and *Farringdon*, making a Body of 1200 Horſe under the Command of Sir *John Cansfield*, and made Journeys with them into *Bedfordſhire*, *Wilts*, and other Places without any great Advantage but only for their preſent Subſiſtance. Upon the return of the Lord *Aſteley* from the deſign from *Cheſter*, which was about the end of *January*, a fair Occaſion preſented it ſelf to advance His MAJESTY's Service, if either we at *Oxford* or he on the Place had any Mind to have taken the Opportunity. For the Forces in *Ragland* (having Intelligence with *Carne* and other Gentlemen of *Glamorganſhire*, that were weary of their new Maſters, and had deſires to turn to their Allegiance) had not only defeated Sir *Trevor Williams* and his Forces that blocked *Ragland*, but had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Town, and were laying cloſe Siege to the Caſtle of *Cardiffe*; which had they gained, all that part of *Wales* had been ours again. And to that End the Lord *Charles Somerſet* not only deſired Orders from *Oxford*, but earneſtly ſolicited the Lord *Aſteley* to come or ſend to his Aſſiſtance, but neither was done; and ſo in few Days *Skippon* ſends Forces from *Briſtol*, and *Langhorne* comes on the other ſide from *Pembrokeſhire*, and with much ado raiſed the Siege, and cruſhed this new Revolt to Obedience in the beginning, to the ruin of moſt of the Gentlemen of that County. The reaſon why His MAJESTY complied not with theſe Deſires, were (as I believe) a deſign He had then to have gone Himſelf from *Oxford* to *Worceſter*, and ſo would not have the Lord *Aſteley* engaged ſo far from either meeting or receiving Him there; and another, that about that time Notice was given of the Actions in *Ireland*, and the Commitment of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, whoſe Faults were rendred ſo odious as that it were a Crime to do any good for the Family, though in Reference to a greater to our ſelves. About this time *Cheſter* was rendred, having held out four Months beyond expectation, and ſo was *Belvoir*. The Forces that beſieged *Cheſter* drawing before *Lichfield* and *Dudley* on the one ſide, and the reſt attempted *Harding* and *Ruthen* Caſtles in *Denbyſhire*, which laſt quickly yielded. The Spring coming on, Sir *Thomas Glemham* Governour of *Oxon* had a Deſign upon *Abingdon*, and had carried it by Surprize had not the Cart with Materials been broken on the Way; many of our Foot

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and Captain *Mead* with some Horse being gotten over the Works, and those within running out of the Town on the other side; only some Horse made a stand, and drove ours out again. This Misfortune was the greater, we being so near the contrary; and four Shovels to have made way for the Horse had done the Business. Sir *Stephen Hawkins* who commanded the Party was much blamed for this Oversight. Prince *Rupert* attempted it two Days after, but then it was too late. Had we got this Place and the Lord *Astley* come up without Interruption, we might for some time been Masters of those Counties; but this failing and *Banbury* being besieged, we were brought to some Streights; and thereupon His MAJESTY resolved to join Himself with the Lord *Astley*, and either to endeavour to relieve *Banbury* or to retire to *Worcester*, and there take new Resolutions. To this end the Lord *Astley* had Order to march with all his Horse and Foot being 2000 out of *Worcestershire* and over *Avon* to come to *Stow*, and so to *Chipping Norton*; where His MAJESTY with about 1500 Horse and Foot drawn out of *Oxford* and other Garrisons intended to meet him. The Lord *Astley* presently marches, and whether Letters failed or were mistaken, I know not, he was no sooner on his March but *Brereton* had Notice of it; and drawing off a Party from *Lichfield*, and joining with the Forces of *Evesham* and *Warwick* follows him, and lets him pass the *Avon* without Interruption that Evening. The Forces of *Glouceſter* under the Command of their Governour *Morgan* join with *Brereton*, and follow the Lord *Astley's* Rear over *Cotswold*; but he makes his Passage good and marches all Night, imagining they had not followed him any farther, and so early begins to draw into Quarters, when they appeared and fell upon him. His Foot behaved themselves gallantly, and repulsed them; but all the Horse the first Charge turned about and fled, and so was the good old Man and all his Foot taken Prisoners. Sir *Charles Lucas* was taken not far off at his Brother's Sir *William Walter's* House. Most of the Horse came instantly to *Oxford*, by whom we as soon heard of the Lord *Astley's* Defeat as of his March. This was the end of his Command, which might have been longer, and perchance more fortunate, had His MAJESTY ventured with His Horse to have made His way to him, (which might have been done in a Night) rather than have commanded him to march with the Foot and Horse, which could not be done without time and apparent Opposition. Thus we lost our last Game, which fixed His MAJESTY at *Oxford*. Nothing now but a Miracle, or the Victory of His Forces

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in the Weſt being able to fetch Him off: But as the firſt is not uſual, ſo the Fortune of His Weſtern Army was no better I am ſure, and not ſo honourable as this. His MAJESTY thus ſurrounded on all ſides, and finding He muſt ſpeedily fall into the Hands of His mortal Enemies the Rebels, treats by the means of Monſieur *Montrell* the *French* Agent with his Native People the *Scots*, who promiſe if He will come unto them Protection and Safety for Himſelf and Followers: His MAJESTY on this reſolves with a Party of Horſe to make His Way unto them, they being to meet Him at *Harborow*. Before this could be acted, they fled off, and leave His MAJESTY in a worſe Condition than ever. *Fairfax* had taken *Exceter* and was marching towards *Oxford*; this forced Him to a reſolution of quitting that Place, which He did on *Munday* the 27th of *April*, only accompanied with Mr. *Aſhburnham* and His Guide Mr. *Hudſon*; and after nine Days wandring, not finding it ſafe to put Himſelf into the Power of the Parliament, He goes into the *Scotiſh* Army before *Newark*, cauſes the Town to be rendred, and then marches with them to *Newcaſtle*. After His departure five Days, *Fairfax* ſits down and beſieges *Oxford*, and having in eight Days fixed his Quarters, ſummons it. The Lords and others of the Council there, who had taken upon them all the Authority of Command (in regard Sir *Thomas Glemham* the Governour, at His MAJESTY's Departure had His MAJESTY's Orders to obey them) enforced him contrary to his Senſe at that time to accept the Summons and to begin a Treaty, which within two Months was concluded, and the Town ſurrendred upon honourable Conditions: His MAJESTY's Letters received in the interim from *Newcaſtle* confirmed this Action, giving them leave to treat and render upon good Terms, (He being not in a Condition to relieve them.) All the Garriſons thereabouts, as *Woodſtock*, *Banbury*, *Borſtal*, *Farringdon* and *Wallingford*, about this time and preſently after ran the ſame Fortune, and ſo have all other Places ſince, that held for His MAJESTY in any part of *England*.

To conclude this ſad Diſcourſe, which is an accumulation of Misfortunes; it is obſervable, that if from *May* 1645 unto that time 46, His MAJESTY had been but ſucceſsful in any one of His Undertakings, or had done the contrary to what He did, He had been either Maſter of all, or at leaſt had kept Himſelf on Foot a much longer time.

Paris, the firſt of
February 1647.
Stilo Novo.

A SHORT JOURNAL OF SEVERAL ACTIONS

Performed in the

Kingdom of *SCOTLAND*,

After His MAJESTY's first Arrival there out of *Holland* the 24th of *June* 1650 *Stilo veteri*, until the end of *October* following.

BY

Sir *EDWARD WALKER*, Knight,

Garter Principal KING of ARMS,

Who (being formerly banished thence) returned about that time into *Holland*.

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JOURNAL
OF SEVERAL
ACTIONS

A SHORT

Performed in the

Kingdom of SCOTLAND,

After His Majesty's firſt Arrival there out of

Holland the 2d. of June 1650 ſhip ſpeaks until

the end of October following.

LONDON,

Printed for Thomas Newcomb, and are to be ſold at his ſhop (being formerly printed there) recorded upon that time into Holland.

BY

Sir EDMUND MALKEY, Knight,

Centry Principal KING of ARMS.

A short Journal of several Actions performed in the Kingdom of Scotland *after His* Majesty's *first Arrival there out of* Holland *the* 24th *of* June 1650 Stilo veteri, *until the end of* October *following.*

IT cannot be expected that a Person not fully acquainted with the Transactions of His MAJESTY's Affairs should give a perfect Account of the Causes as well as of the Effects of His Councils; it shall therefore suffice (my self being one that out of Duty and at a distance attended His MAJESTY into *Scotland*) if I briefly touch what I have seen and observed, not only of His MAJESTY's Actions and Proceedings, but of the general State and Disposition of that Kingdom, and of the present governing Party therein: Who certainly by an over-ruling Fate (contrary to their Inclinations) are involved in a War with their dear Brethren the Rebels of *England*. For but only to mention that before the Treaty at *Breda*, after His MAJESTY had acknowledged them a Committee of Estates of Parliament, eighteen of forty Persons voted no more Addresses to be made to His MAJESTY; of which number there were Sir *Archibald Johnston* called Lord *Warriston*, Sir *John Cheesely*, the Laird of *Swinton*, and divers others of the like Quality and Disposition: But it was then carried in the affirmative (as 'tis said) by the Dexterity of the Marquess of *Argyle* and the Nobility. After the Treaty at *Breda* was concluded; and all things granted by His MAJESTY that the Commissioners could demand; and (if I am not misinformed) such Concessions made, as not only might secure the Fears of the most guilty or suspicious, but gave much of the Power of Government into the Hands of the Committee and Kirk; yet they in the interim having had Success at Home against the Marquess of *Montross*, whom with the height of Cruelty they hanged and quartered at *Edenborough*, with divers Persons of Honour that were taken with him; and so being freed of the Fear of him who had so often terrified them, they voted His

MAJESTY's

MAJESTY's Conceſſions unſatisfactory, and framed new Demands, which met His MAJESTY juſt as He was ready to embarque at *Terhey* in *Holland*. This together with the conſideration of the extream Barbarity uſed to the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, might have deterred His MAJESTY from the Jorney. But alas He had been too long out of Action, and this being then the more probable way of recovery of His Rights, He muſt try to ſwallow thoſe bitter Pills. So upon *Sunday* Morning the 12th of *June* 1650. *Stilo Novo*, he takes Shipping at *Terhey* in a Man of War of *Holland*, lent Him by His faithful Friend and Brother in Law the Prince of *Orange*, attended by two other Ships. The chief Perſons of Quality that waited on Him were the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Cleveland*, *Brainford*, *Dumfermling*, *Lauderdale* and *Cornwarth*, the Lords *Wentworth*, *Wilmot*, *Widrington* and *Sincleer*, beſides His own Servants, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, and divers other Perſons (as well Souldiers as others) of Quality, Courage, and Fidelity. And I am aſſured His MAJESTY was ſatisfied that all of them according to their Degrees and Conditions ſhould be received and imployed in this Kingdom, (He having at their Motion left behind Him the Lords *Hopton* and *Gerrard*, Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr. *Elliot*, Mr. *Ayton* and ſome others, whom they excepted againſt) yet how little Value they have had, and how uncivilly (to ſay no more) moſt of them have been uſed, is too evident.

IN nine Days by ſtormy and contrary Winds His MAJEST came to an Anchor under *Holy Iſland*, at the Mouth of the *Elve*. Here the new Demands were preſſed to be granted; and 'tis ſaid, that if His MAJESTY could with His Honour, He would have gone back thence for *Holland*; but the many Circumſtances of Neceſſity prevailed with Him not to deny them; believing (I am confident) no more could have been expected from Him. At this place five or ſix Days were ſpent in getting freſh Proviſions; which being made, His MAJESTY ſet ſail ſteering for *Shetland*, where ſeven Ships of the States guarding the Herring Fiſhing were by the Prince of *Orange*'s Order to have joined with him; the better to ſecure His Paſſage.

IN ſeven Days more of no very good Weather, yet contrary to expectation, Land was diſcovered, which was found to be *Cathnes* on the North of *Scotland*; ſo on *Sunday* the 23d of *June Stilo Veteri*, 3d *July Stilo Novo*, we came into *Cromorty Frith*, and caſt Anchor at the Mouth of the River *Spey*. But that which was moſt remarkable, and from which Conſequences of future Felicity to His MAJESTY are drawn, is,

that

that in this tedious Voyage we never ſaw any of the *Engliſh* Rebels Ships, but were told that that very Morning ſeven or eight went out of the *Frith* as we came in; both Fleets being ſeen by the People on Land, and yet neither ſeeing each other. Here on Shipboard His MAJESTY ſigned both the Covenants national and ſolemn, and had notable Sermons and Exhortions made unto Him by the Miniſters to perſevere therein.

THE next Morning His MAJESTY came aſhoar at *Garmouth*, and that Afternoon He went to *Boggey Geith*, a ſtrong Houſe of the late Marqueſs of *Huntley*'s, wherein was a Garriſon. Thence Advice was ſent by the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners of His MAJESTY's Arrival; here we ſtaid until *Wedneſday* following, and thence the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Brainford*, *Dumfermling* and *Lauderdale*, with ſome other Perſons of Quality of this Nation (who by a former Vote of Parliament were commanded out of the Kingdom) went from Court, and have by their ſeveral Ways endeavoured to be reconciled to the Kirk and State, and have had their various Succeſſes. For Duke *Hamilton* notwithſtanding any Submiſſion he could make, was not permitted to ſtay above fourteen Days at his own Houſe, but was forced to retreat into the Iſle of *Arran*: The Earl of *Lauderdale* had the Favour to ſtay at Home, but not to come to Court: The Earl of *Dumfermling* was at firſt admitted to ſtay at Home, then to give Satisfaction for being in the late wicked and unlawful Engagement (as they call it) ſitting in his own Seat at *Dumfermling*, and not in Sackcloath on the Stool of Repentance at *Edenborough*, as did the Earl of *Crafurd Lindſey* at the ſame time; but the reaſon is apparent, the one being *Argyle*'s Creature, the other *Hamilton*'s Brother in Law; and laſtly to be permitted to come to Court, and to wait Gentleman of the Bedchamber: What became of the Earl of *Cornwarth* you ſhall hear ſhortly: The Earl of *Brainford* returned to his Friends, and after going to *Edenborough* and deſiring to be reconciled to the Kirk, he waited five Days before he could deliver his Petition; at length he gave it to one of thoſe High Prieſts, by whom it was carried in, and being read, after much ſcoffing at his Titles, Anſwer was returned him, that as he behaved himſelf they would in time take his Deſires into conſideration.

AT this Place Mr. *Arthur Arſkin*, Brother of the Earl of *Marr* came to His MAJESTY, being the Perſon appointed to attend His MAJESTY's Arrival. He with the Committee haſtned His going hence ſo earneſtly, as that His MAJESTY much againſt His Mind, on *Wedneſday* in the Evening went hence

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to *Straboggy*, another Garriſoned Houſe of the Marqueſs of *Huntly*'s, being attended by very few of His Servants; and the Day following He was conveyed to *Aberdeen*, where and in all Places as He paſt He was received with real expreſſions of Joy by all the People, though very few Perſons of Quality were admitted to Him, being moſt either Malignants or Engagers. Here He was lodged in a Merchant's Houſe oppoſite to the *Tolbooth*, on which was affixed one of the Hands of moſt incomparable *Montroſs*. Here He ſtayed but one Night: The next Day being *Friday*, He paſt to *Donotor*, a ſtrong Caſtle of the Earl *Marſhal*'s; who though an Engager, being Nephew to *Arthur Arskin*, had (I preſume) thereby the Honour to entertain His MAJESTY, but not to receive or wait on Him farther than his Caſtle Gate; which is of that Strength and Situation, as I look on him as one in the happieſt Condition of any Man of his Quality. Here His MAJESTY ſtayed but one Night: Thence on *Saturday* He went to *Kenard*, a Houſe of the Earl of *Southeske*'s (another Malignant Engager) who as the Earl *Marſhal* entertained His MAJESTY very nobly. At this Place (the next Day being *Sunday*) He ſtayed two Nights, and ſo on *Munday* came to *Dundee*; where His Entertainment by the Provoſt and Burgeſſes was anſwerable to any of the former. He was lodged at the Lord *Diddup*'s Houſe; here He ſtayed three Days, and from thence croſſing the *Tey*, He paſt to St. *Andrews*; where at the Entry Mr. *Rotherford* Head of one of the Colleges made Him an Oration; and amongſt other his Expreſſions told Him, that if He perſiſted not in the Covenant *Actum eſt de Rege, & Re Regiâ*. Having here reſted two Nights, on *Saturday* He paſt to His own Houſe at *Falkland*, being on the Way met with the young Earl of *Rothes* and many Gentlemen of *Fife*.

HERE I muſt return to obſerve, that much about the time of His MAJESTY's landing, certain Intelligence came of *Cromwell*'s Advance, which induced a Neceſſity of reinforcing their ſtanding Army conſiſting of 2500 Horſe and 3000 Foot. Much Debate it had in Parliament and was much oppoſed by *Warriſton*, *Cheeſely*, *Swinton* and others of that Party; but the certain News of His MAJESTY's Arrival cooled their Courages at that time, and ſo the Act of Levies paſt, conſiſting of above 30000 Horſe and Foot throughout the Kingdom. This being done, a Liſt being ſent them (by that zealous Brother *Geffery* one of the Commiſſioners) of the Perſons that came over with His MAJESTY as well His Servants as others. They preſently voted all of them from Him but the Duke of *Buckingham*, Mr. *Seymour*, Dr. *Frazer* and Mr. *Rodes*: And ſo the Parliament

adjourned

adjourned to the 15th of *Auguſt*, leaving a Committee to rule in the interim. Two or three Days after the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, the Earls of *Boclough* and *Weymes*, *Warriſton*, *Cheeſely*, with the Miniſters *Dick*, *Guthery*, and others of the Committee came, and (having it ſeems Power to that purpoſe) they mitigated ſomewhat of the Rigour of the former Vote; for they only excluded the Lord *Wilmot*, Mr. Secretary *Long*, Mr. *Harding* and Mr. *Oudart* from Court, until they were otherwiſe diſpoſed by Parliament; but baniſhed out of the Kingdom within eight Days after the Publication, either at *Dundee* or *Aberdeene*, the Earl of *Cleveland* and his Son the Lord *Wentworth* (who had deſerved better of them) the Lords *Widrington* and *Grandiſon*, Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, Sir *Edward Walker*, Mr. *Progers* of the Bedchamber, Collonel *Darſy*, Collonel *Grey*, (though abſent in *Holland*) Collonel *Boynton*, Major *Jackſon* and Dr. *Gough*. The firſt four to ſhew their Obedience preſently abſented themſelves; and two of them, the Lord *Wilmot* and Mr. *Harding*, are again returned to Court, though no publick Vote be yet paſſed in their Favour; but the reſt being not to expect any from them, and another part of the Vote being to have Money to tranſport them, did not remove themſelves. Hither many of the Nobility Engagers and others came, but with difficulty were admitted to kiſs His MAJESTY's Hand, and not ſuffered to ſtay any time. Among others the Earl of *Cornwarth*, who coming into the Privy Chamber, and being told by the Marqueſs of *Argyle* it was a great preſumption to come thither being in his Condition, he went to His MAJESTY, told Him Friends muſt part, and wiſhed and hoped He had none about Him leſs faithful to Him than himſelf: Then turning to *Argyle* he told him, this is your doing, but I value it not: Then coming into the Preſence, he applied himſelf to the Earl of *Caſſels* ſtanding on the one ſide of the Cloth of State, *Warriſton* and *Cheeſely* ſtanding on the other. By this time Notice was given what had paſſed within, and Mr. *Wood* the Miniſter one of the Commiſſioners in *Holland* beckned to him to come away, which he preſently did; and coming to him ſaid, Sir, God I hope will forgive me, will not you? But Mr. *Wood* turned from him in diſdain giving him never a Word; upon this the Earl of *Cornwarth* went out. In the interim *Warriſton* and *Cheeſely* called Sir *James Balfour* Lyon King at Arms, and gave him Order to take the Earl and hang him preſently except he went from Court. Hence you may obſerve the Charity of the Clergy, and the Mercy of the Committee to any of the Royal Party; ſince, the Earl being taken at *Edenborough* was made Priſoner in

the *Tolbooth*, and (for any thing I hear) left to *Cromwell's* diſpoſition, together with Sir *John Henderſon*, who coming afterwards to *Dumfermling*, and addreſſing himſelf to the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, was to have been employed by him to bring over the remainder of the Arms from *Sweden*; in confidence of whoſe Favour he went to *Edenborough*, where he was likewiſe impriſoned. Beſides this Vote of Baniſhment, the Committee preſented His MAJESTY an Act of Confirmation of the Treaty, with a Recognition of His Right and Capacity of His executing of His Royal Authority; intimating their Intentions of His Coronation at the next meeting of Parliament. But in the interim reſerving the adminiſtration of Affairs to the Committee of Eſtates, who ſtill kept all in their Power, except His MAJESTY's Concurrence with them can add to their Advantage, and then they ſeek it; to this end they procured His Letters to the ſeveral Northern Counties to haſten the Levies. The Committee having to their ſatisfaction at this time diſpatched their Buſineſs, returned to *Edenborough*; ſo did the old General *Lewin* and *David Leſley* to the Army; from hence likewiſe all the Commiſſioners that were in *Holland* went their ſeveral Ways, none remaining but the Earl of *Lothian*, and of the Committee the Marquiſs of *Argyle* and his Son the Lord *Lorne*, taking upon them the ſole Adminiſtration of Affairs. His MAJESTY having ſtayed here about fifteen Days, went to St. *John's* Town, where He was affectionately received, and ſtaying there one Night, He paſſed back to *Dumfermling* where He reſted two, and ſo went to *Sterling*. By this time *Cromwell* was entred *Scotland*, and without any oppoſition advanced to *Muſteborough* but ſix Miles from *Edenborough*. The *Scotiſh* Army was drawn between *Leith* and *Henborough* having caſt a Trench before them. The number at that time of either Army were equal, each being about 12000 Men, but *Cromwell's* at that time in much better Order and Diſcipline; for the *Scotiſh* Army being ſolely governed by the Committee of Eſtates and Kirk, took eſpecial care in the Levies not to admit any Malignants or Engagers; placing for the moſt part in Command Miniſters Sons, Clerks, and ſuch other ſanctified Creatures, who hardly ever ſaw or heard of any Sword but that of the Spirit, and with this their choſen Crew made themſelves ſure of Victory.

His MAJESTY having ſtayed three Nights at *Sterling*, and *Cromwell* drawing nearer to *Edenborough*, was by the good will of the General Officers of the Army, and the promptneſs of the Earl of *Eglanton* (a little before made Collonel of His MAJESTY's Horſe Guard) ſent for by him to come to the Army.

This

This was done againſt the Senſe of the Committee, and it were to have been wiſhed He had not gone, or not given Way ſo much to them, as when He was there to quit His Intereſt and return. So on *Munday* the 27th of *July* His MAJESTY attended by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Marqueſs of *Argile* and ſome few of the *Scotiſh* Nobility with His Servants rode to *Leith*. Before He went, all the baniſhed Perſons were commanded not to go with Him to the Army. That Evening His MAJESTY was received into the Army with all expreſſions of Joy; and at that inſtant *Cromwell* drew a ſtrong Party of Horſe down even to the Trench, and cauſed a Party of the *Scots* commanded by Sir *James Hacket* to retreat in very great Diſorder. The next Day a ſtrong Party of Horſe commanded by Collonel *Mountgomery*, Son to the Earl of *Eglanton*, fetching a Compaſs fell into *Cromwell*'s Quarters about *Muſſelborough*, routed ſix or eight Partys of Horſe, forced (as 'tis ſaid) *Cromwell* himſelf in his Drawers to take his Horſe and paſs over the River. *Lambert* was hurt in the Action and ſome ſlain, and 'tis as probable that if *Mountgomery* had been ſeconded, he might as well have ruined *Cromwell*'s Army as he did after the *Scotiſh* Army; but in the Retreat being in Diſorder, he loſt ſome Men and all his Priſoners. That Day the Proclamation following was in His MAJESTY's Name publiſhed in the Army, which His MAJESTY diſapproved, as not being according to His Order; and it is probable that His diſlike of it brought the enſuing Declaration, though I have been told it was delivered Him before at *Sterling*.

By the King.

"*CHARLES* by the Grace of God King of Great *Bri-*
" *tain*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, To all and
" ſundry His Leiges and Subjects Greeting. Whereas the Lord
" hath been pleaſed in his gracious Goodneſs and tender Mer-
" cy, to diſcover unto His MAJESTY the great Evil of the Ways
" wherein He hath been formerly led by wicked Council, and
" hath ſo far bleſſed the Endeavours of this Kirk and King-
" dome, as His MAJETTY hath now ſworn and ſubſcribed the
" ſolemn League and Covenant, and given Satisfaction to their
" Deſires: And whereas His MAJESTY is moſt willing and
" deſirous to grant the Propoſitions of both Kingdoms preſen-
" ted to His Royal Father at *Newcaſtle* and *Hampton Court*,
" with ſuch Alterations and Additions as ſhall be thought ne-
" ceſſary for the good of the King and Kingdom, and to give

" ſuch farther Satisfaction to His People of *England* as ſhall be
" deſired by His two Houſes of Parliament of *England* ſitting
" in Freedom: And for as much as an Army from the Sectarian
" Party in *England* under the Command of Lieutenant Gene-
" ral *Cromwell*, after all the Evil and Wickedneſs committed in
" *England* in murthering His MAJESTY's Royal Father, uſing
" Force againſt the two Houſes of Parliament, oppreſſing their
" Fellow Subjects in *England* and *Ireland*, hath now alſo in-
" vaded this Kingdom, contrary to the ſolemn League and
" Covenant, and the Treaty betwixt the Kingdoms; wherein
" His MAJESTY is perſuaded, that many of the Officers and
" Souldiers of the ſaid Army have been miſled through the
" Craft and Subtilty of others, who have contrived and de-
" ſigned the Subverſion of all Government, Civil and Eccle-
" ſiaſtical in all the three Kingdoms, and to ſubject all Per-
" ſons to their tyrannical Uſurpation and Domination: There-
" fore His MAJESTY from the pious and tender Care He hath
" to reclaim His Subjects from ſuch unlawful and rebellious
" Courſes, does hereby offer a free Pardon and Indempnity
" to all Officers and Souldiers of the ſaid *Engliſh* Army now
" within this Kingdom, for any thing done or acted by them
" againſt His MAJESTY and His Royal Father during theſe
" Tumults, who ſhall immediately upon ſight of this His
" moſt Gracious Offer leave that Army and come over to the
" *Scotiſh* Army, where they ſhall be courteouſly uſed and en-
" tertained. Provided always that this His MAJESTY's Offer
" ſhall not be underſtood to comprehend any Perſon or Per-
" ſons, who after the ſaid Force uſed againſt the Houſes of
" Parliament having ſitten in the pretended Houſe of Commons,
" or in any other Court pretending Power from them, did vote
" the taking away of His MAJESTY's Royal Father's Life.

Given at Our Caſtle at Sterling *the* 27th *of* July, *and of Our Reign the ſecond Year* 1650.

BY this time the Army was much encreaſed, many Malignants and Engagers having gotten into Command, His MAJESTY high in the Favour and Affection of the Army, which was then more evident by the Souldiers having in the late Action made an R. with Chalk under the Crown upon their Arms, and generally expreſſing the Goodneſs of their Cauſe now they had the King with them. This ſtartled the Committees both of Kirk and State, who cried out that the Quarrel was changed, and the Cauſe of God neglected; and ſo di-

vers

vers Arguments were uſed to remove His MAJESTY from the Army, as the Danger of His Perſon, the Multitude of People out of order by reaſon of His Preſence, Want of Proviſions; and 'tis reported the Committee declared that if He would not retire, they would act no more; and ſo much againſt His Will He was perſuaded on *Friday* the ſecond of *Auguſt* to paſs over the *Forth* to *Dumfermling*.

PRESENTLY the Committee commanded away all Malignants and Engagers, and ſo leſſened the Army of three or 4000 of the beſt Men, and diſplaced all Officers ſuſpected, concluding then they had an Army of Saints, and that they could not be beaten, for ſo their lying Prophets daily told the People out of the Pulpit. Beſides, the Gentry out of the *Mers* and *Tividale* who offered to offend *Cromwell*'s Rear, were on pain of Forfeiture forbidden to embody themſelves, or to attempt any thing on him, but to come away and leave all to his Power. And I have been aſſured by Perſons of great Honour and Integrity, that Offers were made by conſiderable Perſons of the Malignant and engaging Parties, that they would raiſe another Army, that in caſe this were beaten, to take up the Quarrel, and in the interim to give their Wives and Children in Hoſtage; that if this was victorious, preſently to lay down Arms; or at leaſt that they might come into the Army and have the Van againſt *Cromwell*, but neither would be accepted; the prevailing Party to colour their Malice and Fear of them (ſhould they get any Power) by their Inſtruments the Miniſters, declaring againſt them, and terming the Sin of Malignancy a Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt; that it was better to fight their Enemies with a Handful of elect and godly People, than with mighty Arms loaden with that Sin, which like *Acan*'s Wedge would ſurely be the Cauſe of their Deſtruction.

ABOUT a Week after *Cromwell* roſe haſtily in the Night and marched back; he was as far as *Haddington* before the *Scotiſh* Army took notice of his Motion; thence he went to *Dunbarr*. This occaſioned ſeveral Reports and Conjectures, but none proved true. The *Scotiſh* Army followed him, not expecting Orders from the Committees.

IN the interim a Guard of two Companies of Foot under the Command of the Lord *Lorne*, *Argyle*'s Son, was for Honour's ſake appointed to attend the Court. Theſe are thoſe who when all the *Scots* in the North of *Ireland* declared to join with the Marqueſs of *Ormond* againſt the Murtherers of the late King, refuſed and came Home to *Scotland*, where they are well treated and put into the Lord of *Lorne*'s Regiment.

PRESENTLY

PRESENTLY after, the large Declaration enſuing was either brought His MAJESTY by *Warriſton* and *Berkley* from the State, and *Douglas* and *Guthery* from the Kirk, or elſe (if He had it before) they then came for His Anſwer. His MAJESTY at that time poſitively refuſed to ſign it, and they moſt peremptorily preſſed to have it paſſed *in Terminis* without any Variation, how barbarous and unchriſtian ſoever the expreſſions were therein in relation to the late glorious King. They ſtaid but one Night, and ſo went away to *Edenborough* and *Sterling*; where the next Day being *Sunday* they thundred out againſt the King, that they were deceived in Him, that He was the very Root of Malignancy, and an utter Enemy to the Kingdome of Chriſt; and the Covenant which He had taken was only to gain His Ends, and that they muſt take heed of Him and the Heathen People about Him. Whereupon on *Monday* following the Kirk publiſhed the enſuing Declaration, which was approved by the Committee of Eſtates; and two Days after, three or four of the moſt zealous of the Army in the Name of the reſt exhibited the following Remonſtrance, which failed not of an Acceptation. And I am aſſured that both the Contrivers and Approvers of them were not diſpleaſed at His MAJESTY's Refuſal, their Ends being thereby to publiſh their Papers, and ſo to bring His MAJESTY into the Odium of the People and the Army; whereby they might more ſafely treat with *Cromwell*, and give him Aſſurance of not invading *England*, (which part of their Reſolution is manifeſt in all their printed Declarations) and ſo (if they kept the King amongſt them until they could find a way to be rid of Him) yet ſtill to aſſure to themſelves the Power of Government; for believe it they did then and ſtill do more fear His MAJESTY's juſt Authority than they do the Conqueſt by *Cromwell*.

Weſt Kirk the 13th *Day of* Auguſt 1650.

"THE Commiſſioners of the general Aſſembly conſidering
"that there may be juſt Grounds of ſtumbling from the King's
"MAJESTY's refuſing to ſubſcribe and emit the Declaration
"offered unto Him by the Committee of Eſtates and Com-
"miſſioners of the general Aſſembly concerning His former Car-
"riage, and Reſolutions for the future in reference to the Cauſe
"of God, and the Enemies and Friends thereof, do hereby
"declare, that the Kirk and Kingdom do not own or eſpouſe
"any Malignant Party, or Quarrel, or Intereſt; but that they
"fight meerly upon their former Grounds and Principles, and

"in

" in defence of the Cauſe of God and of the Kingdom as they
" have done theſe twelve Years paſt; and therefore as they did
" diſclaim all the Sin and Guilt of the King and of His Houſe,
" ſo they will not own Him nor His Intereſt otherwiſe than
" with a ſubordination to God, and ſo far as He owns and
" proſecutes the Cauſe of God, and diſclaims His and His Fa-
" ther's Oppoſition to the Work of God, and to the Covenant,
" and likewiſe all the Enemies thereof; and that they will
" with convenient ſpeed take in conſideration the Papers late-
" ly ſent unto them from *Oliver Cromwell*, and vindicate them-
" ſelves from all the Falſhoods contained therein, eſpecially in
" thoſe things wherein the Quarrel betwixt us and that Party
" is miſ-ſtated, as if we owned the late King's Proceedings,
" and were reſolved to proſecute and maintain His preſent MA-
" JESTY's Intereſt, before and without acknowledgment of the
" Sins of His Houſe, and former Ways, and Satisfaction to
" God's People in both Kingdoms.

Auguſt 13th 1650.

" THE Committee of Eſtates having ſeen and concluded a
" Declaration of the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly,
" anent the ſtating of the Quarrel wherein the Army is to fight,
" do approve the ſame and heartily concur therein.

THOMAS HENDERSON.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and others the Committee of Eſtates:

The humble Remonſtrance and Supplication of the Officers of the Army.

" BEING ſenſible of the Imputation laid upon the Kingdom
" and Army, as if they eſpouſed the malignant Quarrel and
" Intereſt, and conſidering that at this time we are more
" eſpecially concerned in it than others, being in the Lord's
" Strength to take our Lives in our Hands, and hazard all
" that is dear unto us, by engaging againſt this preſent Ene-
" my, who in an hoſtile Way hath invaded this Kingdom,
" contrary to all Bonds of Covenant and Treaties; we conceive
" it our Duties to make it manifeſt to their Honours and
" all the World, that we do not own any malignant Quarrel
" or Intereſt of any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, but that by

" the

" the assistance of Lord we do resolve to fight meerly upon
" the former Grounds and Principles, in Defence of the Cause,
" Covenant and Kingdom, as hath been done those Years by-
" past (as the Commissioners of the Church and your Lord-
" ships have declared in the late Act of the 13th of *August.*)
" Wherefore that it may appear to all whose Eyes are upon
" your Honours, that your Performances are suitable to your
" Resolutions, we in all Humility desire (it being notorious
" that scandalous and malignant Persons not only abound in
" the Kingdom, but to our great Grief of Spirit in and about
" the Court, yea even in the King's own Family and Guards)
" that your Honours will be pleased to take some speedy and
" effectual Course to put the Laws of the Kingdom to full
" Execution against them without respect of Persons, that all
" of them may find the Dint of Justice, according to their seve-
" ral Offences and Miscarriages; so that this Kingdom do not
" become the place and receptable of all profane and malig-
" nant Persons, who have been and are Enemies to God and
" His Cause; and that God be no more provoked by counte-
" nancing or sparing of them, lest the Lord should desert us
" and cause us to partake with them in their Judgments. And
" what yet remains in the Army undone in relation to purging,
" we desire your Honours would command your farther Plea-
" sure therein, which shall have our hearty Concurrence and
" Assistance; all which being speedily and effectually done,
" we hope will prove a means to cause the Lord's Face to shine
" upon us, and countenance and bless us in our Undertakings,
" and will very much refresh the Hearts and strengthen the
" Hands of your Lordships most faithful and humble Ser-
" vants.

Edenborough 15th *August* 1650.

" The Committee of Estates having taken into Considera-
" tion the Remonstrance of the Officers of the Army presented
" unto them by the Lord *Burleigh*, the General of the Artil-
" lery, General Major *Holborne*, Sir *John Brown*, and Collo-
" nel *Gilbert Carr*, in the Name of the Army, do bless the Lord
" for the unanimous Sence and Resolution therein; and for
" Answer to the Desires contained in the said Remonstrance,
" they do promise and declare that they will speedily take an
" effectual Course for putting the Laws of the Kingdom to full
" execution against all scandalous and malignant Persons in Court,
" Army or Kingdom, without respect of Persons; and that they

" will

" will carefully ſtudy to make uſe of the Power which God " hath put into their Hands, for the Advancement of Piety " and ſuppreſſing of Malignants and Prophaneſs, as may give " to the Army real Ground of Encouragement chearfully to " proceed in all their Undertakings againſt the Army of Secta- " ries, who have invaded their Kingdom, and all other Enemies " to the Covenant and Work of Reformation.

In the interim *Cromwell* having got Proviſions by Sea, returns to his old Quarters, and on the 12th of *Auguſt* marches on the South ſide of *Edenborough*, and encamps on a Hill of Advantage; his Ships likewiſe paſs up the *Forth* above *Leith*. The *Scots* ſtill keep their Quarters, the Armys being within three Miles each of other.

During his ſtay there, the Committees by *Swinton* and Collonel *Carr* ſent him their Declaration; and ('tis reported) his Anſwer was, that he *would not juggle with them*; he came *for their King*, if they would deliver Him he would treat, otherwiſe not; but many believe they were too much of an Opinion to have any Difference during their Negotiations. His Majesty from *Dumfermling* ſends a Letter to the Aſſembly to deſire to have ſome of their Number ſent Him, to ſatisfie Him in point of Conſcience concerning ſome parts of the Declaration, and then He would give them Satisfaction. What induced Him to do it, I cannot ſay, only the Marqueſs of *Argyle* and ſome of the neareſt about Him were hourly enforcing the Neceſſity of Compliance, and the Danger He was in in caſe He perſiſted; and poſſibly making the Dangers greater than they would have been had He kept His former Reſolutions. About four Days after, when they had publiſhed their Papers, been with *Cromwell*, and the Chancellour and others had harranged to the Army the ſence of the Kirk and Committee, which wrought not any great effect, the Spirit (though not the Body) of Malignancy and Affection to the King being ſtill amongſt them; the Aſſembly ſent two of their Number to ſatisfie His Majesty, who after many Diſputes were at length induced to give way that ſome Expreſſions in reference to His late Majesty ſhould be varied; ſo His Majesty upon *Friday* the 16th of *Auguſt* ſigned it, and very late that Night came to St. *Johnſtons*, being lodged in a Houſe of *David Leſley*'s, formerly Earl *Gowry*'s, and wherein the Murther was deſigned to be acted on King *James*.

HERE following you may read the Declaration, and by it judge if they ever meant it for His MAJESTY's good; or whether they have gained or loſt by the publiſhing of it; I am ſure many that promiſed Wonders if it were done, and threatned Deſtruction if not, have ſince found they have both in Honour and Intereſt been no Gainers by it. And now becauſe it may ſeem ſtrange to many that His MAJESTY was induced to ſign it, I conceive my ſelf bound in Duty, and for His MAJESTY's Vindication, to offer unto them theſe following Conſiderations.

Firſt, That Neceſſity had brought Him into ſuch Hands, as not out of meer Loyalty, but for their own Intereſt had ſeemingly wedded His; and ſo He was not in a Capacity to oppoſe them.

Secondly, Moſt of thoſe in Power about Him, as well *Engliſh* as others, paſſionately perſuaded Him to it; laying down the Dangers by His Refuſal, as the Deſerting of the Army, and probably His own Reſtraint, and an Union with *Cromwell*.

Thirdly, The Miniſters made it a matter of Conſcience, and Breach of Covenant and Treaty.

Fourthly, It is poſſible great Advantages of Power and Intereſt were laid before Him to facilitate His Compliance; notwithſtanding all which, He many Days perſiſted in His Refuſal, until He had got ſome Alterations made in Reference to His Father. So that conſidering the time that it was done in, the Importunity that was upon Him, and the ill Conſequences repreſented in caſe of His Refuſal, with the pretended Advantages on the contrary, I believe it will be found that few Princes in the like Exigent (though of much more Years and Experience) would have ſo long reſiſted ſo hard and deſperate Aſſaults.

By the KING.

" HIS MAJESTY taking in conſideration that merciful Diſ-
" penſation of Divine Providence by which He hath been re-
" covered out of the Snare of evil Counſels, and having attain-
" ed to full Perſuaſion and Confidence of the Loyalty of His
" People in *Scotland*, with whom He hath too long ſtood at
" a diſtance, and of the Righteouſneſs of their Cauſe, as to
" join in one Covenant with them, and to caſt Himſelf and
" His Intereſt wholly upon God; and in all Matters civil to
" follow the Advice of His Parliament, and ſuch as ſhall be in-
" truſted by them; and in all Matters Eccleſiaſtical, the Ad-

" vice

" vice of the general Aſſembly and their Commiſſioners. And " being ſenſible of His Duty to God, and deſirous to approve " Himſelf to the Conſciences of all His good Subjects, and to " ſtop the Mouths of His and their Enemies and Traducers, " doth in reference to His former Deportments, and as to His " Reſolutions for the future declare as follows.

" THOUGH His MAEJSTY as a dutiful Son be obliged to ho- " nour the Memory of His Royal Father, and have in Eſtima- " tion the Perſon of His Mother; yet doth He deſire to be " deeply humbled and afflicted in Spirit before God, becauſe " of His Father's hearkning unto and following evil Councils, " and His oppoſition to the Work of Reformation, and to " the ſolemn League and Covenant, by which ſo much of the " Blood of the Lord's People hath been ſhed in theſe Kingdoms; " and for the Idolatry of His Mother; the Toleration where- " of in the King's Houſe, as it was Matter of great ſtumbling " to all the Proteſtant Churches, ſo could it not but be a high " Provocation againſt Him, who is a jealous God, viſiting the " Sins of the Father upon the Children. And albeit His MAJE- " STY might extenuate His former Carriage and Actions in fol- " lowing the Advice, and walking in the Way of thoſe who " are oppoſite to the Covenant, and to the Work of God, and " might excuſe His delaying to give Satisfaction to the juſt and " neceſſary Deſires of the Kirk and Kingdom of *Scotland* from His " Education and Age, and evil Council and Company, and from " the ſtrange and inſolent Proceedings of Sectarys againſt His " Royal Father, and in reference of Religion and antient Go- " vernment of the Kingdom of *England*, to which He hath the " undoubted right of Succeſſion; yet knowing that He hath to " do with God He doth ingeniouſly acknowledge all His own " Sins and the Sins of His Father's Houſe, craving Pardon and " hoping for Mercy and Reconciliation through the Blood of " Jeſus Chriſt: And as He doth value the conſtant Addreſſes " that were made by His People to the Throne of Grace, as " a ſingular Teſtimony of Long-Suffering, Patience and Mer- " cy upon the Lord's part; ſo doth He hope, and ſhall take " it as one of the greateſt Tokens of their Love and Affection " to Him and to His Government, that they will continue " in Prayer and Supplication to God for Him; that the Lord " who ſpared and preſerved Him to this Day, notwithſtand- " ing of all His own Guiltineſs, may be at Peace with Him, " and give Him to fear the Lord His God, and to ſerve Him " with a pure Heart and with a willing Mind all the Days of " His Life.

" And His Majesty having upon a full perſuaſion of the " Juſtice and Equity of all the Heads and Articles thereof, now " ſworn and ſubſcribed the National Covenant of the King- " dom of *Scotland*, and the ſolemn League and Covenant of " the three Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland*; doth " declare that He hath not ſworn and ſubſcribed thoſe Cove- " nants, and entred into the Oath of God with His People, " upon any ſiniſter Intention and crooked Deſign for attaining " His own Ends; but ſo far as humane Weakneſs will permit " in the Truth and Sincerity of His Heart: And that He is firm- " ly reſolved in the Lord's Strength to adhere thereto, and to " proſecute to the utmoſt of His Power all the Ends thereof " in His Station and Calling, really, conſtantly and ſincerely " all the Days of His Life.

" In order to which, He doth in the firſt Place profeſs and " declare, that He will have no Enemies but the Enemies of " the Covenant; and therefore He doth now deteſt and abhor " all Popery, Superſtition and Idolatry, together with Prelacy, " and all Errors, Hereſy, Schiſm and Prophaneneſs; and reſolves " not to tolerate, much leſs allow of thoſe in any parts of His " Majesty's Dominions; but to oppoſe Himſelf thereto, and " to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmoſt of His " Power. So doth He as a Chriſtian exhort, and as a King " require, that all ſuch of His Subjects who have ſtood in op- " poſition to the ſolemn League and Covenant and Work of " Reformation, upon the pretence of Kingly Intereſt, or any " other pretext whatſoever, to lay down their enmity againſt " the Cauſe and People of God, and to ceaſe to prefer the " Intereſt of Man to the Intereſt of God; which hath been " one of thoſe things that hath occaſioned many Troubles and " Calamities in theſe Kingdoms; and being inſiſted into, will " be ſo far from eſtabliſhing of the King's Throne, that it will " prove an Idol of Jealouſie to provoke unto Wrath Him who " is King of Kings and Lord of Lords. The King ſhall always " eſteem them His beſt Servants and moſt loyal Subjects, who " ſerve Him and ſeek His Greatneſs in a right Line of Subordi- " nation unto God; giving unto God the things that are God's, " and unto *Cæſar* the things that are *Cæſar's*: And reſolveth not " to love and countenance any who have ſo little Conſcience " and Piety as to follow His Intereſts with a Prejudice to the " Goſpel and the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt; which He looks " not upon as a Duty but as Flattery, and driving of Self-de- " ſigns under a pretence of maintaining Royal Authority and " Greatneſs.

" His

" His Majesty is convinced in Conscience of the exceeding 2.
" great Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of that Treaty and Peace
" made with the bloody *Irish* Rebels, who treacherously shed
" the Blood of so many of His faithful and loyal Subjects in
" *Ireland*, and of the allowing unto them the Liberty of the Po-
" pish Religion; for the which He doth from His Heart desire to
" be deeply humbled before the Lord; and likewise consider-
" ing how many Breaches have been upon their part, doth de-
" clare the same to be void; and that He should have sought
" unto so unlawful help for the restoring of Him to His Throne,
" and resolving for the time to come rather to chuse Affliction
" than Sin.

" As His Majesty did in the late Treaty with His People in 3.
" this Kingdom agree to recal and annull all Commissioners
" against any of His Subjects, who did adhere to the Covenant
" and Monarchical Government in any of His Kingdoms; so
" doth He now declare, that by commissionating of some Per-
" sons by Sea against the People of *England*, He did not in-
" tend Damage or Injury to His oppress and harmless Subjects
" in that Kingdom, who follow their Trade of Merchandize
" in their lawful Callings; but only the opposing and sup-
" pressing of those who had usurped the Government; and
" not only barr'd Him from His just Rights, but also exercised
" an arbitrary Power over His People, in those things which
" concern their Persons, Consciences and Estates. And as
" since His coming into *Scotland* He hath given no Commissions
" against any of His Subjects in *England* or *Ireland*, so He
" doth hereby assure and declare, that He will give none to their
" Prejudice or Damage; and whatsoever shall be the Wrongs
" of their Usurpers, that He will be so far from avenging those
" upon any who are free thereof, by interrupting or stopping
" the Liberty of Trade and Merchandize or otherwise; that He
" will seek their good, and to the utmost employ His Royal
" Power that they may be protected and defended against the
" unjust Violence of all Men whatsoever. And albeit His Ma-
" jesty desireth to construct well of the Intentions of those
" in reference to His Majesty who have been active in Coun-
" cil and Arms against the Covenant; yet being convinced
" that it doth produce for the Honour of God, the Good of
" His Cause, and His own Honour and Happiness, and for the
" Peace and Safety of those Kingdoms, that such be not em-
" ployed in Places of Trust and Power; He doth declare that
" He will not employ or give Commissions to any such, until
" they have not only taken or renewed the Covenant, but al-

" so

" ſo have given ſufficient Evidences of their Integrity, Carriage
" and Affection to this Work of Reformation, and ſhall be
" declared capable of Truſt by the Parliament of either Kingdoms
" reſpectively. And His MAJESTY upon the ſame Grounds doth
" hereby recal all Commiſſions given to any ſuch Perſons, con-
" ceiving all ſuch Perſons will ſo much tender a good Under-
" ſtanding betwixt Him and His Subjects, and the ſetling and
" preſerving a firm Peace in theſe Kingdoms, that they will
" not grudge nor repine at His MAJESTY's Reſolutions and Pro-
" ceedings herein; much leſs upon Diſcontent at any thing in
" a divided Way unto the raiſing of new Troubles, eſpecially
" ſince upon their pious and good Deportment, there is a Re-
" greſs left unto them in manner above expreſſed.

" AND as His MAJESTY hath given Satisfaction to the juſt
" and neceſſary Deſires of the Kirk and Kingdom of *Scotland*;
" ſo doth He hereby aſſure and declare, that He is no leſs wil-
" ling and deſirous to give Satisfaction to the juſt and neceſſary
" Deſires of His good Subjects in *England* and *Ireland*; and in
" token thereof, if the Houſes of Parliament in *England* ſhall
" think fit to preſent unto Him the Propoſitions of Peace agreed
" upon by both Kingdoms, He will not only accord to the
" ſame, and ſuch Alterations there anent, as the Houſes of Par-
" liament in regard of the Conſtitution of Affairs and the good
" of His MAJESTY and His Kingdoms ſhall judge neceſſary;
" but do what is farther neceſſary for proſecuting the Ends of
" the ſolemn League and Covenant, eſpecially in thoſe things
" which concern the Reformation of the Church of *England*
" in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government. That
" not only the Directory of Worſhip, the Confeſſion of Faith
" and Catechiſm, but alſo the Propoſitions and Directory for
" Church Government accorded upon by the Synod of Divines
" at *Weſtminſter* may be ſetled; and that the Church of *En-*
" *gland* may enjoy the full Liberty and Freedom of all Aſ-
" ſemblies and Power of Kirk Cenſures, and of all the Ordi-
" nances of Jeſus Chriſt, according to the rule of His own
" Word; and that whatſoever is commanded by the God of
" Heaven, may be diligently done for the Houſe of the God
" of Heaven. And whatever heretofore hath been the Sugge-
" ſtions of ſome to Him, to render His MAJESTY jealous of
" His Parliament, and of the Servants of God; yet as He hath
" declared that in *Scotland* He will hearken to their Council,
" and follow their Advice in thoſe things that concern that
" Kingdom and Kirk; ſo doth He alſo declare His firm Re-
" ſolution to manage the Government of the Kingdom of *En-*

" *gland*

" *gland* by the Advice of His Parliament conſiſting of a Houſe " of Lords, and of a Houſe of Commons there; and in thoſe " things that concern Religion to prefer the Counſels of the Mi- " niſters of the Goſpel to all other Counſels whatſoever, and " that all the World may ſee how much He tenders the Safety " of the People, and how precious their Blood is in His Sight, " and how deſirous He is to recover His Crown and Govern- " ment in *England* by peaceable Means: As He doth eſteem " the Service of thoſe who firſt engaged in the Covenant, " and have ſince that time faithfully followed the Ends there- " of, to do Duty to God, and Loyalty to Him; ſo He is " willing in regard to others who have been involved in thoſe " late Commotions in *England* againſt Religion and Govern- " ment, to paſs an Act of Oblivion, excepting only ſome few in " that Nation who have been chief Obſtructors of the Work " of Reformation, and chief Authors of the change of Govern- " ment, and of the Murther of His Royal Father; provided that " thoſe who are to have the benefit of this Act lay down Arms " and return unto the Obedience of their lawful Sovereign. " The Committee of the States of the Kingdom and General " Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, having declared ſo fully " what concerns the Sectarys and the preſent Deſigns, Revo- " lutions and Actings of their Army againſt the Kingdom of " *Scotland*; and the ſame Committee and Aſſembly having ſuf- " ficiently laid open publick Dangers and Duties, both up- " on the right Hand and upon the left; it is not needful for " His MAESTY's to add any thing thereto, except that in thoſe " things He doth commend and approve them, and that He " reſolves to live and dye with them and His loyal Subjects " in Proſecution of the Ends of the Covenant.

" AND whereas the prevailing Party in *England*, after all their " ſtrange Uſurpations and inſolent Actings in that Kingdom, " do not only keep His MAJESTY from the Government there- " of by force of Arms; but alſo have now invaded the King- " dom of *Scotland*, who have deſerved better things at their " Hands, and againſt whom they have no juſt Quarrel: His " MAJESTY doth therefore deſire and expect, that all His good " Subjects in *England*, who are and reſolve to be faithful to God " and to their King, according to the Covenant, will lay hold " upon ſuch an Opportunity, and uſe their utmoſt Endeavours " to promote the Covenant and all the Ends thereof, and to " recover and reeſtabliſh the antient Government of the King- " dom of *England*, (under which for many Generations it did " flouriſh in Peace and Plenty at Home, and in Reputation

" abroad)

" abroad) and Privileges of Parliament and Natives, and juſt Li-
" berties of the People. His MAJESTY deſires to aſſure Himſelf
" that there doth remain in thoſe ſo much Confidence of their
" Duty to Religion, their King and Country, and ſo many ſparks
" of the antient *Engliſh* Valour (which ſhined ſo eminently in
" their noble Anceſtors) as will put them on to beſtir themſelves
" for breaking the Yoke of thoſe Mens Oppreſſions from off their
" Necks. Shall Men of Conſcience and Honour ſet Religion,
" Liberties and Government at ſo low a rate, as not rather to
" undergo any hazard before they be thus deprived of them?
" Will not all generous Men count any Death more tole-
" rable than to live in Servitude all their Days? Will not Po-
" ſterity blame thoſe who dare attempt nothing for themſelves
" and for their Children in ſo good a Cauſe in ſuch an Exi-
" gent? Whereas if they gather themſelves and take Courage,
" putting on a Reſolution anſwerable to ſo noble and juſt an
" Enterprize, they ſhall honour God and gain themſelves the
" Reputation of Pious Men, Worthy Patriots and Loyal Sub-
" jects, and be called the Repairers of the Breach by the preſent
" and ſucceeding Generations: And they may certainly promiſe
" to themſelves a Bleſſing from God upon ſo juſt and honou-
" rable Undertakings for the Lord and for His Cauſe, for
" their own Liberties, their Native King and Country, and the
" valuable Good and Happineſs of their Poſterity. Whatever
" hath been formerly by His MAJESTY's Guiltineſs before God,
" and bad Succeſs that thoſe have had who owned His Affairs
" whilſt He ſtood in oppoſition to the Work of God; yet the
" State of the Queſtion being now altered, and His MAJESTY
" having obtained Mercy to be on God's ſide, and to prefer
" God's Intereſt before His own, He hopes that the Lord will
" be gracious and countenance His own Cauſe in the Hands
" of weak and ſinful Inſtruments againſt all Enemies whatſoe-
" ver. This is all that can be ſaid by His MAJESTY at preſent,
" to thoſe in *England* and *Ireland* at ſuch a diſtance; and as
" they ſhall acquit themſelves at this time in the active diſ-
" charge of their neceſſary Duties, ſo ſhall they be accepted
" before God, endeared to His MAJESTY, and their Names had
" in remembrance throughout the World.

Given at Our Court at Dumfermling *in the* 16th *Day of* Auguſt 1650. *and in the ſecond Year of Our Reign.*

THAT

THAT Evening the Crown and Scepter were brought from *Sterling*, but no Word of Coronation. The Day before at *Edenborough* the Parliament ſate, and adjourned for fourteen Days. All that I hear they did, was the Confirmation of the Baniſhment of the *Engliſh*, and voting Collonel *Graves*, Captain *Titus*, Collonel *Gilbert Carr*, and one Mr. *Campbel*, Servant to *Argyle*, to be of His MAJESTY's Bedchamber, though as yet none of them be admitted or received by the King. That Day in the Evening at *Dumfermling* His MAJESTY gave the Seal of Secretary of *Scotland* to the Earl of *Lothian*, who imploys in the Nature of his Deputy therein Collonel *Leighton*, Son to that Doctor *Leighton* who (to ſay no other of him) was Keeper of the Priſoners for the Rebels in *Lambeth* Houſe. This being a Perſon of a ready Wit and Promptneſs of Speech, gaineth much on the Duke of *Buckingham* and others, and ſo poſſibly by that Means facilitates the ends of the *Scots* with the King.

FROM this time and until the end of *Auguſt* the *Scotiſh* Army encreaſed and waited on *Cromwell*'s Motions; who marched to and fro to the South of *Edenborough*, ſeeking Advantages to engage, taking (without any Succour ſent from the *Scots*, but with notable Oppoſition of the Defendants) the Houſe of *Redhaugh* belonging to Sir *James Hamilton*. In the interim (contrary to the Practice of Armys that are Enemies) ſome of the Committee-General Officers of the Army, and Miniſters had Conference with *Cromwell*'s Officers, which is ſaid was to aſſert the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe; but the Event makes many ſuſpect the contrary. Towards the end of the Month both Armys were drawn very near each other, the Cannon playing hotly into each others Quarters, and many fell on both ſides. Some Parties of Horſe skirmiſhed (and we at a diſtance never heard but the *Scots* had the better) which truly for my part I believe; for as they encreaſed in Number, ſo they did in Courage and Diſcipline; and *Cromwell*'s Army decreaſed, Proviſions growing ſcant, his Store brought by Sea being exhauſted. So that they fought not as yet, but why is not underſtood, except they feared a Ruin by gaining a Victory; the Conſequences of which would either have neceſſitated them to purſue it, and entred *England*, and ſo have left all the Malignants and Engagers in a Capacity to have riſen behind them; or elſe to disband the greateſt part of their Army, and not to purſue their Victory, but preſerve their own Power at Home: Which I really believe they would have done, for it was common Diſcourſe, though *Cromwell* had bro-

ken the Covenant, yet that was no Warrant for them to do so.

In the interim, notwithstanding His MAJESTY had by His signing the Declaration given them as great Assurance as could be of preserving their Interests; yet they conceived Him not sufficiently theirs, but prepared another Trial, framing and sending Him the following Heads for His publick Humiliation, which He consented to make. And had the *Scotish* Army not fought so soon after, or been victorious, He had made His publick Repentance for them; let all sober Men judge whether they be agreeable to Charity, Christianity or Loyalty.

"THE King having now sworn and subscribed the National "Covenant, and solemn League and Covenant, and being "desirous to be humbled for the Sins of the Royal Family, "and for His own Sins, that God may be reconciled unto "Him, and that He may give Evidence of His real Loathing of "His former Ways, and of His Sincerity in His owning the "Cause of God, and the Work of Reformation; the Com- "missioners of the General Assembly, after Conference had "with His MAJESTY thereanent, do think fit that the King "and His House and the whole Land keep a Day of solemn "publick Humiliation, for the Sins of the Royal Family and of "the King.

1. "THE great Opposition that was made to the Work and "People of God, by the King's Ancestors, in the time of the "Reformation of this Land from Popery.

2. "KING *James* His Defection from the National Covenant "after He had sworn and subscribed the same, and His pro- "secuting of honest Ministers, and undermining the Discipline, "Government and Worship of the Kirk of *Scotland*, and "taking away the Liberty and Freedom of Assemblies, and "bringing in the Prelates and the Popish Ceremonies of Ge- "niculation.

3. "KING *Charles* His promoting and exercising an Arbitrary "Power both in Kirk and State, under the Name of Royal "Perogative.

4. "KING *Charles* His obtruding upon the Kirk of *Scotland* the "Service Book, and the Book of Canons.

5. "His opposing by Arms the solemn League and Covenant, "and the Work of Uniformity; and in this Opposition, the "shedding very much of the Blood of His good Subjects in "all the three Kingdoms.

" His oppoſing by Arms the renewing the National Cove- 6.
" nant, and the not caſting out the Prelates and the Popiſh
" Ceremonies.

" His promoting in the Church of *England* many ſuperſti- 7.
" tious Ceremonies, and authorizing of the Book of Sports;
" by which the Lord's Day was caſt looſe, and many godly
" and honeſt Miniſters were perſecuted and put from their
" Places.

" King *Charles* His Popiſh Marriage, together with the ex- 8.
" ceeding great Looſeneſs and Vanity, and many groſs Sins of
" the Court.

" The Idolatry of the Queen, and the Toleration thereof 9.
" in the King's Family.

" The Queen's great practiſing againſt, and oppoſition to 10.
" the Work of God.

" The King's being involved in the oppoſition to the Work of 11.
" God, and giving Commiſſions to Malignants againſt the ſame.

" The King's Treaty with the *Iriſh* Rebels, and His allow- 12.
" ing them Liberty of the Popiſh Religion.

His Majesty having without diſpute given way to theſe, and the *Scotiſh* Army in more than probability of being victorious, many new Acts and Propoſitions were hammering in the Committee of Kirk and State; as to have deeply fined the Engagers, baniſhed all the *Engliſh*, and His Majesty to acknowledge that He ſought not the Reſtitution of His Rights, but for the ſole Advancement of Reformation in Subordination to the Kingdom of Chriſt, and ſome others of the like Nature and Temper; and yet the Army was not ſufficiently purged from Malignancy, for the Earl of *Eglanton* four Days before the Defeat, was with his Troop commanded from Court to the Army to receive his Purgation, and his Lieutenant and others diſmiſſed; the Miniſters telling him if he gave not way unto it, if any Misfortune came unto the Army, the Guilt ſhould lye at his Door. And at that time there was Proclamation made in the Army, commanding all Malignants and Engagers thence, under penalty of caſhiering the Officers that entertained them, and that no Perſon ſhould drink or converſe with them.

On *Saturday* the 31ſt of *Auguſt* in the Evening *Cromwell* drew out of his Quarters at *Muſſeborough* in good order, having firſt burnt his Huts, and the Miniſter's Houſe, his Ships weighing Anchor at the ſame time; the *Scotiſh* Army followed at a convenient Diſtance. On *Sunday* they overtook and

beat ſome ſmall Parties in his Rear, and had fair Opportunities to have fought him; but the Miniſters would not give way to it, becauſe forſooth it was the Lord's Day. The next Day they followed him even to *Dunbarr*, and had greater Advantages both of Ground, Courage of their Men, and the Fainting of their Enemies, who would not abide a Charge but fled into the Town; and 'tis ſaid that *Cromwell* had ſhipped moſt of his Cannon and Colours, wanted Proviſions, and only deſigned the next Day to have endeavoured to have broken through with his Horſe, for he was then hemmed in on every ſide, and a Party ſent to ſtop the Paſs at *Coberſpath*, between that and *Barwick*; but then the Committee would not give way to attempt on him, ſaying it were pity to deſtroy ſo many of their Brethren; but ſeeing the next Day they were like to fall into their Hands, it were better to get a dry Victory and ſend them back with Shame for their Breach of Covenant. This is the greateſt Mark of Charity I have obſerved of them; but they ſhould have begun at home and ſecured themſelves, and not have drawn ſo near a deſperate Enemy in a Town, out of which he might preſently attempt on them. Others are of Opinion that ſome of the Committee are of *Cromwell's* Party, and ſo not only hindred his Deſtruction, but gave him Intelligence and Opportunity to defeat their own Army; which yet was not ſo moulded as that they durſt depend upon it to ſupport them and their Deſigns. That Night proved very rainy and tempeſtuous; *Cromwell* in a Town and Tents, and the *Scotiſh* Army expoſed in the Fields, yet ſtanding to their Arms, and receiving two Allarms. Towards Morning the Committee propoſed they might take ſome reſt, and 'tis ſaid *Holborne* Major General gave Order to put out all Matches but two in a Company. Thus in great Security (the Rain continuing) they made themſelves ſhelter of the Corn new reaped, and went to ſleep. The Horſe likewiſe went to Forage, and many unſadled their Horſes. Early the next Morning being *Tueſday* the third of *September*, *Cromwell* drew out a ſtrong Party of Horſe, and fell on the Horſe Guards and made them retire; and if his Deſign were formerly but to have made his way, he now altered it, by this Opportunity of the great Security of his Enemies. So preſently his Bodies both of Horſe and Foot advanced, and without any notable Reſiſtance took the *Scots* Cannon, beat their Right Wing of Horſe (who in their Flight diſordered the Foot) and in very ſhort ſpace he was Maſter of the Field. All the Officers General of the Army fled time enough, and moſt

of

of the Foot Officers quit their poor Souldiers to the Mercy of *Cromwell*. Moſt of the Horſe ſaved themſelves, and ſo did the Committee and Miniſters, who fled with the firſt. The moſt conſiderable Perſons that were taken Priſoners are Sir *James Lomſdell*, Mr. *Windram*, Lord *Liberton* (who is reported to be dead ſince of his Wounds) and his Fellow Commiſſioner Mr. *Jeffery* (who might have been better ſpared) there are ſome others whoſe Names and Perſons I know not. The Officers ſlain are Collonel *Grey*, Collonel *Maxwell*, Collonel *Carr*, Lieutenant Collonel *Melvin* and ſome others, and about 2000 Common Souldiers. Of Priſoners there were taken about five or 6000. A Thouſand of the Wounded Men were in a Gallantry ſent as a Preſent by *Cromwell* to the Counteſs of *Winton*. Thus in a Moment this powerful Army of about 16000 Foot and 7000 Horſe was totally routed; and though not many of them in proportion were either ſlain or made Priſoners, yet very few of the reſt have ſince embodied at *Sterling*; but have ſhifted for themſelves, crying out they were betrayed, and that they would never fight again under thoſe Commanders who ſo baſely deſerted them. That Evening all the general Perſons and Committees of Kirk and State fled to *Sterling*, and ſo did the Provoſt of *Edenborough*. The Caſtle then was, and yet is, under the Command of one *Dundas*, Son in Law to the old General *Levin*, a young Man of no Experience, but it is enough that he is ſolely at the Devotion of the ruling Party; for it hath been ſince reported (whether true or given out I cannot tell) that he would render it to *Cromwell* in caſe they deſerted their firſt Principles and took in the Engagers. Late that Night News came to the Marqueſs of *Argyle* of the Defeat, who with the reſt acquainted His Majesty with the Misfortune; who comforted them (and whether voluntary or by their repreſenting the Neceſſity of it I cannot ſay) gave them Aſſurance of His Conſtancy and Reſolution to perſiſt in the way He begun, and to govern Himſelf by their Counſels, which gave them much Satisfaction. Yet preſently they ſent to ſecure the Caſtle of *Blair* in *Athall*, leſt the Men of that Country (ſolely devoted to His Majesty) ſhould have taken hold of this Opportunity. And I cannot but note, how little Favour His Servants and Followers might expect from them; for not above an hour before the News came, they were very inſtant with His Majesty to have ſent away all the excepted Perſons, and to have purged His Houſe of all others they could not be confident of, and to have placed the Perſons before named in His Bedchamber; and leaſt of all,

what Mercy any that have oppoſed them in Arms for the King may look for at their Hands; for beſides thoſe executed at *Edenborough* with the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, ſome others of his Party upon the News of His MAJESTY's Arrival were put to death about *Orkney*, others are yet Priſoners in St. *Johnſtons*; the King unwilling to intercede for them, leſt it might haſten their Deſtruction; and one Collonel *Datiel* and Sir *George Monrowe*, being taken in *Galloway* coming out of *Ireland*, were only ſaved about the diſpute of the Place of their Execution, *Sterling* being held the fitteſt, where they had defeated *Argyle*'s Men; but they are ſince happily eſcaped. And that very Evening Mr. *James Durham*, who from a Country Gentleman is become a Miniſter, and one who for Moroſity and Strictneſs they have found the fitteſt Perſon to be in His MAJESTY's Family, told Him that now God had put a glorious Victory into His Hands, which He muſt not aſcribe to any other Cauſe but that He was entred into the Covenant of God. By this ſudden and unexpected News the general Eſtate of the Affairs of this Kingdom (if His MAJESTY had not preengaged Himſelf) might have received a Change; for He was near His Friends, all behind Him being at His Devotion if He had appeared. And had He not been in Security where He was He might have preſently paſſed the River *Tey*. The County of *Fife* was indifferent, rather His than theirs. The Committees at *Sterling* with a very inconſiderable Force of new beaten Troops, beſides two Regiments of Foot drawn out of *Leith* and a Regiment or two that ſtayed at *Sterling*, in all (for above ſeven Days after the Battel) not 4000 Men. On the contrary they had in their Power the Caſtles of *Edenborough* and *Sterling*, and therein much Arms, and Ammunition, and Treaſure; which had His MAJESTY taken any other way but theirs, it was to be feared they would have delivered to *Cromwell*, and ſo not only ſecured his Conqueſt of the South of *Scotland*, but given him a Paſſage into the North. So that whether His MAJESTY hath taken the beſt Courſe, I cannot ſay; it is likely He hath the ſafeſt if theſe Men's Intentions are real.

THE next Day the Earl of *Dunfermling* and others went from Court to ſecure the County of *Fife*, and the Paſſages on the *Forth*; and two Days after the Earl of *Eglanton* went into the Weſt about *Glaſco* to raiſe the Country to reinforce the Army.

IN the interim there was great Lamentation by the Miniſters, who now told God Almighty, it was little to them to loſe their Lives and Eſtates, but to Him it was great Loſs

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to ſuffer His Elect and Choſen to be deſtroyed, and many other ſuch blaſphemous Expreſſions; and ſtill crying out not to take in any of the Engagers, or to aſſert the Kingdom of Chriſt by carnal and ſelfiſh means. Then preſently they cauſed a Faſt to be kept by His MAJESTY, and both in their Prayers and Preachings aſcribing the Defeat to the Sin of the King's Houſe and Family, and to His MAJESTY's Hypocriſie in complying with them not for Conſcience but for the Love of a Crown. And the *Sunday* following at *Sterling*, Mr. *Guthery* ſaid, "That if His "MAJESTY's Heart were as upright as *David's*, God would no "more pardon the Sins of His Father's Houſe for His Sake, than "He did the Sins of the Houſe of *Judah* for the Goodneſs of "holy *Joſiah*. By this you may judge the Reality and Affection of this Party to His MAJESTY and His Intereſt, who now they are juſtly puniſhed for their Hypocriſie, Blaſphemy and Preſumption, lay the Fault on the King; not remembring that not above fourteen Days before, they had by their publick Declaration denied to fight for Him or His Intereſt.

AT the ſame time the Committees and General Officers at *Sterling* accuſed each other, ſome of Neglect, ſome of Cowardice, others of Treaſon. *David Leſley* laid down his Commiſſion, and a few Days after took it up again; at length like the Synod at *Gap*, which having ſat half a Year to determine Matters of Faith, roſe, concluding none but the Pope to be Antichriſt; ſo they all agreed in this, not to take in any of the Engagers to their Aſſiſtance, but reſolved to model their Army in a more ſanctified Way. To this end Colonel *Car*, *Straughan*, with their broken Regiments, and Sir *John Cheeſely* (who from being Mr. *Henderſon's* Man, afterwards Secretary to the Committee, and then betraying the Engagers, is become one of the greateſt Rulers in this *Iſrael*) a few Days after ſent to bring up and command apart the Weſtern Forces of the Counties of *Kile*, *Karrick* and *Cunningham*, with the Parts about *Glaſco*; who either by Deſign, or Pretence to ſecure the Country in caſe of an Invaſion by the Way of *Carliſle*, were not at the Battel; and being of all the Nation the greateſt Zealots, are fitteſt for their purpoſe. Theſe are to be a Body by themſelves, and not to receive Orders but from their holy Commanders, who with them alone promiſe to defeat *Cromwell*.

AND now leſt the People ſhould lay the Fault upon the Committees and Miniſters of the Miſcarriage of Affairs, a part of the Miniſters at *Sterling*, under the Title of a Committee of the Kirk, frame theſe fourteen enſuing Cauſes of their Misfortune; and upon *Sunday* following read the ſame in the Churches, and

ordain

ordain *Sunday* the 15th of *September* to be a Day of Humiliation for them.

Cauſes of ſolemn publick Humiliation upon the Defeat of our Army, to be kept through all the Congregations of Scotland.

"ALBEIT publick ſolemn Humiliations have been much "ſlighted, and gone about in a formal Way by many of this "Land, ſo that it is not one of the leaſt of our Provocations, "that we have drawn near to God with our Mouth, and keep "our Hearts far away from Him; for which the Lord hath turned "the Wiſdom of the Wiſe into Folly, and the Strength of the "Strong into Weakneſs; yet ſeeing it is a Duty that often hath "proven comfortable to us, and to which God now calls us "in a ſpecial Way, by a ſingular piece of Diſpenſation; and "knowing that all who are acquainted with God will make "Conſcience of it, we conceive it expedient that the whole "Land be humbled for theſe Cauſes following.

1. "THE continued Ignorance and Prophanity of the Body of "the Land, and Obſtinacy and Incorrigibleneſs of many, not-"withſtanding all the Pains God hath taken upon us by His "Word and by His Works of Mercy and of Judgement, to "teach us in the Knowledge of His Name, and to reform us "from the Evil of our Ways.

2. "THE manifold Provocations of the King's Houſe, which "we fear are not throughly repented of nor forſaken of Him "to this Day; together with the crooked and corrupt Ways "that were taken by ſundry amongſt us, for carrying on the "Treaty with the King.

3. "THE bringing home with the King a great many Malig-"nants, and endeavouring to keep ſome of them about Him, "and many of them within the Kingdom, notwithſtanding of "publick Reſolutions to the contrary.

4. "The not purging the King's Family from Malignants and "prophane Men, and conſtituting the ſame of well-affected "and godly Perſons; albeit it hath been often preſſed upon "the Parliament and Committee of Eſtates, and undertaken "and promiſed to be performed by them.

5. "THE leaving of a moſt malignant and prophane Guard "of Horſe to be about the King, and who being ſent for to "be purged, came two Days before the Defeat and were ſuf-"fered to be, and fight in our Army.

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"THE exceeding Slackneſs of many and Averſneſs and Un-
" towardneſs of ſome in the chief Judicatories of the Kingdom
" and in the Army, in good Motions and publick Duties; eſ-
" pecially thoſe things which concern the purging of Judicato-
" ries, and of the Army from Malignants and ſcandalous Per-
" ſons, and filling all Places of Truſt and Power with Men of
" known Integrity, and of a blameleſs and Chriſtian Conver-
" ſation; together with great Endeavours to keep in, and
" bring unto Judicatories and Army all ſuch Malignants, as
" though the Land could not be guided and defended without
" thoſe; and great repining and crying out againſt all that was
" done to the contrary, to make the ſame ineffectual.

"THE exceeding great Diffidence of ſome of the chief Lea- 7.
" ders of our Army and others amongſt us, who thought we
" could not be ſaved but by a numerous Army; and who
" when we had gotten many thouſands together, we could not
" hazard to act any thing, notwithſtanding God offered ma-
" ny fair Opportunities and Advantages, and fitted the Spirits
" of Souldiers for their Duty.

"THE carnal Confidence that was in many of the Army, 8.
" unto the deſpiſing of the Enemy and promiſing Victory to
" themſelves.

"THE Looſeneſs, Inſolency and Oppreſſion of the Army, 9.
" and the little or no Care that was taken by any to preſerve
" the Corn; by which it hath come to paſs that very much of
" the Food of the poor People of the Land hath been need-
" leſly deſtroyed; with the Prophanity and Oppreſſion of ſun-
" dry of our Officers and Souldiers in *England*, whilſt we were
" fighting for the aſſiſtance of the Parliament of that Kingdom,
" may not be forgotten; becauſe it was a great matter of ſtum-
" bling to many of that Land, ſo it is like that it is one of the
" Cauſes of the Lord's Indignation now manifeſt againſt us by
" the Hands of thoſe Men.

"OUR great Unthankfulneſs for former Mercies and Deli- 10.
" verances, and even for many Tokens of the Lord's Favour
" and Goodneſs towards our preſent Army while they were
" together; and the great Impatience of Spirit that was to be
" ſeen in many theſe Weeks paſt; which made them limit
" the Lord, and to complain as weary of His Delay to give
" Deliverance.

"THE owning and eyeing of the King's Quarrel and Inte- 11.
" reſt by many without ſubordination to Religion and the Li-
" berties of theſe Kingdoms.

12. "THE carnal Self-ſeeking, and crooked way of ſundry in "our Judicatories and Armies, who make their Places and Im- "ployments rather a matter of Intereſt, Gain and Preferment "to themſelves, than of advancing Religion and Righteouſneſs "in the Land.

13. "THE not putting Difference betwixt thoſe that ſerve "God, and thoſe that ſerve him not, for our Services or "Company and Employments; but accounting all Men alike, "and many times preferring thoſe that have nothing of God "in them.

14. "THE exceeding great Neglect that is in great ones, and "many others in performing Duties in their Families, not- "withſtanding of our ſolemn Acknowlegement of this Sin: "As alſo the Neglect of the Duties of mutual Edification and "great Unfruitfulneſs and Barrenneſs that is to be ſeen amongſt "all ſorts of Perſons, together with the following of Duties "with a great deal of mixture of carnal Affections and fleſh- "ly Wiſdom, which grieves the Spirit of God, and takes away "much of the Lord's Image from Judicatories.

"As we would be humbled for theſe things, ſo we would "alſo intreat the Lord He would ſanctifie this ſad Affliction to "His People, that they neither deſpiſe His Chaſtening, nor "faint when they are rebuked of Him; but that they may bear "His Indignation patiently, and cleave ſtedfaſtly to the Truth, "and to the Covenant, and Cauſe of God; without yielding "to the Fury of the Enemy, or receiving their Errors, or "complying either with them on the one Hand, or Malig- "nants of the other; and that the Lord would pour out "His Spirit upon His People, that their Spirits may be rai- "ſed to their Duty; and that they may be fitted and fur- "niſhed of God for their Reſolutions, to act againſt their "Enemies for the Honour of God and their own Peſervation; "and that the Lord would not ſuffer them to be tempted "above what they are able to bear, but that He would break "the Yoke of Oppreſſion from their Necks, and give them "Salvation and Deliverance.

CROMWEL having thus as it were by Miracle got a Vi- ctory, firſt refreſhes his own Men, then ſends away his Pri- ſoners, and the *Saturday* following enters *Edenborough*, having his Horſe about it before; thereby preventing the General's getting into the Caſtle, which he attempted to have done. He preſently creates new Magiſtrates, and uſed the People that remained civil enough, but plundered all the Houſes of thoſe

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that had deſerted the Town. He likewiſe drew moſt of his Foot into *Leith*, and goes on with the Fortifications left more than half finiſhed by the *Scots*; and placed therein for Governour Collonel *Pride*, and at *Edenborough* Collonel *Monk*.

In the interim the Diſputes continue ſtill at *Sterling*, and ſome propoſed to have the more moderate Engagers taken in. Sir *John Cheeſely* roſe up laying his hand on his Sword, and proteſting that he would rather join with *Cromwell* than with them, and ſo went away to take up his own Charge. At length the Differences being ſomewhat appeaſed by the Preſence and Influence of *Argyle*, they apply themſelves to the King for His Concurrence in advancing their Levies; and to this end get Him to ſign Letters to all the Counties, commanding them to obey the Orders of the Committee. And it was time, for many begun to ſlight their Power, even the County of *Fife*, the neareſt and moſt at their Devotion, refuſing to riſe, or be commanded by their Chiefs: And the Committee of the Kirk of that County proteſting againſt the Cauſes of the Humiliation, as being unduly contrived by a few Perſons, and unchriſtian and uncharitable in themſelves. And as yet I do not find the People in a diſpoſition to obey them (who ſtill look when the King will take up His own Quarrel, and act without theſe ſo hated Committees of Kirk and State.) For fourteen Days after their Defeat, the whole Power they could make at *Sterling* was not above 5000 Horſe and Foot, beſides the Weſtern Forces deſigned to be commanded by *Cheeſely*, *Carr*, and *Straughan*. Which being by the Induſtry of the Earl of *Eglanton* drawn into a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Dragoons, and finding theſe new Commanders, refuſed to obey them, and ſo (as it is reported) diſperſed themſelves: However admitting they obey them, they were then uſeleſs to their Maſters in *Sterling*, *Cromwell* being got between them and that Place. For now having ſettled the Minds of the People at *Edenborough*, blockt up the Caſtle, releaſed all the Priſoners there, and (as I hear) cauſed the Head of the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* to be taken down and buried, upon *Saturday* the 15th of *September* he marched thence to *Leithgow*, having got a Recruit of 600 Men out of *England*.

The King in the interim with a very thin Court ſtayed at *St. Johnſtons*, and though very little acquainted with the Reſolutions and Deſigns at *Sterling* (which I pray God prove not to his Diſadvantage) yet was daily told both in Prayers and Sermons of the Sins of His Father's Houſe, His Mother's Idolatry, and their Fears of His Reality: For though ſometimes they

glory in His being the only Covenanted King, yet till He wholly ſubmit His Scepter to that of Chriſt's (that is to be commanded both Soul and Body by the Miniſters) they will never truſt, honour nor obey Him.

THE *Monday* following *Cromwell* marched towards *Sterling*, and the next Day the Marqueſs of *Argyle* comes to Court; what Account he gave of their Proceedings I could not learn, yet in general they ſtill perſiſted in modelling a new Army of the Weſtern Forces to be commanded apart by *Carr*, *Straughan* and *Cheeſely*, under the Influence of the more violent Party of the Committee and Miniſters; and to have the Perſons voted away by Parliament ſent away. To whom they have added Mr. *Seymour* and Doctor *Frazer*; the firſt of them being fallen much in their Diſpleaſure for adviſing His MAJESTY at *Dumfermling* (as it is reported) againſt ſigning the Declaration (for which the Marqueſs of *Argyle* told him the Kirk would never forgive him;) and the other hath ſo carried himſelf as that they find him not for their purpoſe.

THE next Day after the Marqueſs of *Argyle*'s coming to Court, His MAJESTY, upon what Pretence of Security I cannot ſay, was induced to ſend away the Crown and Scepter, but whither I cannot learn. It was put to the Cuſtody of Lieutenant Collonel *Minnis* Lieutenant Collonel to *Argyle*, who is the Perſon that took and delivered the Marqueſs of *Huntley* into their Power; the Reaſon is given out to be, leſt if *Cromwell* ſhould force his Paſſage at *Sterling*, and His MAJESTY be neceſſitated to quit *St. Johnſtons*, it might be in Danger to be taken.

BY that time *Cromwell* was as far as *Sterling*, drawing a Party near to view it, the Lieutenant General *David Leſley* was with about 3000 Foot and 2000 Horſe on the North ſide of the Bridge, having burnt ſome of the Suburbs and drawn a Line between the Walls and the Bridge. There were ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes between them, and ſome Cannon diſcharged from the Caſtle, which they ſay cauſed *Cromwell* to retire. However he hovered about it three or four Days, and then marched back towards *Edenborough*. Many Reaſons are given for his Retreat, as Want of Proviſions, Weakneſs of his Army, and the Strength of Place: But ſome are of Opinion he did the beſt not too much to irritate thoſe who are not abſolutely his Enemies, and ſo neceſſitate them to join with Malignants and Engagers for their common Defence; but to ſuffer the Differences to encreaſe among them, (for had he deſigned it, though poſſibly he could not without Loſs have gained

Sterling,

Sterling, yet he might in the interim have ſent a Party of Horſe that would eaſily have diſturbed and diſſipated the Weſtern Levies;) but I fear time will ſhew them to be too much his Friends.

Upon *Cromwell*'s Retreat, moſt of the Horſe were ſent back into *Angus* and the Counties adjacent, to refreſh and bring up the new Levies; and Collonel *Robert Hacket* (Brother to that valiant Sir *James Hacket* who was the firſt Man foyled by *Cromwell* before *Leith*, and likewiſe the firſt that fled at the Battel) is alſo gone without Orders to join himſelf with thoſe in the Weſt. This poſſibly added to the Hatred and Jealouſie of the Kirk and ſome of the Committee againſt *David Leſley*, with their Deſign to cut him off all Power and Command, which hath induced him again to proteſt the laying down his Commiſſion: The Cauſe is ſaid to be, that he cannot have Juſtice againſt a Captain of *Straughan*'s taken with Letters from his Collonel to *Cromwell*, implying that if *Cromwell* would quit the Kingdom, he would ſo uſe the matter as that he ſhould not fear any Prejudice from this Nation.

On *Saturday* the 21ſt the Chancellor, the Earl of *Eglanton*, *Warriſton*, and ſome others of the Committee came to Court; and on *Monday* ſat together in the Church at *St. Johnſtons*. That Evening after Supper they all came to His Majesty, and a Table and Chair being ſet for His Majesty and Forms for them, (which I note the rather, it being the firſt time they ever formally attended His Majesty as in Council) they made their Report of their Conſultations that Day, which were (as I hear) only general Propoſitions for the future Government of Affairs, eſpecially of the Army, and for haſtning the Recruits; though the Earl of *Eglanton* often moved to have the Weſtern Forces put into ſuch a Poſture as that they might be uſeful to the whole, and not governed apart. *Warriſton* at that time made a long and zealous Speech againſt the taking in of Engagers, aſcribing all the Misfortunes to the Sins of the late King's Houſe in oppoſing the Work of Reformation. The Day following the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, the Chancellor and the reſt went for *Sterling* to a general Meeting of the Commitees. What they have concluded is not yet known at this diſtance; in the interim you may here read another publick Act of the Kirk's, and thereby judge of their Charity, and how they reſolve to carry on the Work.

Sterling

Sterling 12th *September* 1650. *Poſt Meridiem.*

A ſhort Declaration and Warning to all the Congregations of the Kirk of Scotland *from the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly.*

" ALBEIT the Lord, whoſe Judgments are unſearchable and " whoſe Ways paſt finding out, hath brought the Land very " low under the Hand of a prevailing Enemy, yet muſt not " we be ſilent to declare the Mind of God, nor others refuſe " to hearken thereto. It were ſuperfluous to give Anſwers to " the many Calumnies and Reproaches that are blaſted abroad; " for albeit in every thing we cannot juſtifie the Conduct of " the Army, yet we hold it our Duty to deſire every one not " to believe groundleſs Reports, but rather to eye the Lord, " and to look up to the Hand that ſmites them.

1. " AND therefore in this firſt Place, we exhort and warn all " the Inhabitants in the Land to ſearch out their Iniquities, " and to be duly humbled before the Lord, that He may turn " away His Wrath from us. The Lord hath wounded us, and " chaſtized us; which ſaith that our Iniquities are many, and " that our Sins are encreaſed. It concerns the King to mourn " for all the grievous Provocations of His Father's Houſe, and " for all His own Guiltineſs; and to conſider if He hath come " into the Covenant, and joined Himſelf unto the Lord upon " politick Intereſts, for gaining a Crown to Himſelf, rather " than to advance Religion and Righteouſneſs; and that it is " an Iniquity that God will not forget, unleſs it be ſpeedi- " ly repented of. It concerns alſo our Nobles and Judges " to conſider whether their Carriage in publick Matters be " ſtreight and equal; or rather ſavour of ſeeking themſelves " and the things of this World, and how they walk in their " Families and private Converſations. There is in many a great " deal of Perverſeneſs and Incorrigibleneſs in regard of forſa- " king ſome Sins, and performing of ſome Duties, notwith- " ſtanding Confeſſions and Engagements; and this cannot but " highly provoke the Lord. And it concerns the Officers of " the Army, eſpecially thoſe who are chief amongſt them, to " repent of their Diffidence and carnal Way of acting and " undervaluing God's People. And Miniſters have alſo need " to ſearch themſelves concerning their Faithfulneſs and " Diligence; doubtleſs even amongſt thoſe is much Neg-

" ligence

" ligence and Unfaithfulneſs to be found, for which God is " angry.

" ALBEIT the Lord has ſuffered the Army of perfidious and 2.
" blaſphemous Sectaries to prevail; yet God forbid that the " Land ſhould comply with them, whatever may be the plau- " ſible and fair Carriage of ſome in their Army: Yet doubtleſs " there is a Leven of Error and Hypocriſie amongſt them, which " all the Lovers of Truth would diſcern and avoid. As the " Lord hath tried the Stability and Integrity of His People in " the Land heretofore by the prevailing of Malignants, ſo doth " He now try them by the prevailing of the Sectaries; and we " truſt that they will think it their Duty and Commendations " to proteſt as faſt againſt the one as againſt the other.

" NEITHER could Men be leſs careful and active to oppoſe 3.
" this Enemy, than they have been in oppoſing Malignants " heretofore; our Religion, Lives, Liberties and Eſtates are " as much in hazard now as ever. All the Ordinances of Jeſus " Chriſt in the Land are in Danger, and the Foundation like " to be overturned by theſe Men, who were obliged by the " Bonds of the Covenant to maintain all thoſe; and it were " a great Guiltineſs to lie down and crouch under the Burthen " of the ſtrange Impoſitions that they will lay upon us, and " as Men without Heart to ſuffer our Land to be brought in " Bondage, and our ſelves to be robbed of all thoſe things " which are moſt precious and dear to us; if we ſhould do ſo, " the Lord would be angry with us, and our Poſterity could " not but curſe us.

" WE would not think that all Dangers from the Malignants " is now gone, ſeeing there are a great many ſuch in the Land, " who ſtill retain their former Principles; and therefore we " would with as much watchfulneſs and tenderneſs now as ever " avoid their Snares and beware of Compliance and Conjun- " ctions with them; and take heed that under a pretence of " doing for the Cauſe and for the Kingdom, they get not Pow- " er and Strength into their Hands for advancing and promo- " ting their old malignant Deſigns. Doubtleſs our Safety is in " holding faſt our former Principles, and keeping a ſtraight " Path without declining to the right Hand or to the left.

" IT concerns all the Inhabitants of the Land to beware of 4.
" murmuring or complaining againſt God's Diſpenſation, and " queſtioning the Truth and Goodneſs of their Cauſe, or quar- " relling with God, or caſting off the Covenant, becauſe of " any thing that hath befallen them; that were a great Iniqui- " ty not to be pardoned. Let us bear the Indignation of the

Lord

" Lord patiently, becauſe we have ſinned againſt Him, until " He plead our Cauſe, and execute Judgement for us; He " will bring us forth to the Light and we ſhall behold His " Righteouſneſs.

CROMWEL upon his return back to *Edenborough* goes on with the Fortifications at *Leith*, takes all the Cattel and Corn in his reach to victual it and his Ships; he makes likewiſe a Quarter at *Leithgow*, the mid way between that and *Sterling*, and quarters his Army with the beſt conveniency in the Country about *Edenborough*: On the other part the Committee at *Sterling* proceed in their Deſign of doing the Work without Engagers, and as much as may be without the Intereſt or Influence of the King. For though *David Leſly* be again contented not to quit his Commiſſion, yet he is only to command the Forces imbodied at *Sterling* which are of Foot, as yet very few, and ſuch as ſhall be added to him on the North ſide of the *Forth*; but all thoſe in the Weſt are ſtill to be commanded apart by *Carr*, *Straughan* and *Cheeſely*. The next thing they did, was to deſign the Parliament to meet on the 22^{d} of *October*, and then they ſay the King ſhall be crowned, but the place for neither is named, being as yet in the Breaſt of the Committee.

And leſt their Misfortune ſhould ſtill continue by keeping the Wicked amongſt them, they look over the Liſt of *Engliſh* baniſhed and excluded from Court, which in thoſe two Capacities were at the firſt ſixteen Perſons. To theſe (Doctor *Gough* being gone, Mr. *Harding* received into Waiting, and Collonel *Boynton* into Grace) they have added as many more; as the Marqueſs of *Villeneufe* a *French* Man, that came over with great Pretenſions, who is already gone; the Lord St. *Paul* one of the ſame Nation, who had really and ſtoutly ſerved the King in the late Wars and came lately over with the Prince of *Orange*'s recommendatory Letters; the Lord *Willmot* whoſe Crime no Man knows, in relation to them or their Intereſt; and Mr. Secretary *Long*, who had not deſerved ill of them; Mr. *Seymour* and Doctor *Frazer* whom I noted before; Sir *Faithful Forteſcue*; Sir *Timothy Featherſton*; Mr. *Lane* and Mr. *Marſh* whoſe Crimes if any were merry and Loyal Hearts, and poſſibly not bowing their Knees to their Miniſter Mr. *Durham* as he expected; Mr. *Anthony Jackſon*, who long ſince had taken the Covenant; Mr. *Oudart*; Sir *George Mervill* Maſter of the Houſhold (though a ſtrict Presbyterian as any) for being dutiful to the King and civil to His Servants, and in the Marqueſs of *Argyle*'s diſpleaſure;

Lieutenant

Lieutenant Collonel *Low*, for being ſuſpected a Spy for *Cromwell*; who truly had ill Luck, being as much believed to be theirs; Lieutenant Collonel *Galbreth*; and Lieutenant Collonel *Newtas*. Many other of the King's Servants paſs'd their Trial, and (though honeſt Men) had better Fortune. And it is worth the noting, that Mr *Windham* was one in the Liſt for having malignant Parents, and a Day after, I know not how, ſtruck out again. Beſides at this Meeting there was a ſelect and cloſe Committee; what they have done it cannot be expected I ſhould know; but only that *Argyle*, the Chancellor, *Warreſton*, *Cheeſely*, the Provoſt of *Edenborough*, and others were of it, and ſo let the Event diſcover. And I may not omit that *Hope* Lord *Craghaugh* and *Swinton* (as 'tis conſtantly reported) much about this time went in to *Cromwell*; though I muſt needs ſay to the Honour of the Nation, few or none of them, though under his Power, have yet taken Arms or complyed with him, otherwiſe than as People do under the Sword of a Conquerour.

The laſt thing the Committee did, was to haſten their Leavies, and to appoint a general Rendezvouz at *Sterling* the 10th of *October* of all their Forces. Some ſay they deſign to have the King in the Head of them; but this is a Truth, they reſolve on this ſcore, without the Aſſiſtance of Malignants or Engagers once more to try their Fortune; and if they prove victorious, to proceed in carrying on their Work according to the Rule you ſee held forth (to uſe their own Phraſe) in the Declaration and all their Papers; but if they are beaten, they will then (as they ſay) admit the other Parties, and will loſe the Thanks; for who ſhall then hinder them to riſe to preſerve themſelves, and to act without this Party, which now ſo uncharitably hinder them to appear for the Honour and Safety of their King and Country. It is more probable, conſidering the Severity, Guilt and Fear that accompanies the preſent Governing Party, and their Hatred to the others, that they will rather have His Majesty to periſh amongſt them, or poſſibly deliver him up as the *Curſed Thing that troubles the Peace of their Iſrael*, than that He ſhould be reſtored to any Power upon other Principles than theirs, or that thoſe their Enemies ſhould have the leaſt Share therein.

Having thus given you a general View of the moſt remarkable Paſſages ſince His Majesty's coming into *Scotland*, I ſhall briefly obſerve to you, firſt, the general Diſpoſition of the Nation; next of the Ruling Party, and what probably they

deſign; and laſtly His MAJESTY's Condition amongſt them.

FIRST, For the Diſpoſition of the People, they are generally for the King and His Government, being moſt under the Notion of Malignants and Engagers, above 100 of 120 Noblemen being in that condition. Moſt of the Gentry are very Loyal, and in a manner all the common People; ſo that had the King the Power of Government He could not want the Bodies and Hearts of many thouſands of gallant Men to follow Him upon His own Intereſt, without the Cloggs of Declarations or Covenant. For it was the ſole Affection and Duty of the People to the King that raiſed the late Army; and without His Intereſt all the Power of the Ruling Party, with the Prayers and Threats of the Miniſters, ſhall never bring any conſiderable Force together.

NEXT, For the ruling Party, they are the Committees of the Kirk and State in the Intervals of Parliament, and when that ſits, of Lords, Barons, and Burgeſſes, in all (ſo many being made uncapable) not fifty Perſons. The prime Rulers in the Aſſembly are *Blaer*, *Guthery*, *Geleſpy*, *Douglas*, *Rotherford*, *Dick*, *Cant*, and the Court Chaplain Mr. *Durham*. In that of the State are the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, the Earls of *Eglanton*, *Boclough*, *Lothian*, *Weymes*, the Lords *Burleigh*, *Couper*, *Balcarris* and ſome others, with the Chancellor, *Warriſton*, *Cheſely*, Sir *William Steward* Provoſt of *Edenborough*, *Hope*, *Swinton*, and others of the like Quality. Theſe (although the Marqueſs of *Argyle* and ſome others of them either really are, or at leaſt pretend much for His MAJESTY's Honour and Intereſt) yet at the beſt they reſolve to keep the whole Power of Government at Home in their own Hands, and (had they been ſucceſsful) to have carried on their Work of Reformation by the moſt ſevere and rigid Rule both in Church and State; by which the Royal Party in all His MAJESTY's Dominions would have been in far more miſerable Condition both for their Conſciences and Eſtates than now they are. But at the worſt in relation to His MAJESTY, when I conſider the long continued Series of Oppoſition to His late MAJESTY by this Party; that two Years ſince it was again ſet up by *Cromwell* to ſuppreſs the Engagers; that many of them voted againſt any more Addreſſes to His MAJESTY, and the Levy of an Army; that they have voted away moſt of His Servants; kept none of the Articles of the Treaty; and not admitted any *Engliſh* to ſerve in their Armys (no not *Maſſy* and *Graves*, Men of their own Principles in Religion;) and laſtly, being beaten, and not able to make any Head againſt *Cromwell*, yet will not take in any to aſſiſt them.

It

It cannot but be concluded that they intend His MAJESTY ſhall either riſe or periſh with them; or at the beſt to give *Cromwell* Aſſurance not to aſſiſt His MAJESTY in any kind for the Recovery of His Rights. For had they intended that, they would never have ſuffered a War at Home to the Ruin of their Country, having Power enough (all Intereſts being joined) to have either timely invaded *England*, or at leaſt to have had another Army ready to have made a Diverſion, and given Countenance to the oppreſſed People in *England* to have riſen; the Fear of whoſe Power, whereby they apprehended the King might have obtained His lawful Authority, hath juſtly brought this Ruin upon them.

Laſtly, For the King's Condition, it cannot otherwiſe be looked on by all Loyal Subjects than moſt ſad and dangerous; eſpecially the only Remedy He had left by an Union with this Party proving ſo ineffectual to His juſt Ends. For to go out of the Kingdom He cannot, neither with Honour or Safety; and ſtill to govern Himſelf by thoſe Counſels, He does their Buſineſs and not His own: To diſtruſt them, He gives them Opportunity to betray Him; to leave them and ſet up for Himſelf, He has none about Him that dare or will adviſe Him to it: And ſhould He do it, many of thoſe now in Power would certainly ſubmit to *Cromwell*, and probably deliver up the Caſtles of *Edenborough* and *Sterling*, and therein moſt of the Ammunition Arms and Treaſure of the Kingdom; ſo that how His MAJESTY ſhall get out of theſe Labyrinths God only ſees.

HE is outwardly ſerved and waited on with all fitting Ceremonies due to a King, but in His Liberty not much above a Priſoner; Centinels being every Night ſet about His Lodging, few daring to ſpeak freely or privately to Him, and Spies ſet on His Words and Actions. His Bedchamber is not free to Himſelf; the Miniſters almoſt daily thruſting in upon Him to catechiſe and inſtruct Him, and I believe to exact Repetitions from Him: In a word, He knows nothing of their Counſels, either Military or Civil, but what they pleaſe to communicate to Him. To conclude therefore, except theſe Men change their Principles, or that God raiſe His MAJESTY other Friends, He ſhall at the beſt be but the Shadow of a King, without Power or Authority to defend Himſelf or protect His Subjects.

The enſuing Narrative was formed partly by my own Obſervations, and the Account given me by Doctor Frazer, *Mr.* Seymour, *Mr.* Progers *and others.*

HAVING thus concluded, I was reſolved to have ſaid no more at this time, but to have expected the iſſue of the Reſults of the late Committee at *Sterling*, had there not an unexpected Action intervened, the Conſequence of which, had it been purſued, could not but have been of extraordinary Honour and Advantage to His MAJESTY, and I pray God the failing prove not to the contrary. And therefore, before I give an Account of the matter of Fact, it will be neceſſary to look back, and ſeriouſly conſider all the Actions and Proceedings of the ruling Party ſince His MAJESTY's Conjunction with them, in relation to Himſelf; their malitious Proſecution of all His Friends, and violent Oppoſition of any Conjunction with the Engagers; together with the Impoſſibility of freeing their Country from the common Enemy, without an Union with that Party; with the more than probable Circumſtances of the Diſaffection of ſome of the Committee and chief Officers of the Army to His MAJESTY's Perſon, Family, and Government; and diſcourſe of their holding Intelligence with *Cromwell*: And then all the World may judge whether His MAJESTY were not obliged in Juſtice to Himſelf and His People to endeavour to get out of their Power, and upon His own Intereſt with far the major Part of the Nobility, Gentry and People of *Scotland* to oppoſe the Advance of *Cromwell*, and to attempt the Recovery of His Rights in *England*. In order whereunto, whether the Deſign came firſt from His MAJESTY to ſome of the prime Nobility, or whether it was by them offered, and ſo embraced by Him, I ſhall not ſay: It is enough there was ſo good an Underſtanding between them, as that there were ſixty of the chief of the Nobility, 1000 Gentlemen, and above 10000 others that were engaged to eſtabliſh His MAJESTY in His juſt Authority, and to purſue His lawful Intereſt; and the time and Circumſtances were ſo well ſtated, as that nothing but a Fatality could have hindered it, His MAJESTY only truſting in the matter of Intercourſe between Him and them Dr. *Frazer*, with Mr. *Seymour* and Mr. *Progers* two of His Bedchamber. The Day for Execution was to have been on *Thurſday* the third of *October*, the very Day on which the Guards were purged by *Warriſton* and *Brody* at *Kinras*, ten

ten Miles from *St. Johnſtons*; and that Lion King at Arms had Order to warn all the excepted Perſons from the Court and Kingdom. The manner (as I have been informed) was, that His MAJESTY upon the Pretence of going to Hawking ſhould have paſt into *Fife* over the Bridge of *Erne*, where all the prime Nobility and Gentry of that Country ſhould have been ready with a good Party of Horſe to have received Him, and at the ſame time the Regiment of Guards commanded by the Lieutenant Collonel the Lord *Newburgh* (ſeizing their Purgers) ſhould have joined with them: At that Inſtant likewiſe the Town of *St. Johnſtons* ſhould have been ſecured; to which purpoſe there were many of the Highlanders come privately thither, and Order was given to Collonel *Darcy* (taking to him Perſons of Truſt) to ſecure the Committee and Foot Guards, which might eaſily have been done: The next Day 1000 of the *Athol* Men, would have been ready to have entered and make good the Town. That Day likewiſe there were ſeveral Rendezvous, as the Earl of *Arley* and his Son the Lord *Ogleby*, and divers Gentlemen and their Dependants. Towards the Highlands the Marqueſs of *Huntley* in his own Country about *Aberdeene*, Lieutenant General *Midleton* and the Earl Marſhal in the *Mernes* beyond *Montroſs*. The Town of *Dundee* was likewiſe ready to have declared, under their Conſtable and Neighbour the Lord *Diddup* Standard Bearer of *Scotland*. So that upon that very Day there did and would have appeared at ſeveral Rendezvous 1500 Horſe beſides Foot, moſt of them Noblemen and Gentlemen. To oppoſe whom, at the worſt there were only three broken Regiments under the Command of Collonel *Robert Mountgomery*, that lay in Quarters in *Augus* on the North of *Tey*; but I am confident they would have ſubmitted and joined in the Action, and ſo would moſt of the old Army about *Sterling*, except *Carr* and *Straughan*, and His MAJESTY in a Moment would have been in Freedom and Honour amongſt His faithful Subjects, and in a very few Days at the Head of a gallant and powerful Army. And I am ſorry that I muſt ſay that His Kindneſs and Confidence in ſome about Him was the Cauſe of His Neglect in this Opportunity; for upon *Wedneſday* in the Evening His MAJESTY being abroad, acquainted the Duke of *Buckingham* with it. What paſt between them I cannot ſay, only this, that the Duke preſently quitted the Field, and 'tis believed that as ſoon as he came Home, he imparted it to the Lord *Wilmot*; His MAJESTY immediately returned likewiſe. That Night in the Bedchamber the Buſineſs was hotly diſputed for ſome Hours; what Arguments were uſed

uſed to alter this Reſolution I know not, though ('tis ſaid) the Duke and Lord *Wilmot* were very earneſt to divert His MAJESTY from this Undertaking. For not knowing it before, they might conceive themſelves in danger if this Deſign ſucceeded, having hitherto purſued the Intereſt of the Marqueſs of *Argyle* and the Committee; and it ſeems ſo much diſpleaſed the Malignants and Engagers of this Nation, as that it was a principal Care in the Tranſaction of this Buſineſs, that neither of them ſhould be privy to it. Thus His MAJESTY was over-ruled and ſo gave way to lay the Deſign aſide, or at leaſt let it ſleep for a time, Dr. *Frazer* and others being ſent to the ſeveral Rendezvouz to acquaint them with it. How they lookt upon each other, and how bitter they were againſt the Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Wilmot*, is eaſily to be imagined. Others, as 'tis reported, repreſented back the Danger both His MAJESTY and all them were in in caſe it were not purſued; for now it was not poſſible but that it was or would be diſcovered. The Conſideration whereof, and the ſenſe of His MAJESTY's Condition and His Friends, induced Him again to think of the purſuing the Action: To which end, upon *Thurſday* Night ſome truſty Perſons were ſent to diſcover the Power and Inclination of His Party to get them together again. That Day 'tis believed it was known to the Earls of *Dumfermling* and *Lothian*, and to Mr. *Leighton*; for upon *Friday* Morning it was viſible in their Countenances and Actions. I have been told that His MAJESTY treated with the Lord *Lothian* for the Indempnity of His Friends, and would have deſiſted; but the other anſwered, He ſhould think of His own Security, and not conſider them. About twelve of the Clock that Day, His MAJESTY having dined early upon Pretence of going a Hawking, and His Meſſenger not returned, He paſt into the Garden; there again the Buſineſs was hotly diſputed between Him and all the contrary Party about half an Hour; by that time His Horſes were ready, and He fearing a Guard might be ſet on Him, paſſed out of the Garden Gate and preſently took Horſe, having with Him Mr. *Seymour*, Mr. *Rodes*, Mr. *Lane*, Mr. *Windham* and three or four more; the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Dumfermling* followed Him, but could not overtake Him. Immediately the Chancellor (who came that Night from *Sterling*) and the Committee met; (the Marqueſs of *Argyle* was abſent being gone to his own Country.) The firſt thing they did, was to ſecure the Town by ſhutting up the Ports, then to conſider what they had to do. For though His MAJESTY by playing this aftergame had loſt *St. Johnſtons*, and had not a preſent viſible Force, yet they had reaſon enough

enough to fear He would quickly grow too powerful for them. His MAJESTY croſs'd the *Tey* at a Ferry, and that Afternoon came to the Lord *Diddup*'s near *Dundee*, where He found the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who ſeemingly perſuaded Him to return. Hence likewiſe by the Lord *Balcarris* (who was inſtant with Him to go back) He ſent an Overture to the Committee to invite Him. Had His MAJESTY ſtayed here or gone into the Town He had done well enough. Thence He went to a Houſe of the Earl of *Bochan*, and that Night eighteen Miles thence to the Earl of *Erlyes*, having only His own Servants, the Earl of *Bochan*, and the Lord *Diddup* and *Ogleby* with Him. Early the next Morning He went ſeven Miles farther to *Clover*, in order to have met the Marqueſs of *Huntley*, where He reſted, having ſent the Night before Collonel *Holby* unto Collonel *Robert Mountgomery* with a Meſſage and by a Token to come to Him. *Holby* found *Mountgomery* in ſome Paſſion, becauſe His MAJESTY had avoided to ſpeak with him at *Diddup*, but afterwards he made in general Terms large Expreſſions of Duty and Reality to His MAJESTY, but becauſe he might not receive an Affront (as he pretended by the Way) he would take a Party of twelve Horſe with him, ſending Collonel *Boynton* to find His MAJESTY and to acquaint Him that he was coming to Him, but would not ſuffer *Holby*, nor Mr. *Progers* (who was come to him) to go with the Meſſage, though ſeemingly he ſtill perſiſted in his Pretence of ſerving His MAJESTY; and truly I am partly induced to believe he then intended it, until meeting with *Arthur Arskin* who was in purſuit of the King, he found by him that His MAJESTY had few or none with Him, and that the Committee were ſending large Offers to His MAJESTY to induce Him to return; as that He ſhould ſtay in what Place He beſt liked; that all that had paſs'd ſhould be buried in Oblivion; and if any Forces were on Foot, they ſhould continue ſo until the next Meeting of Parliament. Before *Mountgomery* came to the Houſe where the King was, Mr. *Progers* gave Him Notice of his coming with a Party; upon which there were divers Opinions what was to be done, but he was come ere any Reſolution was taken, and met the King at the Door. 'Tis ſaid he profeſſed if the King would go, he would not hinder Him, but would oppoſe any that roſe for Him; but if He would return, he would paſs His Honour, to ſet him in *Statu quo*, or dye at His Feet. So the King either overcome with Importunity, or ſeeing no viſible Power to reſiſt, and diſtracted with variety of Opinions, conſented to the laſt, and put Himſelf into *Mountgomery*'s Hands, who likewiſe paſſed his Word

for

for Security of all the reſt. But the Lords *Bochan* and *Diddup* went away, ſo did Mr. *Seymour* and *Holby*; and the next Day *Progers* was ſent away with a Guard for his Protection.

THAT Morning at *St. Johnſtons*, the Committee framed Propoſitions and ſent them by the Earls *Lothian*, *Dumfermling*, *Arthur Arskin* and Mr. *Durham*. And to ſweeten the Buſineſs opened the Ports, gave Liberty to any that would to go to the King; ſent Him ſome Horſes He left behind with His Servants and Neceſſaries, (but He was not then known to be in their Power) into which had He not again fallen, I am confident He might have had any Submiſſion or Terms from them that He pleaſed. That Day likewiſe at *Dundee*, there aſſembled moſt of the Nobility and Gentry of *Fife* with Reſolutions to have followed His MAJESTY; they were about 200 Horſe, and had not the News come, would have gone away that Night for *Donotor*, there to have found His MAJESTY, but that coming they altered their Deſign, and bethought themſelves of their own Security. The Horſe Guards likewiſe commanded by the Lord *Newburgh* paſſed by *St. Johnſtons* towards *Atholl*; but hearing of the King's Return came back, though the Lord *Newburgh* abſents himſelf. The Committee came that Evening to *Dundee* with Reſolutions likewiſe to follow, but were glad to hear their Journey was ſhortned. That Night His MAJESTY came to the Caſtle of *Huntley* four Miles from *Dundee*, whither early the next Morning (though it were *Sunday*) the Committee went to Him. Thither came likewiſe the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Lorne* and others from *St. Johnſtons*; what Overture they made, or whether they delivered their firſt Meſſage, I cannot ſay; yet all outwardly was fair, though to ſhew what the King muſt truſt to, they preſently from thence cauſed Him to ſend for Mr. Secretary *Long* for the Seals and publick Papers, and immediately after Dinner they returned with Him to *St. Johnſtons*. The next Day they held a Council with the King, and were ſevere enough againſt the Inſtruments in the late Action; but His MAJESTY excuſed them, declaring the Cauſe that induced Him to it were frequent Advertiſements of the Danger of His Perſon; that He was unacquainted with their Counſels and Reſolutions; and that though there were a powerful Enemy in the Kingdom, whom they were not able to oppoſe, yet they would not take in any to their Aſſiſtance, though ſome of them had already given Satisfaction both to Kirk and State. Upon the whole matter, I do not find that much was then or the next Day reſolved, but that all the Committee from *Sterling* ſhould attend His MAJE-

STY

sty upon *Friday* following: Only they induced His Majesty to send to the Earl of *Atholl*, who was ready in Arms with above a thousand Men, to lay down; but he returned this Answer, that he was risen for His Majesty's Service and Interest, and except he might have an Act of Indempnity as might be to his Satisfaction, he must look to his own Security; so the Resolution to be taken in this Business was deferred until *Friday* following.

That Day the Committee took into consideration and passed an Act of Indempnity for the *Atholl* Men, though the Kirk at first opposed it; and it being sent them, Answer was returned that it was defective, but they would be obedient to it if the Earl of *Atholl* might be admitted to the Court; if the Word Rebels might be left out; if the Death of Sir *John Brown*'s Lieutenant and some other slain by one Captain *Ogleby* in *Angus* might be passed by; and lastly, if the Castle of *Blaer* be put into my Lord's Hands, being his own Possession.

This together with the Consideration that the Marquess of *Huntley*, the Lords *Ogleby*, *Sincleere*, *Bochnn* and *Diddup*, with *Middleton* whom they have made their General, were with about 1000 Horse and Foot joined with them, induced the Committee to think of other Remedies. In the first Place they apply themselves with more than ordinary Addresses to His Majesty, daily sitting in Council with Him, and His Majesty being now in their Power, must give them all Satisfaction. To this End He writes His Letters to the Committees of Kirk and State about His late Excursion, acknowledging it to be a Surprize and Seducement by evil Counsel, with His Penitency and Resolution against the future; and desiring the Prayers of the Kirk for Perseverance in the ways of his Calling; which was voted satisfactory, and the Ministers were directed to say no more of it in their Pulpits; though some of them are not yet quiet, but bitterly inveighing against the King for His Malignancy, Backsliding, and Breach of Covenant.

In the interim *Carr* and *Straughan* with about 3000 Horse and Drogoons march towards the Borders, and *Cromwell* with nine Regiments of Horse and Foot marcheth to *Glascow*, which he possessed quietly, having left *Leith* unguarded, but by his Ships and 200 Men to block up *Edenborough* Castle. From *Glascow* he might easily have attacqued *Carr* and *Straughan*, but most Men believe they understand each other, and the Committee at *St. Johnstons* have great Apprehensions of their speedy Conjunction. To prevent which, they first send Collonel *Robert Mountgomery* into the West, to take the Command

there above *Carr* and *Straughan*; but gave him no Forces nor any other but a verbal Direction. And upon the 17th of *October* the Marqueſs of *Argyle* and the Earl of *Caſſels* went to *Sterling* to meet with ſome ſent for them; ſo that it ſeems that the Difference amongſt themſelves and their Union with *Cromwell* is very probable; what the Succeſs hath been time will diſcover.

CROMWELL in his March to *Glaſcow* ſends from *Leith* a Letter to the Committee of Eſtates, referring them to his former Papers for the Grounds of Invaſion; blaming them for not anſwering his Love, and for involving themſelves in ſuch Difficulties, as eſpouſing the King's Quarrel, and taking into their Boſome him who is the Center of Malignancy; calling His MAJESTY's late Declaration hypocritical and formal ſhews of Repentance. In the end, falling into a conſideration of the Calamities of War upon this poor Land, and the Advantages given by it to the Enemies of the Contenders, he offers an Advice that they would, if they preferred not contending for the Perſon before the Peace and Welfare of their Country, give the State of *England* that Satisfaction and Security for their peaceable living by *Scotland*, that may in Juſtice be demanded from thoſe who have taken their Enemy into their Boſom; and promiſeth it will be made good to *Scotland*, that they may have a laſting and durable Peace with *England*. If this he ſays be refuſed, he doubts not of God's witneſſing once more upon the Refuſers, for His poor Servants: So concludes 9. *October*.

THIS Letter is committed for Anſwer, and will certainly have ſuch a one as may beſt ſuit with the Intereſt and Security of the Committee; but what that will prove (conſidering the variety of contrary Intereſts now on Foot) is not yet viſible.

ABOUT the 18th of *October* the Committee at *St. Johnſtons* having had many Diſputes whether the Act of Indempnity ſhould extend to all in the late Plot (as they call it) or only to thoſe in Arms, paſs'd it in the general to all that will petition the King and the Committee within fifteen Days. Upon which I hear the Earl of *Hume* and ſome others are come in. At that time likewiſe the Coronation was appointed to be the 30th of *October* following at *St. Johnſtons*, and then the Parliament to meet there, or at leaſt to adjourn. The Lord *Wilmot* was then alſo admitted to ſtay until the next Seſſion of Parliament, and His MAJESTY promiſed (as 'tis reported) to accept of *Graves*, *Titus*, *Carr* and *Campbell* into His Bedchamber.

UPON

UPON *Monday* the 21st of *October*, Sir *John Browne*, having under His Command quartered in *Angus* his own and the Lord *Brechin*'s and another Regiment of Horſe, had Commiſſion from His MAJESTY to ſuppreſs all thoſe who did not lay down Arms and accept of the Act of Indempnity. To which End he ſent a Trumpet to *Middleton*, who lay with about 1000 Horſe and Foot not far from him about *Brechin*; commanded him and the reſt immediately to lay down Arms, otherwiſe he would proceed againſt them with Fire and Sword; and that if he ſent him any Meſſenger with Delays he would hang him. The Inſolency of this Meſſage, and the Condition he believed himſelf and Party to be in (notwithſtanding the Indempnity) cauſed *Middleton* to take a ſpeedy Reſolution; and ſo preſently he drew out a Party of 500 Horſe and Foot, and fell into Sir *John Browne*'s Quarters, killed an Officer or two and about fifteen others, took 120 Priſoners, and moſt of the Horſe of his Regiment: And I heard that the next Day moſt of thoſe that fled came to *Middleton*, and half of the Lord *Brechin*'s Regiment, with the Lord *Newburgh* and two Troops of the Guards, and generally all the People of thoſe Parts, and Souldiers from their Quarters flocked unto him; and whether before or ſince this Action I cannot ſay, the Lord *Ogleby* was ſent by the Lords of his Party to His MAJESTY, the Earl of *Dumfermling* and the Lord *Mecland*, Son to the Lord Chancellor, being Hoſtages for his ſafe Return. The Marqueſs of *Huntley* is ſince gone back to bring up his whole Forces; and *Phiſcarty* the Earl of *Seafort*'s Brother is ſaid to be on his March from the North with a conſiderable Force; the Lord *Sincleere* from *Catnes*, and the Lord *Ogleby* likewiſe have got their Friends together, ſo as within eight Days they could not with the *Atholl* Men be leſs than 6000 Horſe and Foot; beſides the Earl of *Errol* and the Earl *Marſhal*, conſiderable Men in the North, who were in the late Deſign, and many others if they find *Middleton* proſper will ſpeedily appear with him. To oppoſe him the neareſt are the Forces at *Sterling*, under the Command of *David Leſley*, being a Garriſon rather than an Army of 2500 Horſe and Foot at the moſt, and ſhould they draw thence would certainly give *Cromwell* a Paſſage into *Fife*. The other are *Carr* and *Straughan* at a greater diſtance, and it is not yet known whether they are joined with *Cromwell* or no. However *Middleton* is already ſtrong enough for them, and before they can come ſo far North, will be too powerful for them; ſo that this happy Defeat of Sir *John Browne* hath again put His MAJESTY's Intereſt on Foot, and

will neceſſitate the Nobility and the more moderate of the Committees to join with *Middleton* and the reſt, for the juſt Authority of the King and oppoſing the common Enemy, upon the grounds of the enſuing Declaration, ſigned by the Marqueſs of *Huntley* and the reſt of the Lords of his Party. For without their Aſſiſtance, and that of the Engagers, they are not able to make any Head againſt *Cromwell*, nor for any time to preſerve themſelves from being conquered. So that poſſibly the Senſe of Honour, and the Indignity of being made a Province to *England*, will awaken them for their Intereſt ſake to provide for their own Security by ſuch a Conjunction, which will prove of much Advantage to His MAJESTY, and put Him in a probable Way for the Recovery of His juſt Rights. Though on the contrary, had not this Party of the Nobility kept themſelves on Foot, and *Middleton* been proſperous in the firſt Encounter, I fear His MAJESTY's Condition would have been (notwithſtanding all the late Applications) very ſad and full of Danger.

The Declaration and Engagement of the Marqueſs of Huntley, *the Earl of* Atholl, *General* Middleton, *and many of the Nobility of* Scotland, *that have lately taken up Arms for Defence of* His MAJESTY's *Perſon and juſt Defence.*

"WE under Subſcribers being touched with a deep Senſe of "the ſad Condition this our Native Kingdom of *Scotland* is in, "by a prevailing Army of Sectaries, who having murthered the "late King, and overturned Religion and Government in our "Neighbouring Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, have in-"vaded this Kingdom; and are in a way (having already ſo "conſiderable a part thereof under Foot) to reduce the whole "to a Province, except the Lord in His Mercy prevent it, by "joining His MAJESTY's Subjects in the Band of Unity, which "is in the only means in our Judgment to preſerve Religion, "King, and Kingdom. But to the Grief of our Hearts, we "find in Place of Union the Breach proving wider; and that "not only in Church and State, but likewiſe in that remnant "of our Army. Our Reſolutions therefore are firmly and faith-"fully to join our ſelves together, and neither for Fear, Threat-"ning, Allurement or Advantage to relinquiſh ſo good a Cauſe, "or lay down Arms without a general Conſent; and what

"ſhall

" ſhall be done to the leaſt of us in proſecuting the ſaid Union
" ſhall be taken as done to all.

" AND ſeeing the beſt Undertakers are under the Mercy
" and Favourof Malice, we cannot but apprehend to be ſubject
" to that lawleſs Inquiſition. Therefore, and for the Satisfaction
" of all who are ſatisfiable, we do promiſe and ſwear that we
" ſhall maintain the true Religion, as it is eſtabliſhed in *Scot-*
" *land*, the Covenant, League and Covenant; the King's MA-
" JESTY's Perſon, Power, Greatneſs and Authority; the Pri-
" vileges of Parliament and Liberties of the Subject. So help
" us God.

FOR Concluſion of theſe my Obſervations, I have only to ſay, that upon *Friday* the 4th of *October*, immediately after His MAJESTY made His eſcape from *St. Johnſtons*, I went to *Dundee*, having been that Morning purſuant unto the Vote for my Baniſhment commanded to depart from the Court within twenty four Hours, by Sir *James Balfour* Lyon King of Arms; and His MAJESTY having been, as is before expreſt, brought back by Collonel *Mountgomery*, I went to *Aberdeen*, and about the end of *October* embarqued for *Holland*, and landed at the *Brill* the 4th Day after, where I met the ſad News of the Death of the Prince of *Orange* the Night before.

Hague the firſt of
December 1650. *E. W.* Gr.

A SHORT

A SHORT

A

SHORT VIEW

OF THE

LIFE

OF THE

Moſt Noble and Excellent

THO. HOWARD,

Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*, Earl Marſhal of *England*, &c.

BY

Sir *EDWARD WALKER*, Knight,

Garter Principal KING of ARMS.

Capt. Principal King of Arms.

SIR EDWARD WALKER, Knight,

&c. &c.

THE HONOUR

OF THE

KNIGHT

OF THE

SHORT SWORD.

A ſhort View of the Life of the moſt Noble and Excellent Thomas Howard *Earl of* Arundel *and* Surrey, *Earl Marſhal of* England, *&c.*

WERE I but as able to write Hiſtorical Obſervations as was that *Grecian* Statuary to form the exact Proportion of *Alcides*'s Body by viewing only the Print of his Foot, I would not then deſpair (though coming late to the Knowledge of this moſt excellent Perſon, whoſe Life and Actions I ſhall briefly offer to your View) ſo to perform it as to make him appear as great and eminent as really he was: But when I conſider my own Defects, the Iniquity of the Times wherein we live excluding me from proper Informations of this Kind, and above all that the Genius of our Nation is ſo far from neceſſary Obſervation, as that it negligently ſuffers all Men (how well ſoever deſerving) to paſs away without any Memorial; I might juſtly have forborn, had not my Affection and Deſires in ſome meaſure to preſerve his Memory given me Confidence to encounter ſo great Difficulties. I ſhall begin then with his Birth and Quality (which though great Ornaments, yet are more perſpicuous when they concenter in a Man by Nature and Education qualified to improve them.) He was eldeſt and only Son of *Philip Howard* Earl of *Arundel*, and of the Lady *Anne Dacre*, Siſter and Coheir of the laſt Lady *Dacree* of *Gillerland*; and Grandchild of *Thomas* laſt Duke of *Norfolk*; and of the Lady *Mary Fitzalan* Daughter and ſole Heir of *Henry Fitzalan* Earl of *Arundel* and *Primier* Earl of *England* and laſt of that Name, and ſo by a direct Series of Anceſtors of all ſides great in Birth and Eminence of Degree, the ſeventh in deſcent from *John Howard* firſt Duke of *Norfolk* of that Sirname. From whom if any Man will look upon the Deſcendents to this Earl, he may confidently ſay (eſpecially of this eldeſt Branch) that no Nation can ſhew in one Family in a direct and ſucceſſive Line ſo many Perſons that have better preſerved their Allegiance to their Prince, the Honour and Greatneſs of their Family, and their Care of the Weal-publick both in Peace and War, than they have done; and yet no Family hath met with greater contrariety of Fortune. What thoſe were our Stories will enform you; only I ſhall mention the laſt

capital one, on the Perſon of this Earl's Grandfather, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, who being the Darling of the People, the firſt Peer of *England*, and Cozen German removed to Queen *Elizabeth*, loſt his Head for pretending a Marriage with *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, together with the Title of Duke, and the greateſt part of his Poſſeſſions. His Son *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, Father to this Earl, had likewiſe his Share of Calamity; for he being of the Roman Catholick profeſſion and endeavouring to go out of the Realm without Leave was impriſoned, and if I miſtake not attainted and ſo dyed in the Tower; leaving this Earl a Child deprived of Honour and the greateſt part of the Eſtate of the Family. All the remaining part of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign I find him (by Courteſie only) to have the Title of Lord *Maltravers*, and being young to have been under the Care of his Mother; who being a Lady of great and eminent Virtues was not negligent in his Education, and yet ſo wary (the Family being under a Cloud) as not to expoſe him, being her only Child, to travel abroad or to appear in much Converſation at Home. So as *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex* (to whom this Earl hath often told me he was in his Youth much beholding) was wont to call him the Winter Pear; often ſaying, if he lived he would be a great and wiſe Man. When he was ſeventeen Years of Age Queen *Elizabeth* died, and King *James* came to the Crown; then it was believed that he would have been reſtored to all the Honours and Poſſeſſions of his Anceſtors, eſpecially ſuch as were loſt in reference to the Intereſt of the King's Mother: What hindered it is not evident to me, except his Youth and Want of Friends to promote it; and yet the laſt in my Judgement either was not, or ought not to have been wanting. For his Uncle *Thomas* Lord *Howard* of *Walden* was made Earl of *Suffolk*, and the firſt Earl of that King's Creation, Lord Chamberlain, and after Lord Treaſurer. His Great Uncle the Lord *Henry Howard* was created Earl of *Northampton* and Lord Privy Seal, both Men of great Power and Intereſt with the King. 'Tis true he was by Act of Parliament reſtored to the Title of Earl of *Arundel*, and to all the Honour dependent on the ſame, though not to all the Poſſeſſions, ſome being granted, as the Baronies of *Clun* and *Oſwaldeſtrie* the ancient Inheritances of *Fitzalan* Earls of *Arundel*, and never in the Houſe of *Howards*, but by the Duke's Marriage, were given from this Earl to his Uncle the Earl of *Northampton*, and by him tranſferred to his Nephew of *Suffolk* and to his Poſterity. However the Greatneſs of his Birth and Quality, as being the firſt Earl of *England*, and the Power of his Family at Court, gave him great Reputation and Intereſt; which being accompanied with

with Endowments of Perſon, Wit, and Courage, rendred him the more conſiderable. But thoſe times being happy, peaceable, and ſo unactive, all thoſe Parts appeared only in the Shadow, as at Triumphs, Tilts and the like, and not in the real Exerciſe. He having now paſſed twenty Years of Age, no queſtion the Care of his Friends, for the Honour and Continuation of his Family, and his own Inclination prompted him to think of Marriage; in which Felicity he came not behind any of his Anceſtors, taking to Wife the Lady *Alithea Talbot*, third Daughter and Coheir of *Gilbert Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Granchild of *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* and Earl Marſhal of *England*; who in a lineal Deſcent of great and noble Anceſtors Earls of that Place, have not the leaſt of their Honours derived to them from *John* Lord *Talbot* firſt Earl of *Shrewsbury* of that Name, the laſt great General of the *Engliſh* ſlain at the Battel of *Chattillion* near *Bourdeaux* the laſt of *July* 1453, in the 29th Year of King *Henry* the Sixth; who was of that Terror to the *French* Nation for his Valour and Conduct, as that his Name is yet famous amongſt them. But that which made this Alliance more happy to him, was the great Fidelity and conjugal Affection of this Lady, the Bleſſing of a noble Poſterity, and the then Poſſibility and now Certainty of great and large Poſſeſſions by her added to his own; for other two elder Siſters, the one married to *William* Earl of *Pembrook*, the other to *Henry* Earl of *Kent*, not having any Iſſue. He being now married, and having by his Lady his eldeſt Son *James* Lord *Maltravers*, (who died in his Youth) then *Henry* Lord *Maltravers* now Earl of *Arundel*, and ſome others that died young; and having now a Poſterity, he was neceſſarily induced to travel for the Recovery of his Health, at that time imperfect: Which he began in the Year 1609, paſſing through *France* into *Italy*, which Country was more agreeable to his Fancy and Diſpoſition. In the interim the moſt incomparable Prince *Henry* died, by whom he was highly eſteemed; and this Earl's great Uncle *Henry* Earl of *Northampton* and the Viſcout *Bindon*, to both whom he was Heir in Law; but either by his Abſence or by their own Inclination they transferred the greateſt part of their Poſſeſſions on his other Uncle the Earl of *Suffolk* and his Children. Upon his Return in the 9th Year of King *James* he was at *Windſor* inſtalled Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, with *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, our late Sovereign of Bleſſed Memory. The Year following he was ſent one of the Embaſſadors to conduct the King's Daughter the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, now Queen of *Bohemia*, a little

before married to *Frederick* Count Palatine of the *Rhine* into the *Palatinate*, and his Lady was ſent to wait on her this Journey. Thence he went into *Italy*, where he very much pleaſed himſelf, and either took up or improved his natural Diſpoſition of being the great Maſter and Favourer of Arts, eſpecially of Sculpture, Deſign, Painting and Architecture, which rendered him famous and acceptable to all ingenuous Spirits both at home and abroad. Upon his Return he was ſworn a Counſellour, and his two eldeſt Sons being grown up, he ſent them to travel (eſpecially to his beloved *Italy*) where they had not been long, but their Mother out of natural affection to ſee her Children, and ſympathiſing with her Lord in valuing all curious Arts, had a deſire to make a Journey and to acompany them on their Return. Where in all Places as ſhe came, as at *Millan*, by the Seigniory of *Venice*, the Dukes of *Florence*, *Mantua*, *Savoy*, and by all other Princes, at whoſe Courts and through whoſe Territories ſhe paſs'd, ſhe was received with all poſſible Demonſtration of Honour and Reſpect, equal to the Greatneſs of her Birth, Quality, and Wiſedom, and above any Perſon of our Nation that had viſited thoſe Parts. By the way as ſhe returned, at *Gaunt* her eldeſt Son *James* Lord *Maltravers* died, to the unſpeakable Grief of his Parents, being a young Nobleman of great and notable Hopes. In the interim the Earl at Home applied himſelf as a Counſellour to the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, and was firſt one of the ſix Commiſſioners for the Office of Earl Marſhal of *England*, and afterwards made ſole Earl Marſhal, that Office being in a manner hereditary on his Family. In the Execution whereof, the times being peaceable, he principally applied himſelf to the preſervation of the Honour and Reputation of the Nobility and Gentry, and the Peace of the Kingdom. And if all Men in Power had but had the ſame Inclinations, the great and fatal Period theſe times have brought on all of them poſſibly had not been.

THUS in Honour and Eſteem he lived the remainder of King *James* His Time; and either not affecting it, or rather not to come behind any Duke of a new Creation, had no other Addition than Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*.

MUCH about the end of King *James* His Reign he was made Priſoner in the Tower; his Offence was for being by a Miſtake too ſevere in Language on the Lord *Spencer* of *Wormeleighton* in Parliament; but this being a private Difference, the King Himſelf coming to the Houſe about it, he was not long in durance, and it had no Effect to his Diſadvantage.

UPON

UPON the coming of the late King *Charles* of Bleſſed Memory to the Crown, he was continued in his Office of Earl Marſhal and Counſellour; and being a great and wiſe Man, had his part in the Diſpoſition of the Funeral of the late King and Coronation of the preſent; and no Queſtion had his Vote in all the great Affairs of State. About a Year after he fell highly into the King's Diſpleaſure, and was made Priſoner in the Tower, about the Marriage of his eldeſt Son *Henry* Lord *Maltravers* now Earl of *Arundel*, to the Lady *Elizabeth Stewart* eldeſt Daughter of *Eſme* Duke of *Lenox*. The Reaſons were, that it was done contrary to the King's Conſent and Knowledge, he having deſigned her for the Lord *Lorne* now Marqueſs of *Argyle*. This fell the heavier on him, as being a Match that he had not contrived for his Son, but rather comply'd with his Affection; yet notwithſtanding all Applications he was long time a Priſoner, and afterwards confined to the Country until the next Parliament. The Lord *Maltravers* and his Lady were likewiſe confined to *Lambeth* with Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and the Earl and his Lady to *Horſeley* in *Surrey*. When the Parliament met, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* ſtood up and took notice that they wanted a Member, who was debarred from the Houſe and no cauſe appearing; whereupon the Lord's Houſe would not ſit until he were reſtored to them, which was done, as will more fully appear by the Journal of the Lord's Houſe. And ſhortly after this Earl was admitted to Court, and by Degrees into the King's Favour and Eſteem; and was likewiſe reconciled to the Duke of *Buckingham*, between whom there was no good underſtanding: But this happened not long before the Duke's Death, who in *Auguſt* 1628 was murthered at *Portſmouth*. Not long after this, to wit in the Year 1630, was the famous Appeal of Treaſon by the Lord *Rhe* of *Scotland* againſt *David Ramſey* Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, for Words ſpoken by him derogatory to the King, and in favour of the Marqueſs afterwards Duke of *Hamilton*; and being only ſpoken in private between them and beyond the Seas, could have no other Deciſion but before the Conſtable and Marſhal: *Robert* Earl of *Lindſey* Lord Great Chamberlain being made Conſtable for that time, and this Earl continuing Marſhal. This Buſineſs held long, and ended without a Determination; yet the Cauſe and the neceſſity of having ſome Perſon of Honour and Quality (and theſe of vulgar Condition) cauſed this Earl to erect or revive the ancient Court of Conſtable and Marſhal; he exerciſing the Power ſingly, and forming it by the Rule of the Civil Law. In the Year 1631 he was ſent into *Holland* to the Queen of

of *Bohemia*, to condole the Death of the King Her Husband, and to have brought Her into *England*. He was likewiſe at the ſame time Ambaſſadour extraordinary to the States General, was nobly accompanied, and with all Honour and Reſpect received by them. In the Year 1633, amongſt many other of the Nobility and prime Officers of State, he waited on the King to His Coronation into *Scotland*, where all Perſons ſtrived to outvie each other in the Bravery and Riches of their Apparel and Entertainment; but this Earl kept his old Plaineſs, and yet wanted not the Honour and Eſteem due to his Perſon and Quality. In the Journey I had the Felicity to be firſt made known to him, which I muſt ever eſteem as a ſingular Happineſs, and as the firſt Degree and the only means of my future Preferment. From this time until the Year 1636 nothing of the Earl's Life happened memorable, peaceable times (as the Lord St. *Albans* ſays) being beſt for the Liver, but worſt for the Writer; yet if I forget not, he in 1633 paſs'd into *Ireland* to viſit his then great Friend *Thomas* Viſcount *Wentworth*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; where he was nobly received and entertained, and ſworn a Counſellor of that Kingdom, as he was formerly of *Scotland*; (though I believe ſome Actions of the Deputy, or Miſunderſtanding between them cauſed their future cooleneſs of Friendſhip.) In the beginning of the Year 1636, the Affair of Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* to the Prince Elector the King's Nephew (who at that time with his Brother Prince *Rupert* were in *England*) being on Foot, and probable Aſſurances being given by the King's Agent then at *Vienna*, if a Perſon of Honour and Intereſt were ſent to the Emperour, and to the Diet appointed to meet that Summer, of a good Iſſue thereof. This Earl was for many reſpects made choice of for that Ambaſſy; which out of his Affection to the Queen of *Bohemia*, and the *Palatine* Family he willingly embraced, and began his Journey the end of *March* 1636; wherein I had (amongſt many other) the Honour to wait on him. He landed in *Holland*, and was kindly received by the Queen of *Bohemia*, the Prince of *Orange*, and the States General. Having ſtayed a Week at the *Hague*, he paſſed on his Journey and was nobly received in the States Army, at that time before *Skinkſconce*, being the very Day on which it was rendred by the *Spaniards*. Thence he went to *Duſildorp*, where the Duke of *Newburgh* lodged and entertained him; and to *Collen*, where he was ſaluted by the Magiſtrates, and feaſted by the Elector of *Mentz* reſiding there. After ſome Days of Refreſhment he paſſed up the *Rhine* to *Mentz* and to *Frankfort*, where his

his Reception was no leſs, and ſo through *Franconia* to *Nuremburg*, where he reſted a Week, and pleaſed himſelf with the Beauty of the Place, and the variety of Paintings and other Curioſities there to be ſeen. Amongſt other he bought an entire and excellent Library, being the Collection of *Birkhemer* a Counſellor of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. From thence through the Upper *Palts* he went to *Regensbury*, where the Diet was to be held. But the time being not come of that Meeting, he paſſed down the *Danubius* to *Lintz* in the Upper *Auſtria*, where the Emperour *Ferdinand* the II. then kept his Court; by whom he was received with as much Honour and Reſpect as the then Lowneſs of the Emperour's Condition would admit, and defrayed three Weeks by the Emperour. In which time he found the incapability of the Emperour to ſatisfie the King's Deſire, and that things were repreſented otherways than he found them; ſo he diſpatches a Currier for *England*, and being unwilling to be any longer at the Emperour's Allowance, he took his Leave for the preſent, and paſs'd down the River to *Vienna*; where he waited on the Queen of *Hungary*, Wife to the ſucceeding Emperour *Ferdinand* the III. and the Archduke *Leopold*. Thence through *Moravia* to *Prague*, where by the Governour and all others he was received anſwerable to the Greatneſs of his Quality and Employment, and ſo returns to *Ratisbone*; where having ſettled his Family, and the Emperour nor Elector yet come, his Curioſity led him to ſee the Cities of *Ausburg*, *Newburg*, *Ingulſtad* and other Places, which I could wiſh that the moſt active of our Nation had but ſeen, with the Calamities the War had brought upon thoſe and all other Places of *Germany* where he came; and then ſurely they would have been deterred from beginning a War in ſport, whoſe end hath brought Miſery, Deſolation and Slavery upon them. About Autumn the Emperour, the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Elector of *Mentz*, and Commiſſioners and Deputies from the reſt met, and then the Affair of the *Palatine* was by this Earl propoſed and purſued; but yet he found no diſpoſition of Satisfaction to His MAJESTY's Deſires; the main End of this Aſſembly being to elect the King of *Hungary* King of the *Romans*, thereby to make way for His Succeſſion in the Empire, which He had ſix Months after by the Death of His Father. So three Months being ſpent without any Progreſs in the Buſineſs, the Earl took his Leave of the Emperour and Elector, and by the ſame way he came he returned for *Holland*, and thence embarqued for *England*, having ſpent nine Months in this Journey, and much Money. He was well received by the King

on

on his Return, it being evident he had done his best in this Negotiation. Nothing of Misfortune happened to him in this time, but the Death of Mr. *Lamplugh* Gentleman of his Horse, who with a Trumpet being sent by him from *Ratisbone* to *Nuremburg*, were with their Guide in their Return the 25th of *August* cruelly murthered in a Wood, and not found in five Days after, the Actors were never yet discovered.

THEN began the Year 1637, and with it the Calamities our unhappy Island hath since suffered under; for the *Scots* being offended that a Book of Church Discipline conform to *England* (though established by Act of Parliament in the Year 1633) was at this time pressed on them, began in Fury to outrage their Bishops and Ministers, and to grow to that height, as that after many Commissions and Delegations of the Marquess of *Hamilton* and others between the King and them, no Way was found so proper as by Arms to reduce them to due Obedience; and no Person for Quality, Integrity and Courage, thought fitter to be employed as General against them than this Earl, whose Ancestors had so often with Advantage encountred that Nation before their Union with *England*. So in the end of the Year 1638 he was chosen General of the Army to be raised and employed against them, consisting of 8000 Foot and 2000 Horse, besides the Auxiliaries of the Northern Train'd-Bands. The Earl of *Essex* was at first to have been General of the Horse, but afterwards he was made Lieutenant General, a greater Dignity but less significant, to make way for the Earl of *Holland* to be General of the Horse, whose Brother the Earl of *Newport* was made General of the Artillery, Sir *Jacob Astely* Serjeant Major General, Colonel *Goring* Lieutenant General, and Mr. *Wilmot* Commissary or Major General of the Horse. The Army thus stated, the Rendezvouz was at *Selby* upon *Ouse* in *Yorkshire*, the 10th of *April* 1639. Which being formed, the King took His Progress to *York*, and so to *Newcastle*, and thence by formal Marches to a Place called the *Birques*, four Miles from *Barwick*, on the South of the River *Tweed*, where they encamped themselves. In the interim the Earl of *Lindsey* was made Governour of *Barwick*, and the Marquess of *Hamilton* General of a separate Force to invade *Scotland* by the *Frith*, and withall the Earl of *Pembrook* Lord Chamberlain, General of the King's Servants, and the Lord *Willoughby* Captain of the King's Guards, all upon the Matter independent from the General. The Army thus composed, any Man of Reason might have doubted the Event. The *Scots* in the interim having good In-

telligence both from thoſe of neareſt relation about the King, as well of their own as the *Engliſh* Nation (eſpecially the Difference being then Epiſcopal) advanced to *Duns*, about ten Miles from us. Yet if others had been as forward as this Earl and the Earl of *Eſſex* (not corrupted at that time) their Victory by Condeſcention had not been ſo eaſie. For about the middle of *May* the Earl of *Holland*, with moſt of the Horſe and a good Party of Foot, was ſent to attack a Quarter of theirs at *Kelſey*; which had he done, in probability they had been ruined: But he either out of Affection to their Intereſt, or not Souldier enough to ſee his Advantage, did nothing and returned. Then began a Treaty, the place the General's Tent, where the King Himſelf would needs be preſent; though His being there did His Buſineſs no good, for His natural Affection to that Nation, with the Importunity of ſome of the Nobility about Him, prevailed with Him to make a Peace upon ſuch Terms as He ſhortly after repented. So the Army was diſmiſſed about three Months after it was leavied. And I cannot but obſerve this being the firſt Army that had then for many Years been raiſed in *England*, that this great Perſon had the Honour to be General thereof; and that under him all the Generals and great Officers that have ſince ſerved the King in the late Wars have been moſt of them but private Captains or Gentlemen Voluntiers, and the Lord *Fairfax* himſelf (under whoſe Conduct the Rebels overcame and ruined the King and Monarchy) was in this Expedition a Captain of a train-band Troop of Horſe, and his Father and Sir *John Hotham* Collonels of two Regiments of the trained Foot of *Yorkſhire*. And I cannot likewiſe here but gratefully mention, that this noble Earl was pleaſed by his own Election to make me his Secretary at War for this Expedition, in which I ſerved him and the Publick with the beſt of my Faculties. Upon this Earl's Return to *London*, he finding the King unſatisfied with the Peace Himſelf had made, and that there was likely to be another Breach between the King and the *Scots*, withdrew himſelf into the Country, and there, as likewiſe on his Return to *London*, diverted himſelf with a Deſign of going to plant at *Madagaſcar*. To this purpoſe he had ſeveral Meetings with Merchants and other Adventurers. This laſted till the Year following, and he was ſo pleaſed with it, as that I have ſeen an excellent Piece drawn by that famous Artiſt Sir *Anthony Vandike*, of this Earl and his Lady ſitting with a Terreſtrial Globe between them, he with his Marſhal's Staff pointing at *Madagaſcar*.

In the end of the Year 1639 there were new Preparations for a War with the *Scots*; this drew on a Parliament, which began the end of *April*, and unfortunately was diſſolved about the end of *May* following. In this Parliament, this Earl was Lord *Steward* of the King's Houſhould.

In *Auguſt* the *Scots* advanced and paſſed the *Tyne* at *Newborne* above *Newcaſtle*, defeated ſome Troops commanded by the Lord *Conway* General of the Horſe, and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Newcaſtle*. The King was then at *York*, and the Army commanded by *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant General to the Earl of *Northumberland*. In the Abſence of the King, and for governing the Southern Parts, this Earl was made General on the South of *Trent*, with deſign to raiſe another Army to ſecond the former; but the fatal Neceſſity of calling a Parliament, and more by appointing it at *Weſtminſter* the third of *November* following, gave a Period to his Commiſſion and that Reſolution. Before the meeting of this Parliament he was again made Lord *Steward* of the King's Houſehold, and accordingly the firſt Day of the ſitting took the Oaths of the Members of the Houſe of Commons. In the beginning of this Parliament, his ſecond Son Sir *William Howard*, having a few Years before married the Siſter and ſole Heir of the laſt Lord *Stafford*, was created Viſcount *Stafford*. This Marriage was a great addition to the Splendor of this Houſe, ſhe being the ſole Heir in Blood of the great and antient Family of *Stafford* Dukes of *Buckingham*; beſides her Fortune was not unconſiderable. No ſooner was this Aſſembly of Parliament met, but the Lives and Actions of all Men in Authority were examined; yet this noble Perſon had the Felicity to be irreprovable, only the Power and Juriſdiction of his Court was in the Commons Houſe queſtioned; but they had greater Irons in the Fire, and ſo it reſted. For preſently the Earl of *Strafford* was accuſed of High Treaſon and committed; after him the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Ely*: The Lord Keeper *Finch* and Secretary *Windebank* fled. Moſt of the Judges were queſtioned about affirming the Tax of Ship-mony; and generally all Men that had ſhare of Government either in Church or State trembled for Fear. About the middle of *March* following the Commons had prepared a Charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford* by way of Impeachment before the Lords, conſiſting of ſeveral Articles of Treaſon and Miſdemeanour in his Government as Deputy of *Ireland*, and as a Counſellour in *England*; and for the greater formality a Court was erected in *Weſtminſter* Hall, where all the Peers ſate in their

Robes,

Robes, and this Earl as High-Steward under a Cloath of State; the Commons ſate on each ſide on Scaffolds Bare-headed. This was a great and ſolemn Tryal, and laſted above ſix Weeks; wherein this Earl carried himſelf with that Judgment, Gravity and Evenneſs of Spirit, as the moſt paſſionately affected to the Earl of *Strafford* could not but confeſs it. I ſhall ſay nothing of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Defence, it not being pertinent to this Diſcourſe, but only this, that the great ſhare he had in his Maſter's Favour and his too great Parts and Abilities to oppoſe their Deſigns, haſtned his Ruin: As for his Treaſons, they were of ſo nice and conſtructive a Nature, no Man in Authority ſince, even to a Petty-Conſtable, but has committed greater. Afterwards the Commons prepared a Bill of Attainder againſt him, and paſſed it; ſo did the Lords, where I believe this Earl was not preſent; I am ſure his Son the Lord *Mowbray* now Earl of *Arundel* gave his Negative. Laſtly, the King overcome with Importunity, and poſſibly apprehending the Diſorder of the People, was induced to ſign it; and thereupon gave Commiſſion to this Earl and to the Earl of *Manchester* Lord Privy Seal to give his Royal Aſſent to this Bill of Attainder, and together with it, to that againſt diſſolving the Parliament without the Conſent of the Lords and Commons. Theſe were the laſt Actions of State this great and noble Perſon was intereſſed in; for the firſt of which (notwithſtanding his Equality in the Management) he was in ſome diſopinion with the King; which together with the Fatability he ſaw hanging over the Nation, made him willingly reſign his Staff of Steward of the Houſhold, and to reſolve to travel: His Lady took the ſame Reſolution, and a fair and honourable Opportunity preſently was offered. For the Queen-Mother of *France* having been in *England* about two Years, was at this time upon the matter forced away, the Care of Her conducting to the Sea-ſide and waiting on Her over was committed to the Earl, which he did in *July* 164 . His Counteſs then likewiſe paſſed the Seas, and made her Reſidence at *Collen*. The Earl ſpent ſome time at *Utrecht*, whither he had formerly ſent his Grandchildren, Sons to his eldeſt Son the now Earl of *Arundel*, to be educated. In the beginning of the Winter he returned, and being indiſpoſed in his Health, and his Lady and Granchildren abſent, in whoſe Company he placed his chief Delight, he again reſolved to return to them, and had another fair Occaſion offered him, with high Reſpect and Eſteem to quit his Country before he ſaw it ruined. For the King having in the beginning of the Summer before matched his eldeſt

Daughter the Princeſs *Mary* unto *William* the young Prince of *Orange*; the Queen her Mother having a Deſire to abſent Herſelf for a time, took this Occaſion of conducting Her Daughter and ſettling of her in *Holland*, and this noble Perſon had the Honour to be the chief Perſon of Quality that waited on the Queen and the Princeſs thither; embarquing at *Dover* about the midſt of *February* 1641, there taking his Leave of his Native Country, which he never ſaw after. From this time until his Death you muſt look upon him as a voluntary Exile, lamenting the ſad Condition of his King, and the Honour, Laws and Liberty of his Country; yet he diverted himſelf as much as he could by the Happineſs of the Society of his Lady and moſt of his Poſterity then with him, and that he had the foreſight to preſerve them from the Rage and Fury of the barbarous Multitude; and thoſe rare and excellent Collections of Painting and Deſigns, which by ſo long time and ſo vaſt Expence he had collected together. And having ſpent ſome time in *Holland*, he thence went to *Antwerp*, where he was received and eſteemed equal to the Greatneſs of his Birth and eminent Qualities. At this Place he and his Lady took their laſt Leave of each other, the Recovery of his Health and his natural Love of Motion drawing him thence, only at firſt to go for the *Spaw*; but afterwards he paſs'd into *France* and then into his beloved *Italy*, having in his Company two of his Nephews then grown up, and by Education learned in the *Latin*, *French* and *Dutch* Tongues. And no queſtion as he was highly honoured and eſteemed on this ſide of the *Alps*, he was as much if not more there; as being the only great Subject of the Northern Parts that had by his Converſation and great Collations, ſet a value on that Country. Here two Misfortunes fell on his Family, his eldeſt Nephew a Gentleman of a goodly Perſon and Parts falling into a Diſtemper of the Brain, and his third Nephew going from him to *Millan*, was ſeduced by an *Italian* Dominican Fryer, and became one of that Order. Theſe two could not but give him great Affliction, the firſt being Heir of his Houſe, and the other contrary to his will becoming religious; and that it was really ſo it is evident, for he uſed all poſſible means to the Pope to revoke him, and had him ſequeſtred from the Order; but it ſeems he could not reclaim him, for he got away privately, and ſtill continues in that Society. His only Comfort then remained in the Hopes of his ſecond Nephew Mr. *Henry Howard*, which did not deceive him; for to ſpeak without Vanity or Flattery, our Nation cannot in all Reſpects of Birth, Perſon, Wit, Learning and

height

height of Courage, ſhew his Superior. Thus this great Earl having in this moving Condition ſpent four or five Years abroad (his Country in the interim ſuffering under the Calamities of an inteſtine War) he retires to *Padua*; whither about the end of the Year 1645 his eldeſt Son the Lord *Mowbray* (having from the beginning of the War faithfully adhered to the King) repaired to him, and certainly was welcome, as being a Perſon of great Honour and Obſequiouſneſs to him. In the Year forty ſix he had Thoughts and Intentions of returning, and as I have heard had made his Preparations: The Lord *Mowbray* on the point of beginning his Journey homewards; and he, reſolving to follow, fell ſuddenly indiſpoſed and in few Days died; of what Diſeaſe I cannot ſay, only that he had the Bleſſing to have his Memory to the laſt, and to have his Son and Grandchild preſent at his Death; which happened at *Padua* the 14th of *September* in the ſixty firſt Year of his Age, and in the Year of our Lord 1646. Thus have I drawn a Scheme of the Life of this moſt noble and excellent Perſon, which deſerved a far abler Pen and more copious Informations, to give it that Luſtre which is due to the Greatneſs of his Honour and Memory. It now reſts that I offer you ſome brief Obſervations of his Perſon and Quality; and then if I deſcribe them as I ought, it will be found that his Actions and Employments (by the unactiveneſs of the times wherein he lived) came far ſhort of the Eminence of his Worth and Parts.

His CHARACTER.

He was tall of Stature, and of Shape and proportion rather goodly than neat; his Countenance was Majeſtical and grave, his Viſage long, his Eyes large black and piercing; he had a hooked Noſe, and ſome Warts or Moles on his Cheeks; his Countenance was brown, his Hair thin both on his Head and Beard; he was of a ſtately Preſence and Gate, ſo that any Man that ſaw him, though in never ſo ordinary Habit, could not but conclude him to be a great Perſon, his Garb and Faſhion drawing more Obſervation than did the rich Apparel of others; ſo that it was a common Saying of the late Earl of *Carliſle*, Here comes the Earl of *Arundel* in his plain Stuff and trunk Hoſe, and his Beard in his Teeth, that looks more like a Noble Man than any of us. He was more learned in Men and Manners than in Books, yet underſtood the *Latin* Tongue very well, and was Maſter of the *Italian*; beſides he was a great Favourer of learned Men, ſuch as Sir *Robert Cotton*,

Sir *Henry Spelman*, Mr. *Camden*, Mr. *Selden*, and the like. He was a great Maſter of Order and Ceremony, and knew and kept greater Diſtance towards his Sovereign than any Perſon I ever obſerved, and expected no leſs from his inferiours; often complaining that the too great Affability of the King, and the *French* Garb of the Court would bring MAJESTY into Contempt. In Council he was grave and ſuccinct, rather diſcharging his Conſcience and Honour than complying with particular Intereſts, and ſo was never at the Head of Buſineſs or principal in Favour; contenting himſelf to be as it were the Supporter of ancient Nobility and Gentry, and to interpoſe in their Behalfs. Witneſs the Care he had in the Education of the now Earl of *Oxford* and the young Lord *Stafford*, in his own Houſe together with his Grandchildren. Yet wanted he not a Share of the Royal Favours, as may appear by the many Employments he had under King *James* and the late King, the firſt of which I believe loved him more, and the laſt had him in greater Veneration and Regard (though not in intimacy of Favour) he being a Perſon by Years, Quality and Parts, of an auſtere Diſpoſition, and not ſo complacent as other Perſons that had more of Ends. He was the greateſt Favourer of Arts, eſpecially Painting, Sculpture, Deſigns, Carving, Building and the like, that this Age hath produced; his Collection of Deſigns being more than of any Perſon living, and his Statues equal in Number, Value and Antiquity to thoſe in the Houſes of moſt Princes; to gain which, he had Perſons many Years employed both in *Italy*, *Greece*, and ſo generally in any part of *Europe* where Rarities were to be had. His Paintings likewiſe were numerous and of the moſt excellent Maſters, having more of that equiſite Painter *Hans Holben* than are in the World beſides. And he had the Honour to be the firſt Perſon of Quality that ſet a Value on them in our Nation; and ſo the firſt Perſon that brought in Uniformity in Building, and was chief Commiſſioner to ſee it performed in *London*, which ſince that time has added exceedingly to the Beauty of that City. He was likewiſe ſumptuous in his Plate and Houſholdſtuff, and full of State and Magnificence in his Entertainments, eſpecially of Strangers, and at his Table very free and pleaſant. He was a Perſon of great and univerſal Civility, but yet with that Reſtriction as that it forbad any to be bold or ſawcy with him; though with thoſe whom he affected, which were Lovers of State, Nobility and curious Arts, he was very free and converſible; but they being but few, the Stream of the times being otherwiſe, he had not many Confidents or Dependents; neither

neither did he much affect to have them, they being unto great Perſons both burthenſome and dangerous. He was not popular at all, nor cared for it, as loving better by a juſt Hand than Flattery to let the common People to know their Diſtance and due Obſervance. Neither was he of any Faction in Court or Council, eſpecially not of the *French* or Puritan. He was free from Covetouſneſs, and ſo much above a Bribe or Gratuity (for Favours done) as no Perſon ever durſt tempt him with one. He was in Religion no Bigot or Puritan, and profeſſed more to affect moral Vertues than nice Queſtions and Controverſies. He was moſt faithful and affectionate to his Lady, indulgent to his Children, and more to his Grandchildren. His Recreations were Converſation with them, and care of their Education, overlooking his rare Collections, and (when not diverted by Buſineſs) pleaſing himſelf in Retirement to the Country. If he were defective in any thing, it was that he could not bring his Mind to his Fortune; which though great, was far too little for the Vaſtneſs of his noble Deſigns; but it is pardonable, they being only for the Glory and Ornament of his Country. To conclude, he would have appeared far more eminent had the times he lived in been more conſonant to his Diſpoſition. However as they were, he muſt by all wiſe and noble Perſons be lookt upon as the greateſt Aſſertor of the Splendor and Greatneſs of the Crown, and the ancient Honour of the Nobility and Gentry that lived in his time, and as the laſt great and excellent Perſon that our Age of Peace hath bred.

THUS much for the preſent is dedicated to his Memory by him who eſteems it his chiefeſt Honour to have been cheriſhed and advanced by this moſt noble Perſon.

Iſelſteyne the 7th of *June* 1651.

E. W. Gr.

A FULL

A FULL

ANSWER

TO A

Confuſed Mixture

Of Falſe, Traiterous and Contradictory

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

LIFE and ACTIONS

Of the Late

King CHARLES,

Publiſhed by

WILLIAM LILLEY in *July* 1651.

Written by way of LETTER to him.

BY

Sir *EDWARD WALKER*, Knight,
Garter Principal KING of ARMS,

AND

Secretary at War to that moſt Juſt, Pious and Excellent KING, 1652.

EXCELLENT KING. 1685.

Occasioned by WAR to split most Loyal Tories and

AND

Chief Principal KING of ARMS

Sir EDWARD WALKER Knight

BY

William Petty of GETTER to him

WILLIAM LILLEY in Anno 1685.

Baptized by

K.ing. CHARLES'

OF the Late

LIFE and ACTIONS

ON THE

OBSERVATIONS

Of Lilly Explained and Contradicted

BY

ANSWER

A FULL

A full Answer to a Confused Mixture of False, Traiterous and Contradictory Observations on the Life and Actions of the Late King Charles, *Published by* William Lilley *in* July 1651. *Written by way of Letter to him.*

SIR,

THERE came lately to my View a Book by you published in *July* 1651, entituled *Monarchy or no Monarchy in* England; with several Observations upon the Life and Death of the late King *Charles* the First: Where in Page 105, amongst other false Insinuations of His MAJESTY's Affection and Countenancing of the *Irish* Rebellion, I find this Expression; *Besides, to shew his Respect unto them, I know he obliterated with his own Hand the Word* Irish *Rebels, and put in* Irish *Subjects, in a Manuscript Discourse written by Sir* Edward Walker *and presented unto him, which I have seen of the* Irish *Rebellion*, &c. Now although in the Condition I am at present, and that whereunto the glorious Monarchy of our Nation is reduced, I might possibly do better in Prudence to be silent; yet having according to my Conscience and the dictates of that Understanding which God has endued me with, to this Hour faithfully adhered to His MAJESTY and the Justness of His Cause, I find my self obliged for my own Vindication to all those who have knowingly (how successfully soever) done the same, to say thus much, that you have misreported the Subject of the Manuscript you pretend to have seen, and then not so clearly expressed it but as that Malice may conclude I gave you the Information; and which is worst of all, you have raked into the Ashes of the dead, and those of a just, pious, though unfortunate King. I shall therefore in the first Place tell you that that Manuscript had no Relation to the Affairs or Rebellion in *Ireland*; and so have you misapplied what you would deduce from it, to His MAJESTY's Prejudice. And to clear this, I am so far from being ashamed, or to deny that I wrote it, as I glory that

so great and excellent a Person as the King my Master would employ my weak Pen in that or any other Subject. Briefly then the Matter of Fact was this; in the end of the Year 1644, His MAJESTY having that Summer by His Conduct and Valour of that Army He personally commanded, first divided the Armies of the Rebels led by the Earl of *Essex* and Sir *William Waller*, that in the Spring upon the matter had besieged Him in *Oxford*; then beaten *Waller*, and following *Essex* into *Cornwall*, enforced His Army to lay down Arms; and upon His Return encountred the remainder of their Forces conjoint with the Earl of *Manchester*, twice in fifteen Days about *Newbury* with Advantage; had a Desire considering the variety of the Actions in that time produced, to see them collected into one Piece; and discoursing it to a Person of Honour to my Knowledge of your Acquaintance, he named me to His MAJESTY as proper for it, in regard of my Employment and Privacy to all both Actions and Designs. Upon which His MAJESTY first employed a Noble Person my great Friend to propose it to me, and then spake to me Himself. I unwillingly undertook it, not for my dislike of the Work, but really fearing my Abilities to perform it. However I began it, and about the middle of *April* 1645 I finished it, and presented it to His MAJESTY; who graciously accepted it, and read it over to His Satisfaction. From Him it came into the Hands of the Lord *Digby*, who designing to polish it, carried it with him; so it was taken at the Battel of *Naseby*, and fell into the Hands of the then Lieutenant General *Cromwell*; who discoursing of it at the Surrender of the *Devizes* it came to my Knowledge. Two Years after this, when His MAJESTY was at *Hampton* Court, I informed Him where it was; so His MAJESTY by the means of an Officer of the Army got it, and put it into my Hands to be copied; which I caused to done and delivered the Copy to His MAJESTY, the Original I kept by me, and when I came out of *England* disposed of it. Thus much for the Subject and through whose Hands it pass'd; but for the manner how it came to be seen by you I cannot say, except Mr. *Rushworth* (who I hear has discourse of the same pretended emendation) or some other of his Party in that time shewed it you; for my part I am sure I never did, for although 'tis true our Acquaintance be now fully twenty Years, yet for the last half of that time I have only seen you once, and then spent not an Hour in your Company; and since His MAJESTY redelivered it me at *Hampton* Court, it never was out of my Custody till the Day before I came out of *England*, when I left it with one who I am sure knows you

you not, and if he does he is too wiſe and honeſt to impart it to you or any other of your Principles.

And now having fully cleared my ſelf, it reſts that I ſay ſomewhat to juſtifie my Maſter the late King; who were happier dead than living, if any thing you have ſaid or can ſay could lay any Stain on His Religion, Juſtice, Conſcience or Honour. But admit His Majesty as you alledge did obliterate the Word Rebels and put in Subjects, (which I proteſt I never knew He did, or that it is done, or hardly remember that any thing of *Ireland* is in the Treatiſe) yet what Law either divine or human denies a Prince to receive His Subjects to Mercy, or of wicked Rebels to make them good Subjects. Had His Majesty prevailed, muſt all thoſe who had acted againſt Him been ſtill ſo ſtiled and purſued? ſure then this notable Obſervation of yours had been unwritten. But *Proſperum ac fælix Scelus Virtus vocatur.* Beſides, at that time (if I much miſtake not) there was a Treaty on Foot between His Majesty and thoſe called the Confederate Catholicks in *Ireland*, who were not neither the Beginners of the Rebellion there, and who will tell you they were forced by the Law of Nature to do what they did, by the cruel Votes of Extirpation (and expoſing more Acres of Land than that Kingdom contains to publick Sale) and whom poſſibly thoſe Words might point at; and then in Prudence His Majesty did well not to admit any harſh or provoking Attributes to be given them. And pray was not His Majesty obliged in order to Peace at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, and many times ſince, to ſtile thoſe at *Weſtminſter* His Parliament and good Subjects; and yet whether they were not or are not ſtill the very Quinteſſence of Rebels and Traitors, their own Conſciences can beſt inform them.

For your two Objections ſupporting this Imputation, as firſt, *Why His* Majesty *was ſo tender hearted to the* Iriſh *as not to ſuffer above forty Proclamations to iſſue out againſt thoſe Rebels in* Ireland, *and thoſe alſo when too late.*

You may call to mind that His Majesty was in *Scotland* when the Rebellion began, and that preſently He acquainted the two Houſes with it; and governed Himſelf by ſuch Advice as they gave Him, or as He received from His Council in *Ireland*; who deſired only twenty Proclamations, and His Majesty ſigned forty with His own Hand, (a Practice never before uſed,) and if they came not time enough it was not His Majesty's Fault; and 'tis poſſible thoſe who impute this to His Majesty were the Cauſe.

Secondly,

SECONDLY, *Whereas the Parliament were ſending over Cloaths and other Neceſſaries for the* Engliſh *Souldiers in* Ireland, *the King ſiezed them as they went, armed and furniſhed the* Engliſh *and* Welch *againſt the Parliament*, &c.

I remember very well after the Houſes had voted the Earl of *Eſſex* to be their General, and to live and dye with him, and had raiſed an Army, and that the City of *Coventry* had denied His MAJESTY Entrance, and kept out His Forces; ſome few Cloaths (as was ſaid) deſigned for *Ireland*, were taken thereabouts by His MAJESTY's Souldiers and diſpoſed amongſt them before His MAJESTY knew it. Where then was His MAJESTY's Fault? But admit He gave order for it, was it not juſtifiable in Him to provide for His own Souldiers, then raiſed to oppoſe His *Engliſh* Rebels beginning a War againſt Him? Who may heartily rejoice at the other Rebellion in *Ireland*; for under Colour of ſuppreſſing that, and relieving the Proteſtants there, they raiſed mighty Sums by the Charity of the People both in *England*, *Holland*, and other Foreign Parts; and were thereby the better enabled to begin their Rebellion at Home. And yet His MAJESTY was ſo juſt as to acquaint the two Houſes what was done, and to deſire that out of thoſe Moneys, or any part of His Revenue then in their diſpoſal, other Cloaths might be furniſhed for the *Iriſh* Souldiers; and at the moſt their number and value was inconſiderable, being (as I remember) not above 800 Suits.

BUT then to uſher in theſe ſly Imputations, you mention *the beginning of the* Iriſh *Rebellion in the Year* 1641, *and the* Iriſh *boaſting of His* MAJESTY's *Commiſſion for what they did; but you hope better of Him as He was a Proteſtant, and a Chriſtian, and a King.*

TRULY had you the Charity which either a Proteſtant, a Chriſtian, or a Gentleman ought to have, your Hopes might turn to Aſſurances; and you would clearly find that His MAJESTY deteſted it more, and had more reaſon than any Man living to do ſo. For firſt as a Proteſtant, the encreaſe of that Rebellion would have rooted out that Religion he lived in, and in which he ſo Piouſly and Magnanimouſly died. Secondly, as a Chriſtian it never can be evinced out of any of his Actions or Diſpoſition, that he ever deſired Blood or War it ſelf, but in his own juſt Defence, as became him. Laſtly, as a King he could not deſire it, eſpecially againſt himſelf, and his Intereſt; it bringing ſo great Poverty, Ruin, and Deſtruction on his People, and ſo great Loſs and Trouble to himſelf. I ſhall add this more, that in Policy at that time, His MAJESTY could

could not have ſuch a Thought; for that Rebellion did fortifie the Deſigns in *England*, which then wanted Matter to work upon; and the two Houſes of Parliament having the Summer before gotten an Act that they ſhould not be diſſolved without their Conſent, had now Work cut out for them in order to the Sovereignty they aimed at. For preſently they took to themſelves a Guard, then demanded the Militia, raiſed Moneys for this War, and imployed it in their own; and ſcandalized His MAJESTY as not zealous for the ſuppreſſing of it: Whereas if this Rebellion had not broken out, His MAJESTY having at that inſtant ſatisfied the *Scots*, and a little before paſſed all the Acts the two Houſes could deſire for their own Advantage and the Security of the People, they would have found but little Employment. So as His MAJESTY above all others had reaſon not to countenance it, but to deteſt it as the greateſt Evil that ever befel Him; as neceſſitating Him to give His Intereſt, Reputation, and above all the Power of Men, Money and Arms into the Hands of a diſcontented ambitious Party at home, that made uſe of them to His Ruin. Beſides, to ſhew His Odium of that Rebellion in *Ireland*, you may remember that His MAJESTY from *York* propoſed the going Himſelf thither to ſuppreſs them; and I remember how ill it was taken by the Commons, as fearing the Rebels might ſubmit to His MAJESTY, and ſo become His in oppoſition to their Deſigns. But they coloured it with the Care they had His ſacred Perſon ſhould not be expoſed to Danger, and the Want of His Preſence nearer His Parliament; though they had a little before with barbarous Incivilities driven Him away, and what Care they have had ſince of His Perſon is too evident to all the World. Neither can I omit to ſay that your State is beholding to His MAJESTY for that Kingdom; for if He had not given Order to the Marqueſs of *Ormond* to deliver the City of *Dublin* in the Year 1646 to the *Engliſh* Forces, poſſibly that Nation had not been ſo ſoon under their Power. This ſhews Him no Favourer of that Rebellion. I am ſure if the *Iriſh* had had it, his Intereſt in that Country, and that of His MAJESTY now living, had not been leſs than what your State allows Him: And 'tis probable the Balance had been more even, and they had become the better Subjects. For concluſion, if you read any other Books but thoſe aſſerting your own Cauſe, you may have ſeen an excellent Diſcourſe printed in the Year 1648, entituled *A full Anſwer to an infamous and traiterous Pamphlet, entituled a Declaration of the Commons of* England *in Parliament aſſembled, expreſſing their Reaſons and Grounds of paſſing their late Reſolutions touching*

touching no farther Addreſs or Application to be made to the King. Wherein the Beginning and Progreſs of the Rebellion in *Ireland* is fully ſtated, and His MAJESTY is juſtly and clearly vindicated. Which had I ſeen from the time it was firſt publiſhed, as I have ſince the framing this Diſcourſe, I ſhould have made uſe of thoſe moſt pertinent Arguments and real Truths therein expreſt: And yet I am glad to find my ſelf ſo happy in the whole matter as not to have differed from it, though I muſt confeſs my Parts and Experience far ſhort of the Author's, and my Reaſons as much below his; but Truth is the ſame how unskilfully ſoever delivered.

THUS much had I only in deſign to have written, as being long enough for a Letter, and ſufficient to clear His late MAJESTY from the leaſt favouring of the *Iriſh* Rebellion. But having Leiſure enough, and obſerving through your whole Diſcourſe a kind of Civility in your Expreſſions, and ſome real Truths; yet ſo enterlayed with frivilous and malicious Imputations, the better to captivate the Willing, and induce the Ignorant to believe whatever you have ſaid is undeniably true; I have thought it a part of the Duty I owe to the Memory and moſt exemplar Goodneſs of that moſt Excellent King, to trace you throughout, and to diſcover how weak and impertinent your Calumnies are, and how much He was beyond His Enemies in all kinds of Virtue and Honour, nay probably (all Circumſtances conſidered) beyond any Man that lived in this Age.

To paſs by the time and place of his Birth, his Diſpoſition in his Youth, and the Opinion (or your Predictions) the Queen His Mother had or made of Him, or what either *Scotiſh* or *Engliſh* Lady ſaid of Him while He was under their Tuition, as no way pertinent or material; I ſhall only apply my ſelf to obſerve what you have ſaid either good or evil of his Qualities, Parts, Virtues, or Vices: And by the Compariſon make it evident that the latter part of your Concluſion is falſe; where in Page 82 you ſay in general *He was not vitious, yet whoſoever ſhall ſay He was virtuous extremely errs, for He was a Medly between Virtue and Vice.*

To begin therefore with thoſe excellent Qualities both of Body and Mind His MAJESTY was endued with. You ſay, *in His Youth He followed His Book ſeriouſly*, which is an Inclination more commendable in a Prince who ſhall never want Occaſion or Flatteries to divert Him. Then to uſe your own Words from Page 75 to 83 wherein you more perſonally deſcribe Him, you confeſs that to ſpeak truth of Him, *He had many ſingular Parts in Nature, that He was an excellent Horſe-*

man,

man, would ſhoot well at a Mark, had ſingular skill in Limning and Pictures, a good Mathematician, not unskilful in Muſick, well read in Divinity, excellently in Hiſtory, and no leſs in the Laws and Statutes of the Realm: He had a quick and ſharp Conception, would write His Mind ſingularly well, and in good Language and Stile: He would apprehend a matter in difference between Party and Party with great Readineſs, and methodize a long Matter in few Lines: He had a quicker Conception and would ſooner underſtand a Caſe in Law, and with more Sharpneſs drive a Matter to the Point, than any of His Privy Council: He had alſo amongſt other His eſpecial Gifts that of Patience; ſo that if any offered Him a long Diſcourſe, He would without any Interruption or Diſtaſte hear it out at length, but then (and with good Reaſon truly) He would expect the ſame Civility from others. Again, that *He was a great Admirer of His Queen, and truſting Her in Matters of greateſt Weight; a provident Father for His Children, in ſo much as He would often ſay when ſome beggarly Courtier propounded Him ſome Project or Monopoly, affirming it would bring ſo many thouſand Pounds yearly to His Coffers,* &c. *He would ſend for the Judges, or ſome of His learned Council, and if they affirmed or conſented he might by Law grant the thing deſired, He would ſay He knew no Reaſon but He might grant the matter in queſtion, for He had many Children to provide for.* And pray does not this ſufficiently evince the Juſtneſs of His Nature, that even to advance and provide for thoſe of neareſt Relation to Him, He would not do any Act that was not juſtifiable by Law. And no leſs does that other Inſtance which immediately follows affirm the Excellency of His Juſtice, where you truly ſay, *He was an Enemy to Blood and wilful Murther before the War,* (and it had been ſafer for Him He had not been ſo in the War) *as that He could not by any Interceſſion be induced to ſign a Pardon for one* Stamford *that had killed a Man in* Fleetſtreet, *notwithſtanding He was a Favourite and Countryman to the Duke of* Buckingham. *He was a perfect Friend, and a great Lover of the Clergy, and an Advancer of them: No Courter of Ladies, nor Frequenter of illicite Beds: Had an excellent Judgment in Phyſiognomy, to diſcover the Virtuous from the Wanton, and honoured the Virtuous: He was temperate in his Diet, and nothing given to Luxury, but extream ſober in His Food and Apparel: He was magnificent in ſome meaſure, and was the only Cauſe of building that Miracle of Ships called the* Royal Sovereign; *and when ſome acquainted Him with the vaſt Charge thereof, He replied, why ſhould not He be admitted to build that Ship for his own Pleaſure which might upon occaſion be uſeful for the*

Service of the Kingdoms, as well as ſome Nobles prodigally ſpend their Patrimony in riotous and ungodly Courſes, nothing for their Credit or Reputation, or any way beneficial to the Kingdom. And it was well ſaid of Him at that time, every Man had his proper Vanity, and that was His, if the People accounted it ſo. He was no Papiſt or favoured any of their Tenents.

THUS much of right I muſt confeſs you have done His MAJESTY; and pray then be your own Judge, whether as a Man, a Husband, a Father, a Friend, a King, and a Chriſtian, He was not moſt examplar; for (beſides thoſe other excellent Parts of Nature and Education) are not Juſtice, conjugal Affection, fatherly Providence, Friendſhip, advancement of Learning, Temperance, Sobriety, Chaſtity, Magnificence, and laſt of all Zeal in Religion, (all which you truly grant Him) Virtues of the Mind and ſuch ſingular Gifts, as that rarely or never they meet in one Perſon, as they did in His MAJESTY? And how then was He *a Medly between Virtue and Vice?* But He having all theſe, I would have Malice tell me what notorious Vice at all can be objected to Him; and then it muſt follow, that both as a Man, and as a Chriſtian He was the greateſt Example of Virtue that many Ages have produced. And as a King, had He been as happy in the Obedience of His Subjects as He was in His Deſires juſtly to govern them, He might have been a Pattern for future Ages to have imitated, as well as He is now a Landmark to all Princes, leſt they ſpilt themſelves upon the like Rock of Indulgence to ingrateful rebellious People as He hath done. And now pray can you point out that Man amongſt His Enemies in your new State endued with all, or indeed with any Proportion of thoſe excellent Qualities you confeſs the King had? and yet you dare not but flatter and admire them, and cannot ſuffer His Aſhes to reſt in quiet, but conclude Him *not virtuous* becauſe He was unfortunate.

THUS having drawn from your own Pen ſo much of Truth as proves the Eminence of His late MAJESTY's Virtues, give me leave to examine thoſe other Calumnies enterlayed to deface His Memory, for Vices I cannot admit them to be in Him that had all theſe Virtues you truly grant Him. Neither were they other than Faults of Indulgence, Omiſſion, or Obſequiouſneſs, or at worſt of Neceſſity to be practiſed in Government. For certainly in Kings Virtues have ſometimes worſe Effects than Vices, and (with all Submiſſion I ſpeak it) I fear His MAJESTY's Faults were of this nature, as that He did not Evil, but perchance did not timely prevent it, as the neceſſity of His Affairs required.

And first, Page 76 you object to Him *Dissimulation, a Quality* you say *He was as sufficiently Master of as any Man living.* And for your single Proof, you cite some Expressions in the Queen's Letters to Him, complaining He did so with Her. How barbarous an Act, and how below either Gentlemen or Men of any Humanity the publishing those Letters was, is not now to the purpose (though nothing ever conduced more to His Majesty's Honour and publick Justification) but if the Queen doubted that some of His Majesty's Purposes answered not Her Expectation, or that He did not fully acquaint Her with His Intentions, does it follow that He did dissemble? Is Concealment Dissimulation? or to be secret, is it to be a Dissembler? Yet if the Queens Doubts be good Evidence in this Case, surely the Calumnies your Party so much advantaged themselves by, as that His Majesty was solely governed by Her, were malicious as well as false. But your own Expressions make it good, that never any Husband, much more a King, deprived His Wife less of the Knowledge of His neareſt Thoughts and Designs than He did Her Majesty. As for the Quality it self, it is either a Virtue or a Vice as it is applied. To dissemble with God, as all your seditious Preachers, and all that have sworn unto yet destroyed their Sovereign have done, it is a Vice; nay a Crime to the purpose, under colour of Friendship to betray: But for a Man to know an Evil, and not take Notice of it till he can prevent it, is a prudential Virtue. Besides, a Prince is less to be blamed for it than a private Person, having so many Dispositions and Interests to please; and truly for my part I could wish His Majesty had been more Master of it. As for Instance, had He dessembled His just Affection to the Earl of *Strafford*, and not at all appeared at his Trial, possibly the Fury of the People would have been less violent; for sad Experience has since taught us, that all Malice pointed at His Majesty and His Government, though first it pierced Him through the Sides of His Ministers. More might be said to this purpose, but you know *qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare*; and the Consequence of that makes it too evident that His Majesty was not so sufficiently Master of it *as any Man living.* And to prove this would be either at *Newcastle*, *Holmby* or *Hampton* Court, where had He signed the Covenant and quitted the Church, and in so doing dissembled with God and His Conscience, possibly your new State had wanted a Foundation.

Your next Observation is of a more uncharitable Composition; as *whether His Indulgence to the Clergy proceeded from a religious Affection, rather than His own private Designs; but by*

judicious Men it is judged that His own Self-ends were therein more than the Propagation of the Gospel.

THIS Quere might well have been spared, did you remember that His MAJESTY for endeavouring to preserve the Church and Churchmen in their Rights and Patrimony (being the Gift of His Royal Progenitors) and for defending and piously practising the established Religion in the Kingdom, fell so much into the hatred of factious and sacrilegious People, that His own Ends could not be the Reason of His so great Indulgence, as for their Cause to oppose so great a Torrent and hazard His Ruin, had not the Dictates of His Conscience, and Justice told Him He ought to have done so. What is meant by Propagation of the Gospel I understand not, in their Sense who make this most uncharitable construction of His MAJESTY, otherwise than to conclude that Sacrilege, Prophanation, Blasphemy, Heresy, Treason and Rebellion be (as truly they are) the Effects of this pretended Propagation.

IN the same Page you say, *His* MAJESTY *extreamly erred when divers Godly Christians of the County of* Norfolk *delivered Him a Petition against the Tyrant* Wren *their Bishop, He sent for* Wren *and bid him answer it.* (Pray where lies this Error?) And yet in the next Line you confess *His* MAJESTY *hated Novelties in Doctrine as much as in Ceremony.*

TO the pretended Tyranny of the Bishop, I shall speak in due Place.

THEN follows, that *He loved not greatly the ancient Nobility or Gentry of this Nation, but did rather prefer Creatures of His own or Father's making.*

It was never known that the Trust or Favour of Princes was entailed in Succession upon particular Families; and it were unjust if it should be so, every Age producing Men in all regards as fit for Advancement, as those who first by Virtue, Learning, Valour, the Bounty of Princes, and the like, gave beginning to such Families, as by time are stiled ancient and noble. Besides, Wisdom, Learning and Experience doth not always attend Persons of the highest Birth; and yet I can name some amongst you, only because they were of noble Families or believed to be so, that were made Knights of the Garter, of the Privy Council, and as it were monopolized the great Offices; which shews His MAJESTY had Affection to them upon that Score, though (as the sequel has made it appear) they have had little Duty, Gratitude or Affection for Him. And yet to enforce this, you instance *His* MAJESTY's *calling the Lords and Commons convened at* Oxford, *in His Letters to the Queen,*

Queen, becauſe they would not comply with His tyrannical Humour, a Mongrel Parliament, and that He could do nothing for them.

HAD not all the Laws of Duty and Reſpect to the MAJESTY of a King been broken by publiſhing theſe Letters, you had wanted this goodly Objection; and if all that any Man ſhall write to a Wife or near Confident were publick, I am aſſured many paſſages would not want Cenſure and Conſtruction to their Prejudice. Yet notwithſtanding this Expreſſion came to the Knowledge of that Body (I ſhall ſpeak it for their Honour, that) not any (whom it touched not) were offended at it; neither failed they in their Duty and utmoſt Endeavour to ſerve His MAJESTY, who gave them all poſſible Reſpect, and placed His Confidence in their Loyalties, and with great Reaſon. For never Prince found more Teſtimonies of the Affection and Duty of His People, eſpecially of the Nobility and Gentry, ſeven parts of ten throughout the Kingdom with their Lives and Fortunes aſſerting the Juſtice of His Cauſe and Quarrel. But that He called thoſe ſo becauſe they would not comply with His tyrannical Humour, can never be made to appear, or that He was a Tyrant; the whole World not being able to lay a publick Injuſtice to His Charge, much leſs an Act of Tyranny. And even the Characters your ſelf have given Him, free Him from that diſpoſition, except a depraved Habit and a virtuous can be in the ſame Perſon. But the Truth is, though the Body of that Aſſembly or Parliament at *Oxford* was unanimous, yet there were ſome falſe Perſons of both Houſes that not only obſtructed Councils but held Correſpondence with the Rebels, and theſe were they His MAJESTY intended by the Word Mongrel, as He has particularly declared: Whoſe Diſpoſitions likewiſe deſerved that Title; for they could not admit thoſe at *Weſtminſter* to be Rebels or no Parliament, nor themſelves to be one. Thus for fear to deſtroy a rebellious Parliament, they have neither King, Parliament nor Law left them; and if they ſhall now ſay we ſee our Errour, but we did not believe the Cataſtrophe would have been ſo fatal, they may well remember of whom it is ſaid *quis putaret?*

THAT He cared not much for the Common Law, or very much for the Gownmen, is not true, but the contrary. Did He not advance Sir *Thomas Coventry* His Attorney General to be Keeper of the Great Seal, made him a Baron, and continued him in his Place till he died, and created his two Succeſſours Sir *John Finch* and Sir *Edward Littleton* Barons? a Practice not uſual by His Predeceſſours. So He treated the Viſcount *Mandevile*, who was advanced by the Law in his Father's time, Earl of *Manchester*, and

and made him Lord Privy Seal. He had for His Attorneys General Sir *Robert Heath*, Mr. *Noy*, Sir *John Banks* and Sir *Edward Herbert* in Succession; and placed in all the Courts at *Westminster* the most eminent of that Profession, and such (to their eternal Honour be it spoken) as that none of them in these times of examination were found guilty either of Corruption or Bribery: And for their Opinions about Ship-Money, whether in Truth and Justice, these were not legal as well as necessary, many have now more reason to doubt. Neither because He had not that fortunate way of His Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth* to cajole the People, does it appear *He cared not for them.* Did He deny them Justice, or suffer them to be oppressed? And His Opinion was right, because *He was their King they ought in Duty to observe Him.* And neither is it impossible if He had carressed and courted the Citizens and their Wives, as *Henry* the eighth and *Edward* the fourth did, but that He might have been more in their Esteem and Favour; so as you may see that Modesty and Chastity sometimes are more destructive to a Prince than Excess and Luxury.

In the same Page you tell us, that *the Citizens of* London *though they courted Him with their Flatteries and large Gifts, and in His latest Extremity relieved Him with considerable Sums of Money, even at* Oxford *in Sope Barrels; yet He slighted them, thought them ever too rich, and intended for them a severe Revenge.*

Surely you saw farther into His Majesty's Thoughts and Intentions than those of greater Observation and nearer Relation. But I must tell you, time and the reiterated course of Falshood that had been played Him, made Him too wise to publish His Thoughts: But had He declared Himself, it had been but Justice to have punished those of that City that had rebelliously opposed Him. For the City's *Flatteries and Courtships*, I never observed them, scarce that they paid Him due Civilities; and yet you cannot but remember how His Majesty upon His Return from *Scotland* Knighted several of the Aldermen; a Practice not usual, and which no Necessity but Respect induced Him to do. And although His Majesty had just Reason to be displeased with a factious seditious Spirit in that Body, who, countenanced by the two Houses, had subverted their ancient Government; yet of the better and discreeter sort I am sure His Majesty had many most loyal and affectionate to Him, as their Actions and Sufferings have sufficiently demonstrated. And if any of them supplyed Him in His Extremity, it was done as became good Subjects. Though I cannot but say, that either

voluntarily

voluntarily or by conſtraint that City has furniſhed their new Maſters with more Treaſure in ten Years paſt, than His MAJESTY and all His Predeceſſors (from whom and under whoſe Protection they have enjoyed ſo large Privileges and raiſed ſo much Wealth) have received from them ſince the beginning of the *Saxon* Monarchy, and what they have got by it they can beſt tell you. You add, that *if He had prevailed, He was adviſed to demoliſh half the City; and what He would have done God knows: This He would often ſay, it was the Nurſery of the preſent Rebellion, and a Head too great for the Body.*

THAT it was the Nurſery, Source and Beginning of the Rebellion, I am confident you doubt not; and that it is an Head too big for the Body, all wiſe Men are of Opinion, as drawing to it ſelf the whole Riches and Traffick of the Nation, diſpeopling the Country, ruining ancient Corporations, engroſſing all Manufactures, debauching the Nobility and Gentry, *&c.* But that His MAJESTY intended to demoliſh the half, is not evident. Nay I ſhall tell you, His Care and Chriſtian Piety was ſuch, as when it hath been adviſed Him to attack that Place as the Head of the Rebellion (and ſuch Opportunities you confeſs He might have taken) He forbore to attempt it, leſt the Violence of the Souldier ſhould have expoſed it to Fire, Plunder and Ruin.

TO confirm theſe Aſſertions, you ſay *you have heard from the Mouth of very worthy Gentlemen that ſerved Him in the Wars, that they did believe His* MAJESTY *had He prevailed would have proved the greateſt Tyrant the* Engliſh *Nation ever had to rule them; and therefore they deſired a Reconcilement, but that He ſhould not conquer your Armies: And ſo much dropt from the Mouth of* Rupert, *who giving Command for executing ſomething contrary to Law, and being acquainted with His Miſtake, Tuſh, quoth He, we will have no more Law in* England *but the Sword.*

WHATEVER Prince *Rupert* might ſay, you might yet have had the Civility to have given him his proper Addition of Prince, for he is no leſs in every Degree. But to whom or when he ſaid it, it appears not, ſo it is but your ſingle Affirmation: But admit he did, does that prove His MAJESTY would have been a Tyrant? or, the times conſidered, was it ill ſaid? Have your Party got the Sovereignty by Law, and is it not a Maxim *inter Arma ſilent Leges?* in which ſence the Prince ſpoke well. I am ſure the Claſhing of the Civil and Military Powers amongſt us, and the Jealouſies between them, with the fond Opinion that no Law muſt be broken, but

War

War and Rebellion ſuppreſſed and managed by the Power of Juſtice of Peace and Conſtable, has mainly contributed to our Ruin. Yet to make it evident to all the World how far it was from His MAJESTY's Deſires to regain His juſt Authority by Force only, you may call to mind how unwillingly He was neceſſitated to take up Arms, and how frequently He ſent to deſire Treaties for Peace, even when He had Advantages by Succeſs againſt your Forces. 'Tis true there were ſome caſually engaged in His MAJESTY's Quarrel, Men of half Principles both in Religion and Loyalty, that fancied that if His MAJESTY ſhould have prevailed by the Sword (which ignorantly or maliciouſly they called Conqueſt) He might then alter the Courſe of Government by Parliament, and what not: And ſuch no doubt are the worthy Gentlemen you mention, with one of whom (not meanly obliged by His MAJESTY) I had in *Cornwall* a Diſpute to this purpoſe; my Poſition being this Truth, that a King cannot conquer His own Subjects, but only with the Loyal Party puniſh the Diſloyal; and who can be ſo uncharitable or baſely ſuſpicious, as to believe that a Prince would ever enthral thoſe by whoſe Means and Fidelity He had Safety and Preſervation; or that this King, whoſe Diſpoſition was naturally ſo full of Goodneſs and Lenity, could poſſibly prove in any Degree Tyrannical? But theſe Mens Fears have overtaken them, and what they feared the King might do, they have now found to the purpoſe practiſed (even upon themſelves) by thoſe of whoſe Preſervation they were ſo ſollicitous.

IT follows in Page 79, you ſay that *as a Man He had His Imperfections, for He was very covetous and griple, and ſparing of His Treaſure, Qualities not commendable in a King; and if at any time liberal, it was rather to the undeſerving and boiſterous Fellows, than well meriting.*

As Frugality and ſparing of Treaſure is a neceſſary Virtue in a King, ſo Covetouſneſs is a Quality as unbeſeeming; but that His MAJESTY was ſo, even the Effects of that Vice ſufficiently contradicts; for from it proceeds Rapine, Extortion, Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, and others of that kind. But that His MAJESTY either acted or countenanced any of thoſe can never be proved. What He got from His Subjects was either by due Courſe of Law, warranted by the Judges of the Law, or at leaſt practiſed by His Predeceſſors upon emergent and moſt neceſſary Occaſions. That He was by the Neceſſity of His Affairs not laviſh in His Expences, His great Occaſions and the times required it; for He had a Wife and many Children to provide for,

for, a number of Servants and Dependents, a Sister abroad and her Posterity to supply, a Navy for the Honour and Defence of the Kingdom to be duly paid, Ambassadours and Agents with foreign Princes and States to be maintained: And to defray those and many other publick Charges, what had He but His just Revenue and lawful Acquisition? So that it was never in His Power to make His Liberality eminently appear: Yet I can name many that received all their Support and Honour from Him, that in His Necessity ingratefully and treacherously left Him.

That He was *ever liberal to boisterous and rude People*, is a great untruth, His Nature abhorring and His Dignity keeping Him from any such Conversation. 'Tis true that Importunity, which you call *Impudence*, sometimes prevailed over the Modesty of His Nature, and People of that Disposition made their Advantage of it; so that what I could ever observe, He was more liberal than either He could or desired to make appear, as being a Man in all kinds of little Ostentation. And now I owe so much to His Memory as not to omit that when I served Him in the quality of His Secretary at War, I had delivered me from His Hand many Petitions, presented Him from distressed Officers, their Wives, *&c.* And according to their Qualities and Necessities I had Order to prepare Warrants for Moneys for them to the Treasurer at War; and when (as at many times it happened) I left a blank place for the Sum, He would graciously be pleased to ask me what I thought convenient, and I never proposed any Sum to Him, but He either allowed it or inserted a greater. Another particular I have of His Bounty and Liberality, of which because my self was the Object, I may incur the Censure of a vain Person, and yet it is better to be so than to be ingrateful. When *Oxford* was surrendred to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, I was by the Duke of *York* and the whole Council sent to His Majesty, then with the *Scots* at *Newcastle*, to give Him an Account of the Surrender; when I came there, His Majesty not having any of the *English* Nation about Him, desired I should stay and attend Him, and endeavoured it with the *Scots*. Upon this I being surprised, coming only with Expectation to deliver my Message, I took the Confidence to tell His Majesty I was very happy to receive His Commands to stay, but (not hoping it) I had only brought so much Money as would defray my Expences thither and back to *London*; but seeing it was His Pleasure I should attend, I conceived it for his Service and my own Credit that I should appear in a fitting Equipage; and I added

ded that the World had an Opinion in regard of my Employment, that I had made a great Fortune by it, but that it was otherwise; however I desired they should still think so, and therefore I humbly proposed that He would for the present give Order for my Supply. His MAJESTY heard me out, and replied, *I will give Order for you*; and added in these very words, *Truly*, Walker, *you have deceived me if you have got any thing in my Service.* And the next Day, beyond my Expectation, He sent me a hundred Pounds, a great Sum in His Purse at that time. But I did not long enjoy that Happiness, being removed by a particular Ordinance of the Lords in Parliament, stiling me one *Edward Walker* a dangerous Malignant and a Person ill affected to the Parliament. Which Epithets though I was not nor am not ashamed of, yet they might have given me the Addition of Knight, Esquire or Gentleman, for I am so good an Herauld as to know that my Ancestors were of the last Rank when some of theirs were not, and I am still no less although they are no more Peers.

IN the next place you confess His MAJESTY *was never obscene in His Speech, nor affected it in others; and yet you take notice of two Passages arguing Him guilty of unbeseeming Language: The first is calling the Parliament Rebels; and the other Sir* Thomas Fairfax *in His* MAJESTY*'s Letters to the Queen, their brutish General.*

I will not quarrel with you about the grammatical Sence of the word *obscene*, though you misapply it; but wonder where the Crime was in calling the Parliament Rebels. Is not levying War against the King Rebellion by the Common Law and Statutes? and is it not Treason to counterfeit the Great Seal? and did not the Two Houses do both these? what were they then but Rebels? and can their Success make them other than so? And *their lawful convening and not dissolving without their Consent* (which you urge,) not only taxeth them of Ingratitude to His MAJESTY who put them in that Condition, but is a sufficient Argument to prove them Rebels; for no Power is equal or can justly contend with that which creates it.

FOR the other Epithet given your General *Fairfax*, what is the sence of it but that he is a Person of little Understanding? (for his Valour is not by it disputed.) And if he be that *civil and brave Man and so much a Gentleman* as you say, he had the worse Fortune to be otherwise represented to His MAJESTY; however he that was a Rebel had no Dishonour done him to be stiled brutish; which if he had not been and worse, he would not contrary to his pretended Inclinations and so

universal

universal Interceſſion, have ſuffered His MAJESTY to have been murthered, and (as ſome affirm) ſitting in Judgment and ſigning the Warrant for His Execution, he being then General and having Power to prevent it. But then your Compariſon of his Family with that of the Sirname of *Stewart*, whereof His MAJESTY is, is a far greater Incivility than His MAJESTY put on your General. I muſt confeſs the Family of *Fairfax* is of good Antiquity in *Yorkſhire*, and of Knightly Degree, but never higher, till by the Favour of this King this Man's Grandfather, a Worthy and Loyal Perſon, was created a Baron of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. And truly two or three hundred Years goes very far with moſt of our *Engliſh* Familes, and above that time it is very difficult to derive any that have not been very eminent. But it is now three hundred Years ſince the Family of *Stewart* have worn the Crown of *Scotland*, His MAJESTY that now is being the tenth in deſcent from *Robert* the Second Son of *Walter Stewart* and *Margery* or *Margaret* Daughter of that warlike King *Robert Bruce*; which *Walter* derives himſelf lineally from *Banquo*, Thane or Earl of *Loughquaber* before the *Norman* Conqueſt. Beſides, the Sirname of *Stewart* was not aſſumed by being Steward to a poor Family, but of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, whoſe Kings had always Servants and Officers that might juſtly hold themſelves undervalued to be compared with a private Family, ſuch as *Fairfax*. Again, though Antiquity adds ſome Luſtre to a Family, yet Power, Title, Alliance, and Eminence of Place and Employment is that which dignifies and ennobles it; otherwiſe Mr. *Puſey* of *Puſey* in *Barkſhire*, who pretends to hold his Eſtate from King *Canutus* by the Gift of an Horn to his Anceſtors, is much to be preferred before the greateſt and moſt ancient of our Nobility. I cannot therefore but tell you that your Compariſon is both impertinent and odious, to equalize a Gentleman's Family with ſo Noble, Ancient, and Royal a Family as that of *Stewart* is and hath been for many Ages paſt; out of which, beſides Kings, ſo many famous Generals and eminent Noblemen have ſprung.

THEN in the Page 80 you ſay, *He had much of Self-ends in what He did, and that it was a moſt difficult thing to hold Him cloſe to His Word or Promiſe, except it were agreeable to His Will, Profit, or Advantage; and that foreign Princes beſtowed the Character of a moſt falſe Prince upon Him.*

THAT His MAJESTY had Ends in order to Government, His own Safety, Honour and Intereſt, is undeniable; and without them He could neither be a Man or a King, for *quilibet proxi-*

mus ſibi. But did any of thoſe Ends tend to the Ruin or Deſtruction of His People? and yet that He had as little of that Quality as any Man is too evident, otherwiſe He might probably by Compliance at *Newcaſtle* and other Places have prevented His Ruin? And it is deducible from His own Words at His Death, that if He would have done what was propoſed to Him He had not come thither; ſo that Conſcience and Honour, not Self-ends were His Guides. For the *Breach of His Word and Promiſe*, were it at all to be proved, it had been a Fault moſt unbeſeeming and deſtructive to a Prince; the juſt care of which gives Him and every Man Reputation, Truſt and Eſteem. But what Act of His MAJESTY makes that appear? Did He ever unprovoked or without Cauſe break any League abroad or at home? Not punctually keep (even in thoſe late horid times) all the Agreements He made with the *Scots*, and other His Subjects, and as exactly obſerve His Declarations and Proteſtations? Whereas on the contrary, did either one or both Nations ever make good to His MAJESTY one particle of all their Oaths, Submiſſions, Agreements, Vows, Proteſtations or Engagements? but broke through them all as no longer juſt or to be obſerved than as they fitted their Turns and preſent Occaſions. So as particular Malice firſt faſtned this Calumny on His MAJESTY, and then more publick Deſign ſpread it abroad, as an excellent colour for ſeditious Spirits to juſtifie the Villany of their Actions againſt Him. And truly I believe if in the beginning of our late Miſeries, ſome of His MAJESTY'S neareſt Confidents had not falſly repreſented His Diſpoſition to the ambitious Party of the two Houſes, they would not have ſo far engaged themſelves as they did, to begin a doubtful War to obtain their Ends; which notwithſtanding they never got by His MAJESTY's Conſent, but by deſtroying Him. And I have been told by one of the moſt eminent of your Rulers, that truly they were deceived in His MAJESTY, whom they found to be a Perſon of greater Wiſdom, Conſtancy and Ability than they ever believed. And the Truth is, it was His greateſt Misfortune to be miſunderſtood and undervalued by His Enemies; and when they found the contrary, it added to their Fears and haſtned His Ruin. That Foreign Princes gave His MAJESTY the Character you mention, is but your Affirmation, and can never be made to appear. Beſides, Princes are too wiſe to reproach each other, whatſoever they think; 'tis poſſible they might conclude Him not ſo active as He might have been, but the Confidence of His own Safety at Home, His Love to Peace and Proſperity of His People,

and

and the Strength and Situation of *England*, being ſuch, (as the Duke of *Rohan* truly terms it, *Un grand animal qui ne peut jamais mourir s'il ne ſe tue lui meſme*) made Him leſs forward to engage Himſelf vigorouſly in the Quarrels amongſt His Allies Abroad, neither did they deſire He ſhould. And ſo likewiſe when He wanted their due Aſſiſtance to ſuppreſs His Rebels, they did not timely interpoſe as they ought even for the Intereſt of Monarchy to have done, but ſuffered Him to fall as He did. But whether the Ingratitude of ſome of them, and the Neglect of others may not ſhortly be puniſhed, I believe moſt Men ſee that it is nearer than they did imagine.

It follows next that you ſay, *had His Judgment been as ſound as His Conception was quick, He had been moſt accompliſht; but He was eaſily withdrawn from His own ſound Reſolution, to embrace far more unſafe Counſels.*

I muſt confeſs you do His Majesty all right to affirm His Conception was quick and excellent, but you miſunderſtand Him in laying the Fault on His Judgment, which was far greater than His Conception. But the Reaſon of His failing proceeded not from His defect of either, but from His natural Modeſty (which hindred His Fancy and Deſign.) Thence it was that many times He ſuffered Counſels to be acted contrary to His Judgment; becauſe they being the Deſigns of others, and earneſtly enforced by them, He had ſo great Confidence in their Fidelities and Parts, as that although at the preſent He could readily controvert them, yet believing they had ſtudied the point more than Himſelf, and ſaw farther than He did, He therefore gave way to the Execution.

In the next Place you affirm *He feared nor diſdained nothing ſo much as the calling of a Parliament.*

That His Majesty either feared or diſdained the calling a Parliament is untruly ſaid; for did He not call two Parliaments in the beginning of His Reign? And had thoſe Aſſemblies been ſo calm and dutiful as they ought to have been, they had ended more ſucceſsfully, and given His Majesty reaſon more frequently to have aſſembled them. But then it began more evidently to appear, what the factious Spirit in that Body aimed at; for did they offer Him any Advice? or would they afford Him any Aſſiſtance, but for fantaſtique, popular and puritanical Ends; as War with *Spain* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, defending the *Rochellers*, &c.? And becauſe He would not ſacrifice the great Officers of State to their Malice, and the Church and the Diſcipline thereof to their Reformation and Cenſure, then preſently His Majesty or at leaſt His Council

were

were Popiſhly affected, and Enemies to the Common-wealth and Honour of the Kingdom. Thus this hypocritical Party by their pretended Zeal of Religion and outward Formality, cunningly got themſelves into the Opinion of the mean and weak Multitude, and in time obtained their Ends. But now the Mask is off, and yet I hope none dare lay Popery or any other Charge of Miſgovernment to the new State, how ſtrict a League ſoever they have made with *Spain*, and how angry ſoever they are with *Holland*.

But then you add, *you wonder at that Paſſage of His* Majesty *in the Book called His* Pourtraiture, *wherein He ſays He called this Parliament as much by His own Choice and Inclination as the Advice of others.*

And why may not theſe ſtand together and be true? For though Neceſſity had then left Him no great Choice, yet the Goodneſs of His Inclination was ſuch, and the Confidence in the Loyalty of His People ſo great, as that He believed a Parliament would nor durſt not have done ſo baſe a thing as (being invaded by a leſs potent Nation) to have joined with them and given them Money for their Treaſon. And therefore He took this way to ſatisfie all Intereſts, and to prove (how froward ſoever former Parliaments had been) whether this might not have been of better Temper. And had His Majesty been ſo happy as to have called it to any other Place than to that He did, it might have had the wiſhed Effects. For your Doubts, *whether His* Majesty *was Author of that incomparable Book*, I ſhall for full ſatisfaction refer you to an excellent Piece entituled *The Image unbroken*, Printed in the Year 1651. Being an exact and full Refutation of all thoſe odious Imputations laid on His Majesty and falſly deduced (by the Learned *Milton* as you call him) from that Book.

In the ſame Page you ſay, *His* Majesty *was ſeldom in the time of War ſeen to be ſorrowful for the Slaughter of His People; but whether by Nature or Cuſtom, you leave to others to judge*; and yet you inſtance two frivolous and ridiculous Stories to make it good.

You know it is not manly to weep, or for a wiſe Man to be elated or dejected with good or evil Fortune, and this was His Majesty's juſt Temper; God Almighty giving Him that Evenneſs and Serenity of Spirit, the better to undergo thoſe Miſeries His rebellious Subjects brought upon Him. Beſides, what Perſon is ſorrowful for the Deſtruction of inveterate Enemies? But who can ever object to His Majesty that He refuſed to pardon or cheriſh any that ſubmitted to Him, how

great

great their Crimes and how mean ſoever their Conditions were? And that He was merciful even unto the Obſtinate, I well remember that upon a Complaint made againſt the Provoſt Marſhal for ill treating His Priſoners, He ſent for and ſeverely reprehended him, and gave me order to go to the Priſon (then being the Caſtle of *Oxford*) to examine the Particulars, which had they anſwered the Complaint, the Marſhal had ſuffered accordingly. But how ill ſoever His MAJESTY's Subjects and Souldiers were treated by your Maſters, all thoſe of your Party were civilly uſed amongſt us; and I have very often obſerved it as a ſad Omen, and that ſhewing your Genius ſuperiour to ours, that we always courted them and they ſlighted us.

THAT *His* MAJESTY *ever ſaw or rejoiced at the Condition of the Priſoners taken at* Marleborough *or the* Devizes (you would ſay *Ciceſter*) I remember not; and yet I was as ſeldom abſent from doing my Duty in my Attendance as any Man; but that He took not care of them is falſe: for beſides Exchanges, above 500 of them were liſted in His own Army, though moſt of them ran away afterwards.

FOR your other Story of *the* Buckingham *Souldier wounded and ſtript, and in that condition brought on a lean Jade before His* MAJESTY *and reviled, and how he died ere he was forty Paces from His Preſence*, it is ridiculous as well as falſe; and had you named thoſe Nobles you ſay *quitted His* MAJESTY *upon that Obſervation*, I would for their Reputations have given you truer and more pertinent Reaſons for ſuch their defection.

ANOTHER Inſtance I can give you, that His MAJESTY delighted not at all either in ſeeing or having the Rebels ill treated; as when the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army in *Corwall* by Compoſition laid down their Arms and marched away, after they had paſſed by the Place where His MAJESTY ſtood, ſome of our Souldiers rudely fell on and ſtript many of them; which His MAJESTY hearing, He ſent preſently His own Guards and chief Officers to prevent it. And when in that Manuſcript of mine you mention to have ſeen I recited that Action, I uſed this light Phraſe, *that our Souldiers freed them of the Burthen of their Cloaths*; and reading it to His MAJESTY, He ſuddenly interrupted me ſaying, *Fie, that is ill ſaid and it was worſe done*, and gave me order to alter that Expreſſion.

To this I cannot but add, that a while after the beginning of the War, there was a ſerious Debate in Council about the Exchange of Priſoners, and ſome able and wiſe Men were againſt it, as tacitely implying the Juſtice of the War on that part,

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and urging the Inconveniencies arising thereby to the prolonging of our Miseries; yet His MAJESTY out of His Clemency and Consideration of the Sufferings of many of His good Subjects, who about that time were barbarously clapt on Shipboard, and otherwise imprisoned, gave way for Exchanges, and ever after punctually observed them. Whereas if His MAJESTY had not regarded the Lives of His seduced Subjects, nor cared for those who served and suffered for Him, He might by the known and ancient Laws of the Kingdom have executed such as He took in Arms as Traytors and Rebels. And if you will say the two Houses might have done the same, they must have done it by an arbitrary Power, or by Prosecution for Treason upon the Statute; which at that time would have been ridiculous, though afterwards (having imprisoned His MAJESTY in *Carisbrook* Castle) they as unjustly condemned and executed Captain *Burley* for offering to beat Drums at *Newport* for His MAJESTY's Redemption; but then they had got the Power, and the Law must yield unto it.

IN Page 83 you say, *His* MAJESTY *was ill thought of, especially by the Puritans, for suffering the Chapel to be built at* Somerset *House for the Queen, where Mass was publickly said,* "(and yet you confess His MAJESTY no Papist or Favourer "of their Tenents) and farther that *He was blamed for writing to the Pope when He was in* Spain, *and for repriewing many seminary Priests.*

I wonder seeing your self justifies His MAJESTY in these Actions, you would mention them at all, and more that you dare think them rather well than ill done, since they have been held so great Crimes. As for the Chapel and Mass therein said, it was but agreeable to the Articles of Marriage, which were to be observed for Interest and Amities sake. Besides, a Person of Her MAJESTY's Birth and Eminence ought not to have been denied the Exercise of Her Religion (because the Puritans dislike it) except that Princes must have no Liberty in point of Conscience, that being a Privilege only due to sanctified Weavers and Button-makers. As for His writing to the Pope, why might not His MAJESTY do it as well as write to the *Turk*, or *Persian*, and as your new State holds strict Correspondence with the King of *Spain*, Duke of *Florence*, and other Princes of that Profession? And it is no Untruth to say that the Assumption of the red Cross for the Arms of your Republick is a greater Sign of their Inclination to Popery, than was His MAJESTY writing a civil Letter to the Pope, especially considering how ridiculously and maliciously a few Years since

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all Croſſes throughout the Kingdom were by their Order defaced and thrown down. But what were held Crimes in His MAJESTY muſt be Virtues in them. For *the reprieving of Prieſts*, 'tis true it was ſometimes done, and was an Act of Chriſtian Pity, nothing of Sedition but the private Execution of their Function being objected to them. Neither were the Laws by which they ſuffered fundamental, but occaſional; and ſo to be either remiſsly or ſeverely put in execution as the times required and as His MAJESTY conceived fit for His Safety and Intereſt. Only you ſay one thing I muſt not grant, as that *you never remember the favouring of Popery objected to His* MAJESTY. Sure you have heard of His Letter to the Pope, the Queens hearing of Maſs, the Pope's Nuntio at Court, the Popiſh Common Prayer Book (as you call it) ſent into *Scotland*, the Popiſh Biſhops as they were eſteemed, Popiſh Lords in Parliament, the Arms of Popiſh Horſe under Ground, with His MAJESTY Armys being full of Papiſts, continually either publickly or privately objected againſt Him as ſigns of His Inclination. To this may be added the *Scotiſh* Declaration of their Reaſons of entring *England* in 1643, *being to aſſiſt their good Brethren againſt a Popiſh, Prelatical and Malignant Party about the King*: And by theſe Artifices, as much nay more than by any other, have your new Governours attained their Ends, to which His MAJESTY's real Averſion from that Profeſſion not a little contributed. Much more might be ſaid, had not His MAJESTY to the ſhame and confuſion of all thoſe who thus ſcandalized Him, by His Death, principally occaſioned for defending the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, fully cleared this Point. Whereas on the contrary, not one amongſt you who thus uncharitably traduce His MAJESTY, but has (beſides Rebellion and Treaſon) in the ſpace of ten Years firſt fallen into Schiſm and Separation from the Church He was born in, then ſubmitted unto a Presbyterian Tyranny, and ſworn to an Hypocritical Covenant, then broken that and ſubdivided your ſelves into as many Churches, Opinions and Forms of Government as almoſt ye are Families, all under the Title of Independents; and what you muſt be next is not yet reſolved by the Army, but I doubt not what ere it be, your Conſciences can readily comply and ſubmit unto it.

HITHERTO I have taken a View of your Obſervations of the more Perſonal and natural Inclinations of His late MAJESTY principally as He was a Man, though ſometimes (eſpecially in the harſher Character) you reflect on Him as a King. And although the Actions of Kings and private Men are ſo different,

as that Virtues in the one, may in a kind be Vices in the other; yet that being from the present matter, I shall briefly apply my self to a review of what you have objected to His MAJESTY. And although I hope I have fully cleared Him from those frivolous and odious Imputations, yet admit them true as you pretend, and compare them for Number, Weight and Quality with those great Virtues you truly allow Him; and then your self and all the World must justly confess, either His MAJESTY had not those Defects, or at the worst that they were far short of His Virtues.

THE Virtues or Perfections that you grant Him are Justice, conjugal Affection, Friendship, Learning, Quickness of Judgment, Temperance, Sobriety, Chastity, Magnificence, and Zeal in Religion: The Vices you would fasten on Him, are Dissimulation, Covetousness, Incertainty of His Word and Resolutions, and want of Compassion. So first, you see the Number of His Virtues treble those of His pretended Vices; next for their Weight, certainly Justice is a greater Virtue than Covetousness is a Vice, Friendship than Dissimulation, and so of the rest. Again for their Quality, Dissimulation, Covetousness, *&c.* are less Faults in a King, and less prejudicial to a People, than want of Justice, Temperance, Chastity and the other Virtues you allow Him. Besides, how can Friendship and Dissimulation, Magnificence and Covetousness, Justice and Falshood, Religion and want of Compassion, in any degree meet in the same Person? The conclusion therefore from hence must necessarily be, that your Assertion in giving His MAJESTY the unbeseeming Character of a *Medly between Virtue and Vice* is most untrue; and that on the contrary, His MAJESTY was endued with great Virtue, Goodness and Morality (as well as Piety.) But as you say excellently well, *the Actions of Princes are looked upon with many Eyes, whereof some either prove squint or purblind; and so long as we live in this World our Conversation cannot be with Saints, but with the Sons of* Adam, *who ever smell of some Corruption.*

I shall now proceed to a due Examination of those other Aspersions you boldly cast on His MAJESTY; which though they are of an higher Nature, yet they only reflect on Him in point of Government, in which, notwithstanding He was unfortunate, it can never be made appear He was unjust.

AND first you tell us, *He was ambitious, and disdained in His Youth to match with any of the* English *Ladies.*

SURELY you are not so indiscreet as to think this which you call Ambition in Him a Fault. But why Ambition? I am sure

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the Heir of the Crown of *England* was ever a Match equal and fit for the Daughter of the greateſt Prince in *Europe*. Next what *Engliſh* Lady can you name at that time or ſince fit for Him in any degree? Beſides, you may look back and conſider the Miſeries that followed the Marriage of King *Edward* the fourth with His own Subject, and no leſs thoſe of *Henry* the eighth; but poſſibly your Thoughts have fancied an Alderman's or Brewer's Daughter to be a fit Match for Royal Blood.

As for your Diſcourſe, *whether the* French *or* Spaniſh *Match had been more advantageous*, it is not now to the purpoſe, God Almighty having diſpoſed it to His Pleaſure. I ſhall only ſay this, no Match could have produced more reciprocal Affection, nor have been bleſſed with a more hopeful, dutiful and vertuous Poſterity, and in theſe only His MAJESTY was moſt happy in deſpite of all His Enemies.

BUT then in Page 85, you mention *the adjourning of the Parliament to* Oxford *the* 1st *of* Auguſt 1625, *and the diſſolving of it the* 12th; *the two main Reaſons being becauſe the Duke of* Buckingham *His Favourite ſhould not be queſtioned concerning King* James's *Death, and His* MAJESTY's *making ſeveral Propoſitions to the People which they would not conſent unto.* And that you may be ſure, as you think, to fix the Knowledge of this moſt horrid Regicide (if it had ever been) on His MAJESTY, you proceed and ſay, *That King* James *was really and abſolutely poyſoned by a Plaiſter applied by* Buckingham's *Mother unto His Stomach, as was evidently proved before a Committee: But whether* Buckingham *himſelf or the late King were guilty either in the Knowledge of or Application of the Plaiſter, you could never learn. Many feared the King did know it, becauſe when the Parliament did order to queſtion* Buckingham *for it, and had prepared their Charge or Articles to preſent againſt him in the Houſe of Lords, and to accuſe him thereof, His* MAJESTY *contrary to all expectation and in affront to both Houſes, in the Upper Houſe when the Articles came up gave him His Hand to kiſs, and carried him away with Him.* Then you deſcant on it and ſay, *This Action loſt Him that Parliaments Affection, and the moſt ſober of His Friends held Him much overſeen, to deny a Parliament Juſtice in any matter whatſoever; but in a matter of Poyſon, and the Party poyſoned being His Father, in that to prohibit a legal Proceeding againſt the Party ſuſpected, it was to deny Juſtice with a refractory Hand; and there is no Pen how able ſoever can take off this Blemiſh, that will ever hang on Him, for falling out with the Parliament becauſe they queſtioned him, and by what means His Father came by His Death.*

THUS far your own Words, whereof I must freely tell you, that you have with more subtilty and false Inferences aspersed His MAJESTY, than any Man that ever objected this unto Him. And therefore though my Pen be the weakest of any that ever undertook to justifie His MAJESTY's Life and Actions, yet I am confident to make it clearly appear that you have done the contrary to all Truth and Humanity.

AND first I shall refer you to that excellent Treatise I mentioned in the *Irish* Affair; where this whole Business is fully discussed, and His MAJESTY with the Duke of *Buckingham* as truly vindicated. Next amongst many others clearing this villanous Calumny, you may have seen a small Tract entituled *Aulicus Coquinarius* printed in 1651, where in Page 192, the whole manner of King *James* His Death, and the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Accusation, is at large discussed and cleared. And although it is impossible to make Truth more evident, or to say more than hath been already; yet I will trace you in your own Method, and by it make the Falshood of your Assertion more notoriously to appear. And first that King *James* was poysoned by the Application of the Plaister by *Buckingham*'s Mother was never proved before a Committee; for if it had, they had been equally guilty of the Crime, for not declaring it; and so the whole House for voting so execrable a Treason as the poysoning of a King to be only *a transcendent Presumption and of dangerous Consequence.* Hard words to amuse the People, but signifying nothing. Neither was the Countess of *Buckingham*, the pretended Empoysoner, ever questioned for it. Besides, part of the individual Plaister was eaten by those that applyed it in the Presence of Sir *Matthew Lister*, Doctor *Harvy*, Doctor *Chambers* and other Phisicians then attending; who were displeased it was applyed without their Privity, and yet by all of them the Ingredients were confessed to be free from any poysonous Qualities. Neither does it appear that His MAJESTY or the Duke of *Buckingham* were present at the time of the Application; and yet you intimate that *to save the Duke from Prosecution, His* MAJESTY *broke the Parliament, gave the Duke His Hand to kiss, and carried Him away with Him.* Wherein you have untruly fixt the Breach to a false Cause, and the publick kissing of the King's Hand both to a wrong Cause and Parliament, and yet both these (so they may gain Belief) you hold no Offences. And now to let you see my Affirmations are true, and withal what a Beast popular Fury is, and how subject the Favourites and Ministers of Princes (how virtuous soever) are unto it, it was not above

a Year

a Year before this time, upon his coming out of *Spain* with the Prince, that the Commons harangued to the Honour of the Duke, and the Flattery of ſome of them was ſo great as they thought him worthy of a Statue; and yet he is now ſtiled the only Grievance of the Commonwealth (though moſt of the Matters objected againſt him were done before that Parliament that expreſſed ſo much Kindneſs to him) and through the Envy of ſome diſcontented Courtiers and factious Spirits, he is proſecuted accordingly: Although His MAJESTY told the Commons in the beginning of their Proceedings, He knew better than any Man living the Sincerity of the Duke's Intentions, and with what Peril and Hazard he had undergone the Service of His MAJESTY and His bleſſed Father. And yet when His MAJESTY ſaw they were ſtill violently bent againſt him, He ſent them word they might proceed in their ordinary way, which they did. But finding no capital Crime, or at worſt but common Errors and Miſcarriages, and thoſe not fully proved, could be objected to Him, they then and not before produced this Buſineſs of the Plaiſter, thereby to put an Odium on His MAJESTY, unleſs He ſubmitted to ruin the Duke becauſe they deſired it. And yet after all, they could make no more of it but that it was a *tranſcendent Preſumption*, &c. as I ſaid before: And when they ſent to the Lords to deſire the Duke might be reſtrained, the Lords rejected the Motion as unjuſt, to commit a Peer upon an Accuſation of no capital Nature. And then when the Duke had anſwered it and the Commons could not reply, they wilfully denied the King the Supplies they promiſed Him; and ſo neceſſitated Him to diſſolve that Parliament the 15th of *June* 1626. And in the next Parliament aſſembled *March* 1627, inſtead of proſecuting their former Accuſation in a judiciary courſe, the Commons made a Petition and Remonſtrance againſt the Duke without mention of the Plaiſter; which His MAJESTY reading to His diſaffection, told them no wiſe Man could juſtifie it; and then and not before He gave the Duke His Hand to kiſs. And not long after His MAJESTY prorogued the Parliament till *October*, and in the interim the Duke was ſtabbed at *Portſmouth*; and in *March* following He diſſolved it likewiſe. Which though you ſay *was an Argument of ſtrong Affection to His Favourite, but a deep Imprudence to ſlight a whole Nation for the Love of one onely Man, and he but of Yeſterday, being of the Father's ſtamping and His own continuing*, may yet be juſtified to all the World; the Commons unjuſt Proſecution of the Duke, and their neglecting the King and His Affairs (about which they were aſ-

ſembled)

ſembled) enforcing Him to the Diſſolution of both theſe Parliaments. *As for the Duke's being a new Man*, all Men have their beginning; and yet he was for his Parts and Endowments far ſuperiour, and for his Family equal at leaſt to that brave Man *Fairfax*, as you call him, whoſe Anceſtors you boldly ſay were equal to the Family of *Stewart*.

ONE Argument more I will put you in mind of, clearly to acquit His MAJESTY from this odious Crime of preventing the Proſecution againſt the Authors of His Father's Death, and that is this; in His lateſt Extremity, when His MAJESTY was brought before His own cruel Subjects and formally endeavoured to be arraigned for pretended Treaſon againſt them, this Offence was not ſo much as objected; which could they but colourably have enforced againſt Him, it would have been of more weight and more juſtified the putting of Him to death, than they or all the World can ſay to make good that Act. And therefore I wonder, ſeeing you have thus poſitively laid it to His MAJESTY's Charge without any Proof, you ſhould yet ſay in your Preface, *that you have no way injured Him, nor mentioned any thing of Him which you had not from Perſons of Credit, who either ſaw the Actions done, or heard with their Ears the Words delivered*; whenas beſides the Imputation, you have miſtaken the Actions done in one Parliament for thoſe that were done in another, and as untruly miſreported the Reaſons for the Diſſolution of both.

IN the ſame Page you mention *His* MAJESTY'S *Coronation in* February 1625, *and that* William Laud *altered the Coronation Oath:* Then you ſpeak that *in the Parliament* Mountague *was queſtioned for Popiſh and Aminian Tenents, and* Bucks *again put to it by the Commons.*

SURELY though this reflects not on His MAJESTY, yet by the way, why might you not as well have ſtiled him Duke of *Buckingham*, and the other Biſhops? for they were no leſs. As for the altering of the Coronation Oath, you will find it not done, neither in the Diſputes about it in 1642 was it alledged, but only the Conſtruction of ſome words controverted. But if the Biſhop had altered it, it was no Crime, nor breach of any fundamental Law; nor yet material but for Form's ſake whether it were taken or no, no nor the Coronation it ſelf, the King being as virtually and naturally in His Royal Power before as after His Coronation.

IN this Parliament you ſay *His* MAJESTY *ſent for the Biſhops and blamed them for their Backwardneſs that they did not inform Him how He might promote the Cauſe of the Church; indeed He did*

did well know what fawning Jacks *moſt of them were, and how eaſily with profit He might win them to His ſide, they making up a good part of the Houſe of Lords.*

REALLY I am ſorry in ſo few Lines to find you ſo uncivil and ſo little a Chriſtian: And on the other part, were not the King's Actions herein agreeable to the Duty He owed to God, and for the advancement of Religion and Piety? Are not Kings in the Scriptures called Nurſing-fathers, and Queens Nurſing-mothers of the Church? But I have ſadly obſerved it, as an ill Effect of a good Cauſe, that many Men profeſs Religion and yet hate the Miniſters and Inſtructers in it. And here again His MAJESTY's Piety falls under the Cenſure, *as that He did it for His Ends*: But as I have formerly cleared that point; ſo I have that Charity for the Biſhops, as really to believe that then and always they had as little Ends and as much Juſtice and Integrity as the temporal Peers; and with as good Reaſon, for their Education, Experience and Profeſſion obliged them unto it. And however in this latter Age, when all Men will teach and govern but none learn to obey, they had been vilified and deſtroyed; yet our wiſer Anceſtors had them in Reverence and Eſteem: And I can make it appear that by their Means and Managery the *Engliſh* Nation hath in all times had as much (if not more) of Honour and Advantage and Reputation, as by any other Order or Profeſſion of Men.

FOR the Difference you mention in that Parliament between the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Briſtol* (whoſe due Titles you have again forgotten) what was that to the King? Though they differ'd they were both great and worthy Men; the laſt of whom ſtill lives a baniſh'd and condemned Perſon by your State, for the exemplary Loyalty of himſelf and all his Family to His MAJESTY.

BUT then you add, *That His* MAJESTY *committed Sir* Dudley Diggs *and Sir* John Elliot *Members of the Houſe of Commons, becauſe they moſt rigorouſly had managed an Accuſation againſt the Duke of* Buckingham. *An high Affront it was to the Parliament, and a great Breach of Privilege to commit a Member of that Houſe without the Houſe's Conſent.* Here you have miſrepotted the Cauſe of thoſe Gentlemens Commitment, that of Sir *Dudley Diggs* being upon an Information that he ſhould ſay in the Houſe, *he forbore to mention the Buſineſs of the Plaiſter, it reflecting on His* MAJESTY's *Honour*; but he denied the Words, and a Proteſtation paſs'd the whole Houſe, that none either heard, authorized or believed he ſaid ſo. Sir *John Elliot*'s was for extravagantly aſperſing the Duke with Faults not

mentioned

mentioned in the Charge, and at that time many Precedents were instanced that for Misdemeanour in Language both in Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* His time Members had been committed. But Sir *Dudley Diggs* lived afterwards to be restored to His MAJESTY's Favour, and to enjoy till he died the Office of Master of the Rolls. And to the Honour of his Family I cannot but mention, that he left a Son of his own Name that hath by his learned Pen fully proved the Unlawfulness of Subjects taking up Arms against their Sovereign, in a Treatise Printed in the Year 1643; for the other, I have it from those who knew him well and his Disposition, that he was as great a Flatterer of the Duke as any Man; but failing of what he aimed at, he proved his Enemy, being an ambitious and turbulent Person, of a private Fortune and a more private Family.

FOR the high *Affront and Breach of Privilege*, none (but such as are so ignorant that they know not whence and by whom the Commons have their Privilege) can so esteem this. For the House of Commons is no fundamental Constitution in point of Government, it being notorious when it began and for what reason. Their Privileges are confined within their own House, and all of them together have not so much Power as one single Justice of Peace or Constable; for they can neither administer an Oath or commit any Man by Law; only some few Precedents and Connivance of Princes have admitted them to do it to their own Members. They are only in the Nature of the Grand Inquest of the Kingdom, and stand as Assessors for the People, in the making of Laws and granting Aids to the King; and notwithstanding by the Favour of the King (lest their Service should be prejudiced) they cannot be arrested for Debt, yet they may for Felony, Treason, or Breach of the Peace.

THEN you go on and tell us, *that in that Year* Tilly *defeated the King of* Denmark, *after which that King never endured His* MAJESTY; *but whether He failed Him in Money or Supplies, you say you know not, only that the King of* Denmark *would swear that His* MAJESTY *endeavoured to make Him lose His Kingdom: And thus much you heard from the Mouth of* Dr. M. *who heard the King of* Denmark *speak what you write.*

IF every single Assertion were to be believed, no Man yet was ever just or honest. Next I can tell you who you mean by Dr. *M.* and knew him well; and that he had the Vanity and Fault of some of his Nation to be ignorant of nothing. Yet that His MAJESTY was kinder to His Uncle of *Denmark*, than either He or all the Princes of Christendom were to Him in Distress; I can tell you that His MAJESTY about that time

sent

ſent him a Supply of near 10000 *Engliſh* and *Scots* under the Command of Sir *Charles Morgan*, and paid them Himſelf; by which means the King defended Himſelf againſt the Imperial Forces. Neither was it *Tilly* but *Walleſteyne* that afterwards enforced Him to make Peace with the Emperour.

In the enſuing Page, you inſert a long and frivolous Tale of *the Buſineſs of the Iſle of* Rhee; *that Sir* William Courtney *was a dull covetous old Man; how he fell into a Salt Pit, and how his Man got him out; how a Bullet was ſhot and bowed a piece of Gold in his Pocket*, &c. *And this you had from the Mouth of an eminent Collonel, Enemy to the Duke of* Buckingham.

I could here name that eminent Collonel, but your Correſpondence may bring you in diſtruſt with your new Maſters, he having ſo faithfully ſerved His Majesty.

But then you ſay *His* Majesty *hearing of the Loſs and Landing of the Duke, inſtead of being angry at the Loſs of ſo many gallant Men, or calling him to an Account, ſent to comfort him, imputing it to Chance of War.*

And does not this argue the King to be a juſt and wiſe Prince? Nay, does not your long Diſcourſe confeſs *that the Buſineſs of the Retreat, where the Men were loſt, was by the whole Council of War committed to the Conduct of Sir* William Courtney? Why then ſhould the Duke be blamed for it? Beſides, the Deſign might be good and well laid and yet not ſucceed, the Chance of War being variable and uncertain.

But then in the following Page you ſay, *Now we are ſpeaking of* Rochel, (although you never named it before, yet) that it may appear you know more than any other, you take leave to acquaint the World, that *His* Majesty *was the ſole Cauſe of the loſs of* Rochel, *for He lent the King of* France *eight or ten Ships of His own Navy, by which the* Rochellers *Ships were ſunk and deſtroyed; and that it may appear He willingly lent theſe Ships, and was not perſuaded to it by* Buckingham (though by the way the Commons objected it to Him, as may be ſeen in his Anſwer) you relate a Paſſage perchance not vulgarly known, *as that Sir* John Pennington *their Vice Admiral had Order to go with thoſe Ships into* France: *When he arrived, the* French *acquainted him they were to be employed againſt* Rochel, *and that if he would ſerve therein he ſhould be honourably rewarded. But that gallant Man ſcorned the Proffer, and ere he would reſign the Ships came privately and informed the King that the Intention was againſt* Rochel; *but the King ſaid only thus much,* Pennington *go and deliver the Ships, and gave him Order accordingly.*

HERE is an high Offence pretended and as ſlenderly proved; ſure that *gallant Man* never did or could give you this Information; for you will find hereafter that the King ſent but one Ship of His Royal Navy, and for another Deſign than attacking *Rochel*. But admit as you ſay, that the King by this Action was the ſole Cauſe of the Loſs of *Rochel*, why might He not? or what concerned it Him? Is it not a Town of the *French* King's? and were they not then in Rebellion againſt their Sovereign? Oh, but they were Proteſtants, and oppoſed Him for the true Religion! So much the worſe, does true Religion teach Men to do evil that good may come thereof? Beſides, does it appear His MAJESTY had at that time taken thoſe of *Rochel* into His Protection, or that He had War with *France*? Then 'tis true His own Intereſt and Honour might have induced Him to have preſerved them. But when the Ships were lent He was in Amity with the *French* King. And what if Sir *John Pennington* acquainted Him the Deſign was againſt *Rochel*? (which is but your bare Aſſertion) Muſt His MAJESTY therefore break His Word, becauſe it was to deſtroy Rebels? or that Sir *John*'s Conſcience ſcrupled to ſerve againſt them? The truth is, the Year after (which you do not expreſs, but jumble the Times and Circumſtances together, the better to fix the falſe Calumny on His MAJESTY) the Peace for that and other Cauſes was broken between the two Crowns; and then His MAJESTY either at their Mediation, or for His own Intereſt reſolved to take the *Rochellers* into His Protection; and to that end the Duke of *Buckingham* went, when he poſſeſſed himſelf of the Iſle of *Rhee*. But then the *Rochellers* kept not their Agreement, nor did declare for His MAJESTY as they had promiſed, and ſo loſt themſelves. Yet afterwards His MAJESTY ſent another Fleet, which had not the Duke been murthered he had likewiſe commanded, but it could then give no Relief, the *French* having with podigious Works ſtopt their Haven, and ſo that Town at laſt fell to the due Obedience of its proper Maſter. And ſurely you would be laughed at, and perchance worſe uſed, admitting a Breach ſhall happen between your State and the United Provinces, and ſo between them and *France*, or *Spain*, or *Portugal*, to affirm it not lawful for *England* to aſſiſt any of thoſe againſt the United Provinces, becauſe they are of the reformed Religion and the others not. But your new Maſters will teach you the true way of Obedience, not to diſpute the Juſtneſs and Reaſon of their Actions; and they were happy if that were the worſt of their Offences either towards God, the King or the People. So that upon

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the whole matter that His MAJESTY was not the Cauſe of the Reduction of that place is moſt evident, but that He did His beſt to prevent it. But unanſwerably to clear this point, I ſhall here again refer you to that excellent Treatiſe I cited in the *Iriſh* Affair, where you are told that only one Ship of the Royal Navy, *viz.* the Vantguard was lent the *French* King, and Liberty to hire Merchant Ships; that the Deſign was pretended againſt *Genoa*, and twenty *Holland* Ships imployed therein; (and yet this Loſs was never laid to their Charge.) That becauſe the *Engliſh* Ships were employed againſt *Rochell* contrary to Promiſe, the King entred into Hoſtility with *France*; as appears by the Manifeſt of the Duke *Buckingham*, printed in the Life of *Lewis* XIII. ſince the Parliament began. As to your belief, *That the ſad Groans and Miſeries of thoſe poor Proteſtants poured out unto Almighty God in the height of their Miſery againſt our King, were extreme inſtrumental in haſtning down the Anger of God againſt Him*, I ſhall ſay only this, that it is a moſt uncharitable Fancy; and I pray God that the Practice of our Princes for the laſt Century in aſſiſting Rebels againſt their Sovereigns under the Pretence of advancing the Goſpel, may not lye more heavy at their Doors, and have been a greater Cauſe of God's ſevere Hand upon His MAJESTY.

THE next thing you ſay, is *that His* MAJESTY *ſeemed not much troubled when the News was brought Him of* Buckingham's *Death, but ſtayed out Prayers; and though all Men generally were glad of it, yet nothing was bettered in Court after His Death; which made Men conclude that all Miſgovernment proceeded not from* Buckingham, *but from the depraved Nature of the King.*

HERE you endeavour to faſten ill Nature, as well as ill Government on His MAJESTY. But pray had it been Chriſtian like, manly, or befitting the MAJESTY of a King, to have left the Service of God to have vented His own Paſſion? yet that He was deeply grieved is evident, and that He was highly affectionate is no leſs; His great care of the Duke's Wife, Children and Family (as you ingenuouſly confeſs Page 77.) being ſufficient Teſtimonies. That *Affairs went not better after the Duke's Death*, you ſay for his Honour, (who certainly was an excellent Perſon;) but that either before or after during His MAJESTY's Government they were in any Degree bad (as you pretend) time and the miſerable Days we have lived to ſee hath made appear to the contrary.

IT follows in Page 91, That you mention *the Birth of His now* MAJESTY *the* 29th *of* May 1630. *And His* MAJESTY's

STY's *going into* Scotland *in the Year* 1633, *to be crowned there, and that in the Year* 34 *His* MAJESTY *laid a general Tax upon the whole Kingdom vulgarly called Ship-Money, because it was pretended for the Maintenance of the Navy; and in truth much of it was expended that way, and the Saylers well paid their Wages: which occasioned for two Years together a great Fleet of Royal Ships to be set forth for the Honour of the Nation.* But then you add, *this Ship-Money was generally misliked, as being a meer Innovation, and a cleanly Trick to poll the Subjects and cheat them into an annual Payment*, &c.

I must confess it hath been the Unhappiness of the *English* Monarchy (especially since Puritanism took root) to be always thwarted by factious and seditious Spirits; so that no Design could be executed for the Honour, Safety or Advantage of the Nation, except such were called to advise, who hypocritically assumed to themselves the Title of godly Persons, and the only good Commonwealths Men, and under those Notions detracted from the Royal Government. And too many of such Spirits had at this time wound themselves into the Peoples Favour: So that His MAJESTY observing it, and withal that His Neighbours and Allies grew potent in Shipping, and interrupted the Sovereignty of the Seas (justly pretended to by Him) was necessitated like a true Father of His Country to endeavour the Preservation of His Honour, and the Safety of His People; and thereupon by the Advice of the learnedst in the Profession of the Law He laid this Tax; being no Innovation, but agreeable to the Practice of His Predecessors, who had many times been served by the Maratine Ports with Ships for the defence of the Kingdom at their own Charge; and if it were now laid all over the whole Nation, it was for the ease of the Maratine Counties, and that justly, all parts of the Kingdom sharing in the Honour and Benefit. Besides, by the major part of the Judges (even in those captious times when Perogative was disputed by every Pettifogger) it was agreed to be lawful, and Judgment given accordingly. However the Sence of the two Houses being against it, you may remember that His MAJESTY pass'd a Bill to disannul this Tax; and I can tell you the Commons prepared it not in six Months after their sitting, to make the People believe they got it with Difficulty; and besides, suffered all the Judges that had affirmed it to sit in the Lord's House with this Rod over them, that so they might not in other things oppose their Designs. And that it was as you say *much of it expended on the Navy*, is but half the Truth; for I have heard His MAJESTY often say He spent in one Year above 40000*l.* more than was received,

and

and every Year of the four it was impoſed above 20 or 30000*l.* Neither did it ever coſt the whole Nation any Year much above 200000*l.* which is in proportion not two Months Tax it now pays your Maſters the Army, for keeping the King and all Loyal Men out of their Rights, and even your ſelves in Bondage. Nor was it *a Trick to poll or cozen the People*, (the Money being expended for their Safety,) but to bring them into a right underſtanding of the Honour, Greatneſs and Reputation of their King abroad; wherein their own Advantages were included. But it is the Fate of our conſtitutions to be wiſe too late, and for fear of Slavery to become Slaves. But at that time we were high and kickt againſt any Authority or Impoſition how neceſſary ſoever; and for any Man to have either thought of paying Exciſe, or keeping an Army at the Coſt of the Kingdom within it ſelf, had been the greateſt Treaſon imaginable. And yet you ſee you have fought your ſelves into both, to the expence of two or three Millions of Pounds yearly more than ever the King would or could have impoſed on ye. And this you partly confeſs, but you ſay *the Neceſſity of maintaining the Army requires it.* I will not ask you when that Neceſſity will end? Or that ye ſhall pay leſs while the preſent Government and the Guilt of the Governours endures?

And now having according to my Judgment and Conſcience aſſiſted with the trueſt Obſervations I could make, fully anſwered all the odious Imputations you have endeavoured to caſt on His late Majesty's Life and Actions; I come to thoſe which happened ſince I have had the Honour to be known perſonally to His Majesty, and to receive and execute His Commands. And firſt in Page 93, you report *the great Diſturbance at* Edenborough *in* July 1637, *about a new Service-Book endeavoured to be obtruded on them by the King and* Canterbury; *which corrupt Common-Prayer-Book was the ſole and whole Occaſion of all the Miſeries and Wars that have ſince happened in both Nations.*

It is moſt true that mean and private Actions and Miſtakes have given beginning to the greateſt Calamities, and that the Misfortune of ſending this Book met with an unhappy conjuncture of time, and ſo was laid hold of by diſcontented and ambitious Perſons, as the faireſt Means under colour of preſerving Religion to juſtifie their Deſigns. Nor can I deny but that this Book was the firſt publick Pretence, though really leſs Cauſes (if this were any) made it only be pretended. The one was when His Majesty was in *Scotland* after His Coronation in the Year 1633, He being in *Fife*, either caſually

ally or of purpose miss'd being received by the Earl of *Rothes* hereditary Sheriff of that County, and all his Kindred Followers and Dependents assembled to that purpose. Another, some ill Language that passed at the Council Table between the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* Lord Chancellor, or the Bishop of *Rosse*, and the Earl of *Argyle*; and now this Book being sent and not fully agreeing with that used in *England*, which by Act of Parliament in 1633, was to be received in *Scotland*; the particular Disgust of these Noblemen and their Adherents were masked under the pretence of opposing Innovations, who laid hold of this tumultuous Occasion. Another Observation some Men have made; which is, that *Scotland* (or rather *Scotishmen*) had then for near forty Years enjoyed the Benefit and Sweetness of the Favour of their two native Kings in *England*; that a Prince was born who would have more *English* Affections, especially most of His neerest Servants being of that Nation; which much troubled the *Scots*, and made them glad of any Occasion to enforce a Necessity of their nearer Dependence: To this their Contempt at that time of the *English* Nation being unwarlike, and theirs having so many great Commanders bred in the War of *Germany* then newly come home with Riches and high Reputation, not a little contributed. So as now having a fair Pretence, they failed not to make use of it; and so after many Commissions and Messages between the King and them, a War ensued. But before I say any thing upon it, I must acquaint you that you misreported it, in saying that in this Book (as you remember) *the Communion was but in one kind*; the only Difference being this, that in the Administration the words after the pronouncing *the Body*, &c. *Take and eat or drink this in remembrance*, &c. *were omitted*, agreeable to the Service Book established the second Year of King *Edward* the sixth; whereas in the Liturgy both the one and the other Sentences were expressed and used. Some few other indifferent Changes or Omissions of words there were. And now judge you whether these were half Popish, or a just Cause to necessitate a Rebellion. Another Observation I cannot but make to you, that *throughout this Discourse you give scurrilous and unbeseeming Words and Characters of all the Bishops and Churchmen of both Nations*; which surely is not agreeable to Christianity or any generous Education.

In the ensuing Page you mention *that in* March 1639, *His* Majesty *set forward towards* Scotland, *His Army followed immediately, the Earl of* Arundel *being made General*; *a Man of great*

great Nobility, Courage and Reſolution, whoſe Anceſtors had been Generals ſeveral times againſt the Scots *with excellent Succeſs: That moſt of the Nobility attended the King in this Expedition with great Unwillingneſs, and the Common Souldiers marched moſt unwillingly to this Service: That both Armies many Days accoſted each other but nothing done, either Army being unwilling to attack each other.*

THAT you preciſely mention the beginning of this Expedition, and give a true Character of that moſt noble Perſon then General, is moſt certain; and 'tis as true that my ſelf then attending on the General as his Secretary can as well obſerve to you, where you have miſinterpreted or miſtaken the Actions of that time. For firſt, all the Nobility *except ſome falſe Courtiers and two ſchiſmatical Lords* attended His MAJESTY with great Chearfulneſs, and the common Souldiers and their Officers marched with much Courage and Reſolution. That no Action was performed, lies not upon the King, General, nor the Earl of *Eſſex* then Lieutenant General; but on the Treachery of ſome and Miſcarriage of others. At length the *Scots* humbly petitioning, a Treaty enſued. And here you ſay, that *His* MAJESTY *was moſt greedy of an Union, as appears by the enſuing Story. That Day which was aſſigned for ſome of the* Engliſh *Nobility and* Scots *to treat, and the Earl of* Arundel *began with much Gravity to rebuke the* Scots *for their unadviſedneſs and Rebellion in raiſing Arms againſt their lawful King,* &c. *and this gallant Man was proceeding farther in his Speech and aggravating the* Scots *Offences; when loe unexpectedly His* MAJESTY *entred the Room, called for the Articles the* Scots *deſired to have ratified or conſented unto; ſcarce read them over, but took Pen and Ink immediately and ſigned them without ever adviſing with any of His Council,* &c. By this I will make it appear, that no credit is to be given to any of your Calumnies againſt His MAJESTY, being ſuch as either you have fancied or taken up on truſt, without conſidering whether they are true or falſe ſo they fit your Turn. Yet I cannot deny but you have truly reported the beginning of the Treaty, the General's Speech, and that His MAJESTY came unexpectedly into the General's Tent, where the Commiſſioners ſat: But that He preſently ſigned the Articles is moſt falſe, for the Debate held at leaſt five Days. And whereas you ſay His MAJESTY did it without the Advice of His Council, I can ſay that if ſome of the moſt eminent of His then Council and Commiſſioners had not baſely courted the *Scots*, and conſented to grant them any Conditions, the Articles had not ſo ſoon and eaſily been ſigned, nor the

Scots

Scots been so much encouraged to break them so quickly as they did: And yet neither the General or Lieutenant General were any of those that did so. And that I know this more particularly than any Man now living, Sir *John Borough* my Predecessour and my self were the two only Persons that waited there and drew up the Articles. That most of the Nobility presently upon signing the Articles returned is true, but not in Discontent; and that His MAJESTY stayed behind with a design to have gone to *Edenborough* to have fully settled the Distractions of that Nation, and particularly the Articles of Pacification. Which were, 1. "That their Armies should be im-
" mediately disbanded. 2. All Castles and Forts restored.
" 3. His MAJESTY's Ships to depart the *Frith*. 4. Restitution
" to be made of all Goods seized on. 5. No Mutinies or As-
" semblies to be held without Authority. 6. All Fortifica-
" tions to desist. 7. They to restore His MAJESTY's Subjects
" their Liberties, Lands, *&c.* Upon the signing of which the 16th of *June* in His MAJESTY's Pavilion by the Earls of *Rothes*, *Dumfermling*, *Lowdon*, *&c.* they all declared that they would punctually observe them, and in all things carry themselves as obedient Subjects: As during the Treaty *the Lord* Lowdon *had by a Paper written and signed by himself, declared that their Desires were only to enjoy their Religion and Liberty according to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws of the Kingdom, and would not insist on any that were not such.* But the *English* Forces were no sooner disbanded and their own withdrawn, and so their Fears over, but they continued their Assemblies and kept part of their Forces on Foot; and at *Edenborough* the People outraged the Lord Treasurer and other of the King's Council: Besides, the Earl of *Argyle* and some others of the Nobility (though sent for) refused to attend His MAJESTY at *Barwick*; and the better to countenance their Proceedings, they privately delivered at their parting several Papers to some of their greatest Confederates of the *English* Nobility and others, entituled *Some Conditions of His* MAJESTY's *Treaty with His Subjects of* Scotland *before the* English *Nobility sat down here for remembrance:* Wherein they pretended His MAJESTY had affirmed the lawfulness of their Assemblies, and other matters of that nature not at all mentioned in the Treaty, or part of the Articles. All which considered, His MAJESTY held it not safe to adventure Himself amongst them, and so returned to *London.* Where in *August* following by the Advice of the Council of both Nations, and after many Days Dispute, those of the *Scotish* Nation earnestly pressing it, that pretended

ded Paper and not the Articles of Agreement or Pacification, were by their Order burnt by the Hand of the Hangman; and the Insolencies and Violences of that Nation continuing, and every Day growing higher, (no doubt by the underhand animation of the Factious Party in *England*) as you may find at large in His MAJESTY's Declaration of the whole Proceedings Printed in the Year 1640, their Invasion ensued the end of that Summer.

THE next thing you give account of, is the Defeat of the *Spanish* Fleet on our Coasts in *October* 1639 by the *Hollander*; when you truly and honestly vindicated His MAJESTY either from assisting the *Hollander*, or that the *Spanish* Design was by the King's Procurement for *England*; and yet you know how the Scandal lay on His MAJESTY. And if at that time His MAJESTY should have avowedly appeared for the *Spaniard*, it would have rendred Him more suspected with the factious People, as giving Assistance to a Papist against our Neighbour the *Hollanders*. So that His MAJESTY, as you report, might truly *wish He were well rid of both Navies; and the* Spaniards *Complaint was just, if either the Neglect or Treachery of our Officers unfurnished them of the Ammunition promised them by His* MAJESTY. But to call them to account for it at that time or long after had been a Popish Design, so maliciously ignorant and foolish were those times. I shall only add, that I hope that gallant Man, who then commanded the Royal Navy, whom you commend so much for not fighting against *Rochel*, did his Duty now; and that no part of the Dishonour this Action brought with it can be objected to him.

THEN in Page 99, *you mention the* Scots *taking Arms again, and the King summoning a Parliament in* England, *which would not give a Farthing towards the maintenance of His intended War; and therefore He dissolved it, to the Discontent of the* English *and Encouragement of the* Scots: *Whereupon the* Scots, as you say, *without Invitation entred* England.

THAT the Parliament was principally summoned for Supply against the *Scots* is probably true; and that some of the Commons were so wilful as to prefer the sudden Redress of Grievances before they granted it, shewed their Disaffection. For the present Supply might have been granted, and the Grievances examined and taken away, before either the Money had been levied or the *Scots* had invaded the Kingdom. But though honest Men then saw it not, those who had invited the *Scots*, had by their Obstinacy in denial of Supplies caused the Breach of the Parliament, and had thereby gotten their End; which was to

neceſſitate the calling of another, (this being not abſolute of their Temper) and then to govern by the Countenance of their Friends the *Scots*. And though here you ſay *the* Scots *came in without Invitation*, yet Page 162 you tell us *it matters not who invited them, and that ſome thought* Pym, Hamden, *and ſeveral other Gentleman were inſtrumental; and it is very like it was true, and that the King knew ſo much but could not remedy it.*

HEREUPON I cannot but obſerve to you the Diſhonour you fix on thoſe admired Patriots, as they were held, to make them inſtrumental to ſo high a Treaſon, as to cauſe another Nation to invade their own; and the right you have done to HIS MAJESTY, hereby juſtifying Him in the Accuſation of Treaſon againſt thoſe Men and others guilty of the ſame Crime. Nor is it unworthy your notice (how ſafe ſoever they kept themſelves from legal Puniſhment,) that neither of thoſe, nor any of either Nation that began or fomented our Diviſions have enjoyed the Power and Intereſt they aimed at, or hardly lived to ſee themſelves in any Condition to attain it.

THEN you proceed and ſay *the* Engliſh *would not fight, and that the* Scots *poſſeſſed themſelves of* Newcaſtle.

INDEED had the *Engliſh* ſhewed as much Courage in a good Cauſe as they have ſince done in an evil one, the *Scots* had not got that Place ſo eaſily; but either by the Ignorance, Cowardice or Falſhood of their Commanders in chief, then reſiding at *Newcaſtle*, all the Horſe retreated above forty Miles before the *Scots* without ever facing them; and ſo were harraſſed and had loſt their Courage when they ſhould have employed it. Though ſome of them at the *Scots* paſſing the River *Tyne* at *Newborne*, as the brave Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Lord *Grandiſon*, Commiſſary General *Wilmot*, Sir *John Digby*, and others valiantly behaved themſelves.

NEXT by way of enforcement you ſay, *the Clergy were the Cauſe of this War, and impute it to the High Commiſſion and other bawdy Courts* (as you call them,) *which did horrible Injuſtice againſt the Perſons and Eſtates of any Gentleman that by Misfortune came thither*: And then ſcurrilouſly you fall on Biſhop *Wren* reproaching his Birth, and citing an unhappy, if not a falſe Expreſſion of his, *&c.*

THAT the Malice of the Puritan againſt the Clergy was a great Cauſe of the War, is too evident; but that the Proſecution againſt any Gentleman in their Courts contributed thereunto, is unfit to be ſaid; except the Puniſhment of Hereſie, Schiſm, Inceſt and the like, be juſt Reaſons for the Peoples Hate againſt the Biſhops and their Courts, ſo that they may have

have Liberty *impunè* to continue in their Impieties. For Bishop *Wren's* Birth it is not material, the meaner it was the greater is his Honour, seeing he virtuously got Advancement. And who dares now to reproach your new Grandees for being Butchers, Brewers, Coblers and Weavers? and yet many of them were so. For the unhandsome Expression you lay to his Charge, *that never a Jack Gentleman*, &c. I have it from Men of Truth and Credit that he denies ever to have said it; however his Punishment transcends his Crime, and yet he patiently submits. And it had been happy if all the Clergy had been as truly severe in the punishment of Schism, *&c.* as he was; then probably the swarm of Locusts that hath since devoured the Church and destroyed the King and Government had taken their Flight to other Habitations. Besides, you are mistaken to say that he had his rise by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Favour; for His MAJESTY had so particular Esteem for him, as the Archbishop would not or durst not oppose Him. And you are in an Error to say *his Prosecution of godly Clothiers* (whom you miscal, being factious Sectaries) *brought the Manufacture of Clothing into the United Provinces*, that People being too ingenious to learn any thing from us; though 'tis true we learnt it from them in the time of King *Edward* III. And then like a Man of Blood you conclude, *and yet this wretched* Wren *lives*, &c.

THEN follows a long Story of the Business of *Londonderry* prosecuted by one *Philips*, (*a beggarly Knight of* Ireland, as you call him;) wherein you say, *the Citizens of* London *very gallantly about the beginning of King* James *His Reign sent Colonies thither, and at great Charge setled a Plantation, and had a large Patent from the King; and after thirty Years Possession this* Philips *exhibits his Bill in the Starchamber against the* Londoners, *brought the Cause to a hearing, and got Judgment that their Plantations were forfeited to the King, who as easily swallowed them for His own: This Act so imbittered the Citizens as they would not contribute any Assistance or Money against the* Scots, *though singularly invited thereunto, and had as great Plenty in their Possession as ever.*

FOR the matter of fact or Proceedings in this Cause I can say little, neither reflects it on His MAJESTY; if any Man prosecute a Cause in any Court of Justice, the Judges are to answer for the Judgment they give: Only I have so much Reverence and Respect to Authority, rightly constituted, as to believe it seldom or never errs in publick Affairs, especially where the Judges are unintereſted (as they were in this Cause;) and if any would be corrupt, it lay on the City part

to attempt, who wanted not Money to attempt it; so as Judgment being given for the King, he committed no Fault to lay hold of it, being legally granted Him; and the Citizens being justly outed, were the more ingrateful to refuse to lend His MAJESTY Money in His real Necessities; but if they have not repented it already, they have time enough before them.

AFTER this Digression you acquaint us with the calling of the late Parliament the third of *November* 1640. But for the understanding of what you would say, you intimate, *seeing His* MAJESTY *could not engage the* English *against the* Scots, *He sent into* Ireland *for the then Deputy the Earl of* Strafford, *&c. A Man of the rarest Parts and deepest Judgment of any Man living; whom in* April 1641, *the Commons accuse of several Misdemeanours, Treasons,* &c. *And though he defended Himself as well as any mortal Man, He was found guilty, had His Sentence to die, and did die;* Thomas *Earl of* Arundel *being Lord High Steward. The King signed the Warrant for his Death either by Himself or Commissioners: Thus died* Strafford *the wisest Politician this Nation ever bred.*

To all this being matter of Fact I have little to say, but that you have mistaken the sending for the Deputy of *Ireland* about this time, he having been then in *England* above a Year; and if I mistake not, he was very instrumental in counselling the calling of that and the precedent Parliament, and in that time was created Earl of *Strafford* and made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. Yet I must agree with you, that he was one of the wisest Men our Nation ever bred; and I can add, for any thing I could hear objected to him in Government during his Tryal (when all the Actions of his Life were narrowly sought into) he was one of the most just and honourable. And it will lye as an everlasting Blot on the House of Commons that they so violently sought his Blood: For his pretended Treasons, Tyrannies and Misdemeanours, they were so little proved, and of so slight Natures, as they were not definable by any Law; and Mr. *St. Johns* called them constructive Treasons, an Expression sufficient to shew of what Nature they were. So as that truly I have often wondered that a Man of his severe Temper and Greatness of Power could possibly be guilty of so few Crimes. Yet he must die, and did so, the Day and hour eleven Years past, that I am writing this. And I dare boldly say, there is not the basest Committee Man now in *England*, but has in point of Judicature (besides his Treason) committed more Acts of Oppression and Tyranny over his Superiours and

Equals

Equals than by many Degrees this eminent Perſon was ever guilty of.

And then preſently you add, *that all Men accuſe the King for His Falſeneſs and Cowardice unto this Man; who being ſatisfied in His Conſcience that he was not guilty of Death, yet ſigned a Warrant for it, with the ſame Pen and at the ſame time He ſigned an Act that the Houſes ſhould not be diſſolved without their Conſent; and many affirm the Queen, others that* Hamilton *procured Him to do both theſe things; It matters not who did it or perſuaded Him to it, it was His Ruin.*

If Princes were by Grace or Nature ſo accompliſh'd as never to fall into Temptations, they would be more like Angels than Men; but they are of the ſame Mold, and have Imperfections as well as others. Yet all Circumſtances conſidered, if the doing of an Evil againſt a Man's Conſcience may be excuſed, the King and all Men for Him have much to ſay; for it was the Fury of the enraged Multitude, the Violence of moſt of the two Houſes, the Apprehenſion of the Danger of thoſe of neareſt Relation, and poſſibly of Himſelf, the pretended lawfulneſs of it, and the Opinion in point of Law, the two Houſes having paſſed the Bill; and I fear of ſome of the Biſhops in point of Conſcience, (though by the way, to the Honour of the Biſhop of *London* I heard him cleared by the King) that extorted from His Majesty the ſigning the Commiſſion for the Earl's Condemnation, and conſequently the Warrant for his Execution. So that I would have thoſe who by way of Reproach lay this act to His Majesty's Charge, firſt ſadly and ſeriouſly to conſider if any of them had been in His Majesty's Caſe and Condition at that time, whether they would or could ſo long and vigorouſly have reſiſted ſo ſtrong and violent Temptations, accompanied with ſo horrid a face of Danger as the denial of this Act preſented, and the ſpecious Advantages pretended if His Majesty granted it. But yet all I have ſaid cannot clear His Majesty, who like a Chriſtian both in His Book and at His Death confeſſes His trouble for this Offence, (neither is He ſingle in this acknowledgment.) And as you ſay, truly I believe with the ſame Pen His Majesty ſigned the Act againſt the diſſolving the two Houſes without their Conſent. Whereby (it is ſadly obſervable) He put a Power into the Hands of thoſe who forced Him to do this other Act againſt His Conſcience, to perſecute Him for it; and God Almighty permitted them to do ſo, even to the taking away His Life and deſtruction of His Government. I could ſay ſomething to the Validity of that Act, and by what Artifice it was brought about; but it being

being past Remedy it's to no purpose. Only this, the sole Pretension was to procure Money to pay the Armies then in the North, ard to satisfie the *Scots* 300000*l.* basely voted them by the two Houses for their Invasion and Treason; though presently they procured another Act of Poll-Money to defray these Charges.

After this you relate, that *His* Majesty *in* August 1641, *went into* Scotland *to compose the Differences there*; and then you mention *the Departure of the Queen-Mother (who for Refuge came hither near two Years before, and was as became Him Royally received and defrayed by the King Her Son-in-law) in the Company of* Thomas *Earl of* Arundel; and you say (and 'twas true) *She was a sad Spectacle of Mortality*, and throughout (as becomes you) you give Her due and civil Epithets; and then you proceed saying, *that the King cared not much for the Earl of* Arundel, *being he was of a severe and grave Nature, could not endure Court Novelties and Flatteries, was potent in Allies*, &c. *But the main Cause was because the Earl being Lord high Steward at the Earl of* Strafford's *Tryal, gave his Voice that he was guilty of Treason*, &c. Then after long Discourse of a former Difference between the King and this Earl, you mention *his Death at* Padua *some few Years since, being the last Man of the* English *Nation that maintained the Gravity and Port of the* English *Nobility, brought over the new Building of Brick, to the safety of the City and preservation of the Wood of the Nation. He was a great Patron of decayed Gentry, and being Earl Marshal of* England *carried too strict a Hand over the Commons, for which he was not beloved but rather hated by them; however the Gentry and Nobility owe much to his Memory.*

I have here (though it be not to the matter) fully inserted the Character you have given of this most noble Earl, whom you know I was much obliged unto, as unto him I owe my Introduction into the World, and by that means all the Advancement I had therein; and I am so much a Servant to his Memory and Family as (next to the Royal) I wish it all Prosperity and Honour; and therefore cannot but give you thanks for thus truly representing him; only I shall inform you, that his Strictness to the Commons was for Orders sake, he being a Person as much an *English* Man and of as honourable, just, and legal Principles as any that lived in his time. But that the King cared not for him, or that he was in the House when the Bill pass'd against the Earl of *Strafford*, does not clearly appear to me: And yet at that time I am confident no Person of my Quality was more in his Conversation, or knew more of his

Actions

Actions. Neither can you impute any unthankfulneſs of the King to him or his Family; for though 'tis true his Grandfather the Duke of *Norfolk* loſt his Honour and Eſtate about the Queen of *Scots*, yet both himſelf was reſtored to the Earldom of *Arundel*, and many of his Family received great Advancement by King *James* and this King, nothing being wanting but reſtitution of the Dutchy of *Norfolk* to the Earl; wherein (if it be fit to ſay it) the Omiſſion of King *James* was more, as being nearer in Relation than His MAJESTY was. So as I cannot believe nor ever heard that the Earl ſpake the Words you mention in the Diſpute about the Rectory, having always obſerved him to pay as much (if not more) Reſpect to His MAJESTY than any Man of his Quality. As for the other Words, *It is an ill Dog*, &c. he was too diſcreet to ſpeak them; but if he did, they did not derogate from his Duty and Affection, notwithſtanding he might conceive himſelf neglected.

THE Buſineſs of *Ireland* follows next, but I have fully anſwered that in the beginning, the which gave me the hint for this whole Diſcourſe.

THEN in *November* 1641 you mention *His* MAJESTY's *Return to* London, *and His ſtately Reception there, having been in* Scotland *and ſigned whatever they demanded, or their large Conſciences would require.*

AND yet you cannot but call to mind how the prevailing Party of that Nation two Years after, when the War was at hotteſt and the Advantage on His MAJESTY's part, Ingratefully and Trayterouſly interpoſed, and entred *England* with an Army to the Aſſiſtance of their covenanted Brethren; ſo as by that means His MAJESTY was ruined. But how they are ſince puniſhed by thoſe whom they thus unjuſtly aſſiſted, time has made evident and they now ſufficiently feel.

AFTER this you ſay truly, *that in* January 1640, *a Sea of Misfortune began to fall upon and overwhelm our long continued Happineſs, by the diſagreement of the King and the two Houſes*: And ſpend four whole Pages in telling Stories, ſometimes for, and ſometimes againſt the horrid Tumults; and yet you conclude nothing poſitively, only (leſt you may diſpleaſe) you impute the Cauſes to I know not what *harrowing of the well devoted Citizens by Star-Chamber, High Commiſſion Courts, and Sufferings of Puritans by the Tyranny of Biſhops*; and yet you give not one inſtance of any Perſon of Note or otherwiſe proſecuted in thoſe Courts. And you confeſs none of theſe tumultuous People were Aldermen, Merchants or Common-council Men;

Men; who, if any, muſt have been the People haraſſed as you call it by thoſe Courts. But the truth is they were the Raſcal Multitude, and you know *de Minimis non curat Lex*; ſo as theſe pretended Sufferings could be no cauſe or excuſe for their unparalled Inſolencies. I ſhall therefore briefly put you in mind that the Houſe of Commons upon His MAJESTY's Return from *Scotland*, framed a Remonſtrance to the People of all the pretended Miſgovernments of His MAJESTY's Reign, and paſſed it but by one Vote after Midnight (a Work of Darkneſs) and ſent it to His MAJESTY at *Hampton* Court. And a little before took to themſelves a Guard, and to wind themſelves into the Favour of the ignorant Multitude by deteſtation of Popery and Rebellion, they undertook to ſuppreſs that in *Ireland* newly broken forth; which they ſcandalized His MAJESTY at leaſt to connive at. Then they demanded that the Militia might be put into ſuch Hands as the People might confide in; and fearing to be over-voted by the Lords the Biſhops, all Popiſh Lords or ſuch as they liked not muſt be removed or awed. And theſe were the Cauſes, and the Commons the Fomenter of thoſe Tumults by their Inſtruments Doctor *Burgeſſe*, *Pennington*, *Venne*, *Manwaring*, *Fowke* and others; who went from Houſe to Houſe and brought this *Hidras* Head to *Weſtminſter*, and put in their Mouths to cry out *No Biſhops*, *No Popiſh Lords*, as they had formerly in the ſame tumultuous manner cauſed them to cry for Juſtice againſt the Earl of *Strafford*. This cauſed His MAJESTY to take a Guard of the Train'd-bands, and courteouſly to entertain ſuch Officers and Gentlemen as were then about *London*, affectionate to His Service. And now I cannot but obſerve to you that theſe tumultuous Perſons are the very Men who have juſtly puniſhed the Commons who ſat them on. For of them your Army was firſt compoſed, then by degrees they came to be Officers, then rebelled againſt, accuſed and pulled out of the Houſe as many as they liked not, (and yet you dare not call this Breach of Privilege) and now they command the Shadow of a Parliament to acknowledge them their perpetual Maſters, as well as they did vote themſelves a perpetual Parliament.

IN the next place ſpeaking of His MAJESTY's going to the Houſe of Commons to demand five Members, you ſay, *His* MAJESTY *in His Pourtraiture affirms He went thither to demand Juſtice againſt them for unlawful Confederance to embroil the Kingdom, and that He miſs'd little of procuring Writings to make it good; but had He demanded Juſtice of the Houſe of Commons againſt them, and proved His Charge, He might have had it; but*

Himſelf

Himſelf to attack and be Judge alſo (as He intended) was a matter moſt unequal.

It is a ſad Truth that ours have been the unhappy Times, wherein Kings and Men in Authority have been denied ordinary Juſtice; and this was His Majesty's Caſe at this time. For He believing He had ſufficient Grounds to accuſe theſe Men of Treaſon, cauſed them formally and legally the Day before to be impeached at the Lord's Bar by His Attorney General; but the Lords being then moſt of the ſame Spirit, neglected to do His Majesty juſtice, and to ſecure them as they had done many others, that ſetting by the Impeachment of the Commons, this high Affront and Neglect of His Majesty might induce him with Indignation to go to the Commons Houſe and demand them. Which though you call an *unparrallelled Demand*, was yet but agreeable to Juſtice, which the Lords ought to have afforded His Majesty as well as any private Perſon. And I wonder at your ſaying, that *if His* Majesty *had demanded Juſtice of the Commons, and proved His Charge, He might have had it.* Do not you remember the Denial of ſecuring them by the Lords, their abſenting themſelves and ſheltring in the City, the removal of the Houſe by Committee to *Guildhall*, and the thundring Votes that paſt in their Favour and Protection preſently upon this high pretended Breach of Privilege, with the tumultuous and inſolent Behaviour of the People the next Day, when His Majesty went to the City to demand them, *whom the Citizens* (as you afterwards ſay) *did to their everlaſting Honour protect?* And pray then how could His Majesty have Juſtice againſt them? or indeed what Authority or legal Power had the Commons to judge in this or any other Caſe? But when you ſay to *attach and be Judge alſo was moſt unequal*, may not any Man apprehend a Thief that robs him, or accuſe any Man of Felony or Treaſon? And does the Law give the King leſs Privilege than a Cobler? Neither did the King make Himſelf Judge, but Accuſer; the Evidence given againſt them would have either condemned or cleared them. But perchance you will ſay, the Crimes were againſt Himſelf, and ſo He did ill to proſecute them; but can you or any Man tell me, that Treaſon can be (or was ever till now) committed againſt any but the Perſon of the King? and may not the King deſire Juſtice againſt a Traitor by His own Proſecution, as properly as if another had done it? Neither by their being Members of the Houſe, had they any Privilege not to be anſwerable for Treaſon or Felony, being by the Law liable to Puniſhment for the leaſt Breach of the Peace.

BUT how prepoſterouſly and rebellioufly theſe Members were by an high Hand protected againſt His MAJESTY, and eight Days after in a Triumphant manner with their trained Bands of the City by Land, and the Seamen by Barges, and Lighters (furniſhed with Artillery) on the Water brought again to the Houſe, is horrid to remember; and tis more ſad to call to mind that His MAJESTY's Lenity in this Action did Him ſo much Miſchief; for had He when He miſt them in the Houſe of Commons apprehended others as malicious againſt Him, or in fury deſtroyed them in the Houſe, (as He might have done) His End had not been more deplorable than what it was. Neither if His MAJESTY could have been induced about that time with Force to have calmed theſe Tumults, He had not wanted Power; for I know the then Lord Mayor, moſt of the Aldermen and eighteen of the twenty four Companies of the City would have been at His Devotion; and ſo all the nobler and wiſer Part of the Gentry then about *London*. So likewiſe when the Rebellion began, if He would either have given way, or ordered the violent taking of ſome few of the Principal before the Hidras Head was multiplied, 'tis more than probable the War had not proceeded. So that upon the whole matter His MAJESTY's Clemency contributed more to His own Ruin than any Act of neceſſary Severity He could have done, and yet your Party (to juſtifie themſelves) give Him the barbatous and falſe Title of *Tyrant*.

IN the enſuing Page, *you relate His* MAJESTY's *Deſertion of* London, *and the humble Deſires of His Parliament for His Return*; but you forbear to mention the inſolent Demands that always accompanied thoſe Deſires.

THEN follows an account of *the Queen's going into* Holland, *and the King to* York, *and a ſlight mention of the two Houſes, poſſeſſing themſelves of His* MAJESTY's *Magazine in* Hull, *and how Sir* John Hotham *in* April *denied His* MAJESTY *Entrance into that Town*; but you do well not to juſtifie either *Hotham* or his Maſters for that Act (the real Cauſe and beginning of our Miſeries) except it be true, that it was juſt, becauſe it was proſperous. And yet what was the End of *Hotham* and his Son you cannot forget. And though the Earl of *Warwick* at that time ſeized on the Navy and imployed it againſt His MAJESTY; yet you have heard him ſuſpected, deprived of His Office, and then of His Honour and Privileges by aboliſhing of the Lord's Houſe, and laſtly to renounce His Birthright by taking the Engagement.

AND

AND now you ſay *the Parliament having perfect Intelligence that His* MAJESTY *would raiſe an Army againſt them, began to conſider their preſent Condition, and whom to make their General, and how to raiſe Money.*

BUT you do not tell us how they had enabled themſelves to begin their Rebellion, in ſeizing His Magazines and protecting Sir *John Hotham* againſt Him; putting, by their own Authority, the Militia of the Kingdom into the Power of their Confederates; raiſing mighty Sums by the Contribution of the wanton giddy Multitude; and chooſing for their General *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, before His MAJESTY had thought of, I am ſure before he could put Himſelf in any Poſture of Defence. *And if the Earl had refuſed that Command*, as you ſay, *your Cauſe in all likelihood had ſunk in the beginning, you having never a Nobleman either willing or capable of it.*

AND yet you have lived to ſee this Nobleman's Ingratitude to the King (whoſe Father had reſtored him being attainted, and Himſelf made him His Chamberlain and of His Privy Council) fully repayed, even by thoſe whoſe unjuſt Quarrel he undertook; and himſelf diſgraced and outed of his Command, to advance a Perſon in Quality and Parts much his Inferior; and laſt of all to dye, not without Suſpicion of Poyſon by their Means; and to have all his Friends and Partizans diſgraced and ruined.

AFTER the War was declared by voting this Earl your General, and to live and dye with him, you report that *His* MAJESTY *wandred up and down without Money or Supply of any Magazine; but thoſe of the Northern Counties, which He ſeized on pretending the Safety of His Perſon and People.*

AND pray had He not good and juſt Reaſon to do ſo, your Maſters having before hand deprived Him of His own, and employing it againſt Him?

THEN you mention *the ſetting up of the Standard at* Nottingham, *the Ignorance of the Heraulds or thoſe about His* MAJESTY *in ſetting it up, and that it was ſo rocky as no place could be made where it might be fixt; that many made ominous Conſtructions of it, and that in eight or ten Days very few appeared or liſted themſelves.*

ALL this is little to the purpoſe, or the Omen conſiderable; 'tis true very few appeared at it, the Law being ſo old and the Practice ſo rare, as very few underſtood their Duty in coming as they ought; ſo that if your General had then advanced he muſt neceſſarily have ſurprized the King, removed His Evil Councellors and brought Him to His Parliament, thoſe being

then all the Pretences they durſt avow for their taking up Arms.

WHAT ſucceeded afterwards in the proſecution of the War, you mention not, and I more unwillingly and ſadly call to mind.

YET you add, that *all the Remainder of His Life afterwards was a meer Labyrinth of Sorrow and a continued and daily Misfortune, unto which it may ſeem Providence had ordained Him from the very Entrance into His Reign.*

THAT God Almighty has permitted His rebellious People to entangle Him in a Labyrinth of Sorrow, and laſtly to deſtroy Him, is too evident; but that His MAJESTY in any Degree, or by unjuſt Means drew this Misfortune upon Himſelf, all that you have already ſaid or by way of review lay to His Charge in the enſuing Pages cannot make it appear.

FOR firſt, though *He lived to ſee the Duke of* Buckingham *ſtabbed, the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *and the Earl of* Strafford *beheaded*, whom you call *His Favourites*, it was for their Fidelity and Duty to Him they principally ſuffered; and they were wicked and ſacrilegious Men (not His MAJESTY) that ruined the Church and Churchmen. That *He ſaw many of the Nobility and their Families ruined for His ſake*, is true; but their Duty and their Zeal to preſerve the Liberties and Laws of the Kingdom induced them to run that Hazard, and it was pity they and their Maſter the King were not more fortunate. But that *He cared not for, or was ingrateful to the Nobility*, is untrue; and if ſome Men of great Titles now living amongſt you, and others that are dead, had not been moſt ingrateful to Him, His Fortune might have been better, and their Honours and Memories leſs odious than they are.

NEITHER were thoſe you next mention behind in point of ingratitude to His MAJESTY. *The* Scots *His Countrymen, on whom* (as you truly ſay) *though He beſtowed ſo many Favours, He lived to ſee in Arms againſt Himſelf; to ſell Him for more Money than the Jews did Chriſt, and themſelves after to be routed and ſold for Knaves and Slaves; they made their beſt Market of Him at all times, changing their Affection with His Fortune.*

THESE are your own words, which (the times diſtinguiſhed) cannot be denied to be moſt true; though in oppoſition to the traiterous Faction of Presbyterian Covenanters, there was a conſiderable number of Noble Perſons in that Nation, who under the excellent Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, then with Duke *Hamilton*, and lately with His now MAJESTY, that heartily

engaged

engaged to regain their Honour and reeſtabliſh His MAJESTY's Throne: But it ſeems moſt of them having been guilty in the beginning of ſome Defection from their Loyalty, it was never after in their Power to do good; ſo as the Compariſon of *the Black Witch* you unhandſomly apply to His MAJESTY in the Diſcourſe of *Rochel*, may properly be applied to them, as that *they had Power to do evil, but no Ability or Succeſs in doing good.* And yet I muſt confeſs there are treble the Examples of loyal and worthy Perſons of that Nation to that of ours, that having from the beginning ſtoutly aſſerted His MAJESTY's Cauſe, I have for it ſuffered on the Scaffold and otherwiſe, and that done to ſatisfie the Blood-thirſtineſs of the Presbytery and their Party. **Than whom there is not under Heaven in any Profeſſion of Religion, Chriſtian or otherwiſe, a more arrogant, hypocritical, trayterous and bloody People.** But their Turn is now come; and that Idol the Covenant, which they more adored than the Scripture, and preached for the Obſervation of it more than the Commandments, is broken to pieces, and their Tyranny at an end; and God knows how neat that of your Grandees may be, who are no leſs guilty of Ingratitude and Treaſon to their lawful King than the others have been.

IT follows that you ſay *His* MAJESTY *almoſt beggered the old Prince of* Orange.

AND yet that Prince died before His MAJESTY in Plenty and height of Honour.

AND for the *Hollanders*, if as you affirm *they were courteous to Him for their own Ends, furniſhing Him with Arms at ſuch Rates as a* Turk *might have had them elſewhere; and that they neither loved Him in Proſperity or pitied Him in Adverſity.*

THE Fault was not His MAJESTY's, and if they now find their Error, they have yet Means left to recover themſelves. That *His* MAJESTY *lived to ſee thouſands of the City of* London *in Arms againſt Him* (whom He never injured or oppreſſed as you pretend) is moſt true, to their perpetual Infamy; and if Credit may be given to your laſt Almanack, their Puniſhment is not far off.

THAT *He lived to be ſo unhappy as to find the two Houſes* (by their Treaſon) *to be ſuperior to Him in Power*, is too evident; but that to His Death He acknowledged them His Superiors, can never be proved; ſo as by Oppreſſion, not Juſtice, they ſcorned Him and deſtroyed Him.

THAT

THAT He *had no perfect Correſpondency with* Spain, is partly true, His Intereſt or Inclination poſſibly induced it; and it may be to give Satisfaction to the ingrateful Puritans, to whom that Friendſhip was ſo odious, as they made the Hatred natural by infuſing it into their Children.

WHEN you ſpeak of *France* you miſtake it, for with that Crown He had Amity; as for the Proteſtants and Papiſts there, they are Subjects and involved in the Actions of their King: But for the firſt, I fear too many of them were corrupted with the fair Pretence of advancing the Goſpel, though ſince His MAJESTY's Death their Eyes are opened: For the other, your Actions are ſo odious to them, as that I am confident were they at Peace amongſt themſelves, 20000 Gentlemen of that Nation would willingly ſacrifice their Lives in His MAJESTY's Quarrel.

THAT Denmark *could not endure him*, is untrue; that King and His MAJESTY having always perfect Friendſhip and Correſpondence.

AND for *the high Words of* Sweden, ſure you have forged them; and ſo, I believe, your affirmation that *the Princes of* Germany *loathed his Name*, He having had little to do with them or they with Him.

FOR *Portugal*, His MAJESTY put the firſt Obligation on Him; and to ſpeak truth, that King was ever to His Power ready to ſerve Him.

THAT *His* MAJESTY *had ſeveral Opportunities for His Reſtitution*, is not ſo poſitively true as you affirm; for all the Treaties His MAJESTY had were broken by the inſolent and ſtiff Propoſitions of the two Houſes, who would never recede from their Demands of the Militia and the Deſtruction of the Church; and, whilſt the *Scots* and they were dear Brethren, from impoſing on His MAJESTY their hypocritical Covenant.

FOR *His* MAJESTY's *Omiſſion of Proſecution of Victories*, none of thoſe you mention were in His abſolute Power; as after the Defeat of *Eſſex* in *Cornwall*, or the taking of *Leiceſter* to have ſpeedily come to *London*; and had you ever been abroad in Armies, you would then ſee they have not Wings to fly at all Advantages. I could ſay much to clear this, but now 'tis to no purpoſe. 'Tis true, had His MAJESTY after the taking of *Briſtol* marched directly to *London* and the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* then done the ſame, much might have been done; but His MAJESTY knew His own Strength, and poſſibly apprehended yours greater than it was; beſides, *Glouceſter* was not believed ſo ſtrong as it proved; and had it been gotten, all *Wales*

and

and the Forces thereof had been free to have assisted and encreased His MAJESTY's Forces, which were then employed necessarily to defend themselves. I know the besieging of that Town had been objected as pernicious Counsel, but I hope (nay am confident) no Man that advised it did it with design to preserve your Party and destroy his own.

YOUR last Story is, that *at the Treaty of the* Isle of Wight, *the Lord* Say *hindred His* MAJESTY *from signing the Propositions, by making Him believe he should come to His Authority upon easier Terms.*

Now although it be hard to prove a Negative, I am (and I believe with good Reason) of another Opinion. For having the Honour by His MAJESTY's particular Nomination to wait on him at that time, I am sure that if that Lord had ever privately been with His MAJESTY, or at least had given Him that Counsel, I should have known it by some means or other. And it were a Sin to belie the Devil. How *Treacherous* and *Backsliding* (to use your own Words) that Lord hath been to the King and your Party you know; but you mention not how that at the conclusion of the Treaty, when His MAJESTY's Concessions were voted satisfactory even by the House of Commons, that the Army made Him their Prisoner, then purged the House of above fifty of their Members (and yet who dare call this Breach of Priviledge?) After that they hurried Him from Place to Place, then brought Him to an unheard of Court of Justice, composed of His mortal Enemies, who were both Parties, Accusers and Judges; before whom He carried Himself with that Serenity and Magnamity as became so great and excellent a King. However had He been as innocent as our Saviour He must have died, and did so by their unparallelled Cruelty the 30th of *January* 1648, and to perpetuate their Malice, they barbarously caused His Statue in the *Royal Exchange* to be thrown down, and in its Place as you mention, Engraved these Words.

EXIT TYRANNUS REGUM ULTIMUS ANNO LIBERTATIS ANGLIÆ RESTITUTÆ PRIMO, *Anno Domini* 1648. *Jan.* 30.

BUT they might have better and more truly have written.

EXIT REGUM OPTIMUS ANNO INFIMÆ SERVITUTIS ANGLIÆ PRIMO, *Anno Domini* 1648. *Jan.* 30.

LAST

LAST of all you say *many have hardly censured the Parliament for cutting off the King's Head*; but you refer them to a Book written in defence of that Action by one *Goodwin*, *which* you say *is incomparably well penned and unanswerable*; *proving they did no other thing but Justice, and what in Conscience they were bound to do for Preservation of the Common Wealth.*

I am sorry to find you are satisfied this execrable Act was just; I thank God I am of another Opinion; and yet I agree so far with your Author, as that your Masters, to secure their Guilt, held it necessary for the preservation of themselves, and that Common-wealth they had designed to erect. For as the Poet makes *Catiline* speak in the Tragedy, they might well say *the Ills that we have done cannot be safe, but by attempting greater.* Cowards and guilty Men never thinking themselves secure till those they fear and have justly offended are in their Graves. But had they known or believed Him to have been so much a Christian as He was, (I have so much Charity as to believe) they would have taken other Resolutions; for really He had the least Revenge in His Nature of any Man living; and I have heard Collonel *Graves*, one of your Party that had the Guard of Him at *Holmby*, often say, that he did believe His MAJESTY to be a Person of so great Mercy and Goodness as that if it were possible for Him to live again, He could freely pardon all those who had contributed to His Death.

TO summ up all, as in the midst of His Discourse I have made it appear that your Premisses (even by your own Expressions) make not your Conclusion good; *That His* MAJESTY *was a Medly between Virtue and Vice.* So now having fully cleared Him from those other Imputations of an higher Nature, especially in point of Government, and which were only Faults for want of Success; I must now tell you that the particulars doe not justifie your last Conclusion, *viz. That He was generally unfortunate in the World in the Esteem both of Friends and Enemies, His Friends exclaim on His Breach of Faith, His Enemies would say He could never be fast enough bound. He was more lamented as a King than for any Affection any had to His Person as a Man.* Yet for your part you do believe *He was not the worst but the most unfortunate of Kings.*

ALTHOUGH it is very true the ill-Success of His MAJESTY's Affairs *rendred Him unhappy in the esteem of all Men*, yet by nothing you have said, or that any Man can say, will it ever appear *that His Friends exclaimed on His Breach of Faith.* As for His Enemies (if you mean His rebellious Subjects) they had

had Reaſon to ſay ſo, the better to juſtifie their Actions againſt Him, and to anſwer thoſe who might induce them to Peace and Obedience.

THAT *He was more lamented as a King than as a Man* may well be true; becauſe in that Capacity God and Nature had placed Him, and ſo great Changes and Ruin depended on His. But as a Man, all that knew Him and the Perfection of His Life, and Excellency of His Converſation could not but as much pity Him and the ſad Calamities that attended Him: Whence I may and muſt juſtly conclude Him to have been the beſt, though the moſt unfortunate of all our Kings.

AND now I owe ſo much in Duty and real Gratitude to His late MAJESTY's Memory, as though it be a great Preſumption, and withall extreamly difficult for my weak Parts in any degree to perform it; yet I ſhall humbly endeavour ſo to repreſent Him, as that both as a Man and as a King He had more of Virtue and leſs of Vice than commonly attends either Men or Kings; and He being both, thoſe Virtues that He had are the more to be valued, and His Errours the more excuſed.

FIRST towards God, the daily Exerciſe of His private and publick Devotions, with the Tranquillity of His Mind at His Death ſhews Him to have been a pious Chriſtian and no Hypocrite; and no leſs did His particular Regard of the Church and Churchmen, and His advancing of the moſt eminent of that Profeſſion for Piety, Order and Learning.

TOWARDS Man, take Him dividedly from His Office, He was for Sobriety, Temperance, Chaſtity, conjugal Fidelity, Providence, Affability and the like, equal to any Man of any Rank; for though many are chaſt they are not always temperate, and ſo of the reſt; but for a King to have all theſe, and in an exemplar Degree as His MAJESTY had, it rendred Him the more eminent and to be admired, becauſe He only *impunè* might have been otherwiſe.

THEN look upon Him in His double Capacity, both as a Man and as a King, and you will find Him to have been Prudent, Juſt, Couragious, Bountiful, Conſtant to His Principles, Faithful in Friendſhip, Merciful, Magnificent, a Lover of Order, and the like; and ſurely that Prince that hath all or moſt of theſe cannot be but truly virtuous.

AND firſt, that He was Prudent appears by the Regularity and Moderation of His Government for the ſpace of ſixteen Years before the Rebellion; and His being in Amity with all the Princes and States of *Europe*, whereby the Trade and Com-

merce of the Nation was highly advanced, and the then Happineſs of His Condition the Envy of Chriſtendom.

NEXT that He was Juſt evidently appears, for neither Ambition or Self-intereſt induced Him to break a League abroad, or to fail (if deſired) to aſſiſt His Allies and Confederates; and at home no Man ſuffered on the Block, or were the Widows or Fatherleſs undone to ſatisfie the Revenge, Avarice or Ambition of any in Authority about Him; but all Men had Juſtice equally done them, and none were puniſhed but for Breach of ſome known Law, and never to pleaſe His Paſſions or Affections.

THAT He was Couragious is ſufficiently manifeſt by His frequent expoſing Himſelf without Fear or Apprehenſion of Danger during the War; His magnanimous Behaviour before thoſe who were ſtiled His Judges, and His Contempt of Death when they forced it on Him.

THAT He was Bountiful, how many Examples are there of Men raiſed by it; and of Penſions and Gifts to many of the Nobility and Gentry of both Nations, and to the Widows and Children of ſuch as merited well from Him? and if all of them have proved grateful they are the happier.

THAT He was Conſtant to His Principles is moſt evident, by admitting no change in Himſelf of the Religion He was bred in, nor of willingly altering the ancient Government either in Church or State.

THAT He was Faithful in Friendſhip, His great Affection to the Duke of *Buckingham* and care of His Poſterity makes it manifeſt; His kindneſs likewiſe to many of His Nobility and Servants is well enough known; and if He was forced at laſt to quit the Earl of *Strafford* to the Fury of the People, He was the firſt that ſeverely blamed Himſelf for it.

THAT He was Merciful, the whole courſe of His Actions and Government declares; though 'tis true thoſe that had moſt need of it kept themſelves out of His Power, or being Subjects of it, when they had Him in their Power unmercifully deſtroyed Him.

THAT He was Magnificent and a Lover of Order appears by the Entertainment of the Queen-Mother, Reception of Ambaſſadours, Regularity of His Court and Attendance, Solemnity of His Service, State of ſolemn Feaſts, Riches of His Houſhold-ſtuff, and by His pious Care and great Expence in the rebuilding the Weſt end of St. *Paul*'s Church, with His deſign to have new built His Palace at *Whitehall*.

Notwithstanding all which and many other Endowments, He was a Man and ſo not perfect, and a King and ſo moſt ſubject to obſervation; by which Means thoſe few Defects He had (being miſapplied by falſe ambitious People in the conjuncture of unhappy times) contributed to the Evils their Malice brought upon Him.

A few words of the many Propheſies, Rythms and Predictions you mention in the beginning of your Diſcourſe, and thence conclude Monarchy in our unhappy Iſland to be at an end, and then I have done. And I ſhall be the briefer becauſe you know I underſtand them not, nor much regard them. And firſt I ſhall not contend whether that which goes under the Name of *Grebnerus*, and owned by the Royal Party, or that other you mention be the truer Copy; or whether any or either of them were written by him, though by the way many Perſons of Credit have affirmed they have ſeen and read the firſt long ſince in the Library of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*; and I my ſelf about three Months ſince converſed with a Perſon of Quality and Parts born at *Hamburgh*, that reading it where I then was, ſaid that the very ſame Prediction *verbatim* was in a Book then in his Cuſtody given by the Author to his Grandfather; and pray why may it not as probably ſucceed, eſpecially if your State and this of *Holland* diſagree? the Intereſts of *France*, *Denmark* and *Swede* being more to join with theſe, and aſſiſt our King, than to make Alliances with your Maſters, whoſe Power is ſo new and violent, and who are ſo factious, falſe and perfidious, as that no ſettled Conſtitution of Government can with Juſtice or Prudence think it long ſafe to join in Amity with them. Thus much for that of *Grebnerus*. The reſt are old Rythms fathered upon Men of hard Names, and kept by phantaſtick People; who, as times have ſerved, have probably either diminiſhed, added or commented on them; and yet they are ſtill ſo obſcure, as no certain Concluſion can be drawn from them, to denote either the Perſon or Fate of the King, as you fancy they do: But on the contrary, if any Credit is to be given to them, they in many places ſeem to ſpecifie the better Fortune of Him and His Poſterity: But thoſe you mention not, publiſhing only what might ſerve your turn to delude the People.

As firſt to uſe your own words Page 29 you ſay, *becauſe I will give full Satisfaction to the three Nations of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *and beat all our Enemies with their own Weapons*, viz. *with real Propheſies, give me leave to repeat a* Scotiſh *Propheſie or two, real ones, and not corrupt or counterfeit,*

or such as are in private Hands or Libraries, but such as were publickly printed at Edenborough *by* Andrew Hart 1617; *in which you will see the sad Fate of the present King, and now present Miseries long time disputed before the Arrival of our Men and Ships; those were dedicated to King* James, *and are intitled thus,* Priscæ Scotorum Prophesiæ: *They begin* Scotia Mœsta dole: *I will only repeat them englished at the same time by a* Scotishman, *when they little dreamed of our invading them.*

Now before I insert the Prophesie, I will take the Freedom to tell you, you have abused the three Nations; first in applying it to the present King, any Man of Reason and common Sence perceiving it more particularly to denote the sad Fate of the late King, and the Punishment of that Nation for their Treachery to Him, as is to be observed in the first eight Verses.

Next you have omitted all the Lines from the seventeenth to the three and twentieth Verse; and good Reason, for they made against you, because they particularly pointed out a King. Wherefore to let others see how little Credit is to be given to what you publish, I have *verbatim* transcribed the whole Prediction, and leave the Judgment of it to all indifferent Persons, whether seeing one part of it hath already succeeded, we may not expect the fulfilling of the rest; if so, neither shall *Scotland* be without a King, or your Masters long continue Tyrants and Usurpers as they are.

The Prophecy is truly as followeth.

Scotland be sad now and lament the Child that thou hast lost,
Bereft of King falsly undone, by thy own kindly Host,
Alas the Freeborn are become and deceit is thy fall,
Thy Falshood to the Brutish Blood, hath brought thee into thrall,
The Grave of the most noble Prince, to all is great regreat,
Not subject to Law, who did leave the Kingdom and Estate.
Oh! languish great where every kind and Age doeth lament,
Whom bitter Death hath tane away shall *Scotland* sore repent.
Lately a Land which of encrease a Nation stout and true,
Hath lost their former dear Estate, which they did hold of due,
By hard conflict and by chance of mobile Fortunes Force,
Thy Hap and thy Prosperity is turned into worse,
Thou wont to win now is subdued and come in under Yoke,
A Stranger reigns and doth destroy what like with Sword stroke.
The *English* Race whom neither Force nor manner doth approve,
Wo is to thee by guilt and slight is only win above,

The

The mighty Nation was to fore invincible and ſtout,
He's yielded low to Deſtiny great pity is but doubt.
In former Age the *Scots* Renown did flouriſh goodly gay,
But now all leſs is ever clad with a great dark Decay.
Then mark and ſee what is the cauſe of this ſo wondrous Fall,
Contempt of Faith, Falſhood, Deceit, the Wrath of God withal.
Unſatiable greed of Worlds gain, oppreſſion ays of Poor,
Perpetual ſlandrous Race, no Juſtice put in ure.
The haughty Pride of mighty Men of former Vice chief Cauſe,
The Nurriture of Wickedneſs and unjuſt Match of Laws.
Therefore this Caſe the Prophets old of long time did Preſage,
As now hes happened every point into this our preſent Age.
Since Fate is ſo now *Scotland* learn in Patience to abide,
Slanders, great Fears, and ſudden Plagues, and Dolores more beſides.
For out of thee there ſhall ariſe with divers Happineſs,
And yet a Pen can hardly write thy Hurt, Skaith and Diſtreſs.
The *Engliſh* Nation ſhall invade, *&c.*

THUS far you have publiſhed it truly, though the laſt half Verſe is the beginning of the three and twentieth; I ſhall therefore add the reſt you have purpoſely omitted as followeth.

BUT yet beware thou art diſtruſt altho' overwhelm'd with Grief,
Thy ſtroke is not perpetual for thou ſhalt find Relief.
I do ſuppoſe although too late old Prophecies ſhall hold,
Hope then in God's Goodneſs and Mercies manifold.
For thou that now a patient art, and ſeemeſt to be bound,
At liberty ſhat free be ſet and with Empire renownd.
From high above ſhall Grace come down and thy State *Scotland* be
In late end more proſperous than former Age did ſee.
Old Prophecies foretel to thee a warlike Heir bees born,
Who ſhall recover now his Right, advance his Kingdom's Horn.
Then ſhall the *Scots* Sword meat with Blood and Slaughter
which they make,
The King Himſelf Revenger ſhall the guilty Troops down wrack.
The *Engliſh* Nation ſhall invade but not eſcape a Plague,
With Sword, with Thirſt, with Teers and Peſt, with Fear
and ſuch like Ague.
And after Enemies be thrown down and maſtered by Weir,
Then *Scotland* in Peace quietly paſs joyful Days for ever.

I could make as pertinent Obſervations upon your Omiſſions of many other Rithms or part of them you have applied to your frivolous Conception *we ſhould have no more Kings*:

But

Bnt that I am weary of what I have done herein already; though I cannot pass by that mentioned by you Page 53, which is *Deinde pullus Aquilæ nidificabit in summo Rupe totius Britanniæ, &c.* and in another Copy in *Summo Rupium*, which you *Engliſh* that after the Death of the white King, the Chicken of the Eagle ſhall build in the higheſt Rocks of *Britany*; and then pray metaphorically what is the ſignification of theſe words, *building his Neſt*, but his having Dominion in the greateſt Places of Strength? which is not yet fulfilled ſince the Death of the white King, whom you conclude to be the late King *Charles*; however your words in the enſuing Page (if they may be believed in their Effects, for they are moſt true in their Cauſe) give us ſome Satisfaction; and although the Royal Party and Monarchy is yet under foot, yet the Authors of it ſhall not long enjoy the Benefit of their unjuſt Uſurpation; for to uſe your own words, *It alſo relates that this very Government as it is now eſtabliſhed ſhall not for many Years continue; for although God hath made this Parliament and Army inſtrumental to begin that great Work intended by Him; yet in regard of the many Failings of Parliament and Army, they ſhall neither of them have ſo much Honour as to build unto God that perpetual and heavenly Tabernacle of Glory which muſt be ere long erected, or that earthly Structure upon Earth of human Goverument ſhortly to appear; no, ſome of them have been Men of Blood, of Covetouſneſs, Self-ends, Oppreſſion and Bribery; others ſo full of Corruption and Self-intereſt, as they ſhall have no Honour in acting ſuch high Matters as in few Years muſt be performed*, &c. Theſe are your own Words: Pray mark them well, for if neither Parliament nor Army ſhall have the Honour to act *theſe high Matters*, &c. It is for the reaſons you give, that *they are Men of Blood, Covetouſneſs, Self-ends, Bribery, Oppreſſion, Corruption, &c.* and then what Maſters do you ſerve and adore? and how are ye and ſhall be puniſhed for your Rebellion, Treaſon and barbarous Cruelty on the Perſon of our late King? Be your own Judges, for ſurely a ſevere Account will be had of His Blood and all that ſpilt in the moſt horrid Rebellion.

And now though I pretend not at all to Propheſying, yet methinks I ſee ſo far before me as to tell you your own Fate, and that you have been a Perſon of late Years ſo full of Self-intereſt, as that you ſhall not ſee the happy Days you mention; for though by your Predictions you have encouraged your Party, and done as much Miſchief in ſtirring up the People as any Man, and yet you know few Men love to be upbraided

with

with their Beginnings, or to be told by whoſe means they riſe; and although by falſe Prophecies, Mutinies, Tumults, and at length by open Rebellion, your Maſters have got their Power, they will now be too wiſe by the ſame means to loſe it; ſo as their Commonwealth being (as they believe) eſtabliſhed, they will pluck up the Degrees by which they aſcended; and if you leave not writing or give them any more ſuch true Characters as I lately recited, who can blame them to put the Laws in Execution againſt you, or to baniſh or otherwiſe treat you as an Incendiary and ſeditious Perſon? This I write to you as a Friend, who once believed and eſteemed you a Perſon of much Loyalty and Integrity and honeſt Principles; and it is never too late to be wiſe and to repent.

Hague 24 *May* 1652.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

INCONVENIENCES

That have attended the

FREQUENT PROMOTIONS

TO

Titles of Honour and Dignity

SINCE

King JAMES came to the Crown of ENGLAND.

BY

Sir *EDWARD WALKER*, Knight,

Garter Principal KING of ARMS, 1653.

Titles of Honour and Dignity

TO

PREGNANT PROMOTIONS

AND

INCONVENIENCES

ARISING FROM THE

OBSERVATION

Obſervations upon the Inconveniences that have attended the frequent Promotions to Titles of Honour and Dignity ſince King James *came to the Crown of* England.

IN this buſie and pernicious Age wherein we live it is ſadly obſervable, that not only the Minds of Men are ſubject to vary from the ſettled Principles of Government left them by their wiſer Anceſtors; but even to arrogate ſo much to themſelves and the private Abilities of their Underſtandings, as to be able to modelize *de novo* both their Religion, Obedience, and even their natural Diſpoſition. And this fantaſtick Humour (to give it no worſe term) hath more poſſeſſed the Brains of thoſe of our Iſland than any other People; and like a Whirlwind hath violently deſtroy'd the glorious Monarchy under which we ſo happily lived. But to ſearch into the immediate Cauſes were to enter into the ſecrets of the Almighty, who hath permitted this great and heavy Affliction to fall both on King and People; yet can it not be denied, but that He hath likewiſe given all of them Tempers to cooperate therein, nothing having happened miraculouſly (how horrid ſoever) but a concatenation of Cauſes and Accidents hath by force induced this fatal Alteration. And although comparing both the Life and Government of the late moſt pious and juſt King with the beſt of all His Royal Progenitors, it will be found rather ſuperiour than ſhort of any of them; yet the ſmall Seeds ſown in the King His Father's time, and again nouriſhed and planted by Him, have both grown up and contributed very much to His Misfortune. But yet I would not be miſtaken to impute any Crime to the Actions I ſhall briefly diſcourſe of, they being rather the Acts of Grace, Bounty and Reſpect from thoſe Kings to their People, and ſuch as moſt commonly when they were done were not viſibly Defects in Government but probably the contrary. But now ſad Experience having brought them to Light, it is no Preſumption to name what they are, and to diſcover their Natures and the Inconveniences that have attended them. And though poſſibly it

may be ſaid they are of little conſideration, and of ſmall concernment in point of Government; yet whoever ſhall duly weigh them ſhall truly find that even thoſe Acts of Grace and Bounty in advancing ſo many Perſons in the three Kingdoms to the degrees of Nobility, have circumſtantially as much induced the change of our happy State, as any other Actions that have concurred thereunto. For as the Proceedings of former Princes in the wary diſpenſing of Honours ſupported the Royal Dignity; ſo the multiplication of Titles, and the expoſing of them to Perſons of no publick Merit in their Families or Fortunes, hath weakned and abuſed it. And to make this evident, it will be firſt material to examine the Nature and Quality of Nobility itſelf, in His MAJESTY's Dominions; for though the appellations of Duke, Marqueſs, Earl, *&c.* are the ſame throughout *Europe*, yet in ſeveral Monarchies they have ſeveral Privileges. For in *France* all but that of Duke and Peer are but empty Titles: In *Spain* only thoſe are of high Eſteem that are qualified as Grandees: And in the Empire, principally the Electors and ſome other Princes have Power and Intereſt: But in *England* and the reſt of His MAJESTY's Dominions, all Perſons of the Major Nobility (from the loweſt Baron to the eldeſt Son of the King incluſive) are Peers of the Kingdom, have Place and Voices in the Parliaments, as a diſtinct Body have Power by Majority of Voices to alter, reject, or affirm ſuch Bills as are by the Commons prepared and brought unto them, and which after having the Royal Aſſent become Laws, and likewiſe Power of Judicature in reverſing of erroneous Judgments given at Law; they are not for any Offence to be judged but by their Peers; their Bodies are not ſubject to Arreſts; nor are they obliged (being examined) to anſwer by their Oaths, but upon their Honours; and out of them the great Officers of the Kingdom, eſpecially in Military Affairs, have in all times been elected, and ſome of thoſe are and have been Hereditary to particular Families. Theſe and ſome others (which at preſent occurr not to my Memory) are the Privileges of the Major Nobility, and by which, eſpecially in the time of Parliament, they are in a Capacity of advancing or oppoſing the good of the King and Kingdom. To add to this, all thoſe degrees of Nobility are Hereditary, and ſo a perpetual Power and Intereſt is inveſted in them and their Poſterities. As therefore were their Number but few, it might be objected they might be too conſiderable and dangerous; ſo on the contrary they being numerous and not all to be ſatisfied, have done more Miſchief by becoming factious and affecting Popularity, than could have been

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apprehended from their Ambitions. However a Medium were desirable, for as the Kingdom may be resembled to a Body whereof the King is the Head, the Nobility the Arms, and the People the rest; so to have the Arms so strong as by their Motion to tire or destroy both the Head and the Body, or so weak as neither to be able to serve the Head or help the Body, would be disproportionable and dangerous. And to clear this, I shall in the second place look back and examine the dispensations of Honour in precedent Ages, and thence make it appear that this Medium hath been observed; and, that in the worst Conjunctures, the Opposition of the Nobility was never destructive to Monarchy it self, though sometimes to the Persons of the Kings.

To begin with our victorious King and Lawgiver King *Edward* I. who settled the Power of the Commons in Parliament, (first introduced by His Father *Henry* III.) I do not remember to have read, that notwithstanding His great Victories over the *Scots*, and His Recovery of *Guience* by Himself and His Generals, that He besides His own Children created any Earls (for the Titles of Dukes, Marques and Viscounts, were then unknown amongst us) nor no Barons but Feaudal, or such as He pleased to call by Writ; and these did not always leave their Honour to their Posterities, some Families being now private that in His and His Son *Edward* II. Reign were Barons of Parliament.

EDWARD II. as soon as He came to the Crown, created *Piers Gaveston* Earl of *Cornwall*; which highly incensed the Nobility and was *Gaveston*'s Destruction. After that He invested His two Counsellors the two *Spencers* Father and Son with the Earldoms of *Winchester* and *Gloucester*; and though they were Men of great extraction, yet it seems the Pride of the other Nobility envying their Promotions, was in part Cause of the last Baron's War; wherein many of the Nobility justly suffered for their Rebellion, though that King afterwards by the means of His Wife, and Her Favourite *Mortimer*, came to an unhappy end: And this was the time when we may may look upon the Nobility in their height, and beginning to decline.

His Son *Edward* III. a great and martial Prince, and that acted so much in the World, was yet so sparing in the distribution of Honour, as that notwithstanding He reigned above fifty Years He left His youngest Son without a Title, and was

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the firſt that introduced the Title of Duke, by creating His Son the Prince of *Wales* Duke of *Cornwall*, then His Cozen the Earl of *Lancaſter* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and His three other Sons Dukes of *Clarence*, *Lancaſter* and *York*. And as for Earls, He made *Mortimer* Earl of *March*, *Butler* Earl of *Ormond*, *Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, *Stafford* Earl of *Stafford*, *Audley* Earl of *Glouceſter*, *Clemton* Earl of *Huntington*, *Vfford* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Mountague* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Coucy* (a *French* Man His Son-in-law) Earl of *Bedford*, and *Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*: All Men of great and illuſtrious Families, and ſome of them were Heirs to others that had poſſeſſed thoſe Earldoms, and had beſides highly merited from Him in the Conduct of His Affairs. And that King having ſo great occaſion to reward eminent Perſons, firſt deviſed the Order of the Garter, into which (beſides moſt of the Nobility lately mentioned) He elected divers that had no higher Degree but that of Knighthood; who thought themſelves much honoured to be of that Society, and notwithſtanding their extraordinary Merit, had no Ambition to greater Titles.

His Grandchild *Richard* II. that ſucceeded Him altered His courſe; and ſo increaſed the Titles of Dukes, as that in His time there were more advanced to that Dignity than in any King's Reign before or ſince. Which with the Ambition and Turbulence of His Uncle *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, (whom at His Coronation He created Earl of *Buckingham*, and afterwards Duke of *Glouceſter*) contributed to His Ruin. For beſides, this King created His Favorite *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford* firſt Marqueſs of *Dublin*, then Duke of *Ireland*; His two half Brothers *Edmond* and *Thomas Holland* Dukes of *Surrey* and *Exceter*; *Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham* Duke of *Norfolk*; the two Sons of the Duke of *Lancaſter* and *York* Dukes of *Hereford* and *Aumarle*. For Earls, He made the Lords *Perry* and *Nevil* Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*; *Scroop* Earl of *Wiltſhire*; and *de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, and ſome others. Which Perſon laſt named was the firſt Man from the *Norman* Conqueſt that was advanced from a private Degree to ſo high a Pitch; which made him ſo obnoxious to the Nobility as it cauſed his Baniſhment. Theſe unuſual Promotions were the chief Cauſes of the laſt War of the Nobility in a collective Body; though therein the Earl of *Arundel* loſt his Head, and the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury* their Eſtates and Liberties, and the Duke of *Glouceſter* his Life privately at *Calais*.

But yet the Seeds of this Rebellion continued till the Duke of *Hereford*, afterwards Duke of *Lancaſter*, uſurped the Crown by the Title of King *Henry* IV. who degraded moſt of theſe Dukes from their Titles, his own Brother by the Father from being Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and ſome others from their Earldoms; and having no juſt Title to the Crown, was the firſt that abated the Power of the Nobility by indulging the Commons. Neither did He in fourteen Years Reign advance any to higher Titles than Barons, and thoſe but few, beſides his three younger Sons whom He created Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford*, and *Glouceſter*.

To Him ſucceeded His victorious Son *Henry* V. who in the nine Years of His Reign, in which He almoſt conquered the Kingdom of *France*, and had the Service of His Nobility, created few or none to Dignities of Honour, and yet was followed with as much Zeal and Affection as any King that reigned before or ſince that time.

And notwithſtanding He left His Son *Henry* VI. an Infant under the Tuition of His Uncle, Titles of Honour were ſo ſparingly diſpenſed, as beſides the Reſtitution of *Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Fitzallan* Earl of *Arundel*, and the creating of *Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, very few were advanced but thoſe of the Royal Family, or ſuch as derived themſelves in Blood as Heirs to Earldoms. Yet *William de la Pool* Grandchild to *Michael* firſt Earl of *Suffolk* of that Family, was firſt created Marqueſs then Duke of *Suffolk*, which (notwithſtanding his high Merit, as having ſerved thirty ſix Years in the Wars of *France*, his Father dying in that Service, and his elder Brother being ſlain in the Battel of *Agincourt*) gave Offence to the Nobility. Beſides him, the Noble martial Baron *Talbot* obtained the Title of Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Earl of *Ormond* that of *Wiltſhire*. And in this King's Reign the Dignity of Viſcount was firſt introduced, as in that of *Richard* II. of Baron by Patent. Some few other had Advancement in point of Honour. And although this King was unfortunate both at home and abroad, it proceeded not from the Diſloyalty of the Nobility, but from the Weakneſs of His Underſtanding, and His defective Title to the Crown; the Duke of *York* claiming the ſame, and his Son after many bloody Battels fought with various Fortune obtained it, by the Name of King *Edward* IV.

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Who notwithſtanding ſo many noble Families were attainted by ſiding with the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, yet He inveſted few with their Honours. Two Examples are memorable in this King's time, which may make the Nobility remember from whom and by whom they have their Honours and Dignities. The firſt was that He having created *George Nevill* Son unto *John Nevill* (whom He had alſo created Marqueſs *Mountacute*) Duke of *Bedford*; and his Father proving ingrateful to Him, He cauſed the young Duke to be degraded by Act of Parliament; the Reaſon being given becauſe he had not an Eſtate able to ſupport ſo high a Dignity. The ſecond was that in regard of the great Services that were and might be done Him, He created Sir *William Herbert* of *Ragland* Count Palatine of *Pembrook*; yet afterwards He cauſed this Earl's Son to reſign that Title, and gave it his Son the Prince of *Wales*, and created the other Earl of *Huntingdon*, as his Son in Law Marqueſs *Dorſet*. Some few other Advancements He made, but ſuch as could prove neither dangerous nor burthenſom to Himſelf or the Kingdom.

His Brother *Richard* III. uſurping the Kingdom, created only the Lord *Howard* Heir to the Houſe of *Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, his Son Earl of *Surrey*, and the Lord *Berkley* another Heir of that Houſe Earl of *Nottingham*; and the Lord *Lovel* Viſcount. So that when *Henry* VII. came to the Crown, the Nobility conſiſted of the Duke of *Suffolk* (for He created his Uncle) Duke of *Bedford*, and reſtored the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Oxford*, *Devonſhire*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmerland*, *Shrewsbury*, *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Huntingdon*, *Rivers*, *Surrey*, *Nottingham*, and *Lincoln*; and of Barons not twice that Number. The only Earl that He made, as I remember, being the Lord *Stanley* his Father in Law, whom He created Earl of *Darby*, and three or four Barons in the time of 21 Years Reign. And though he was noted to be the moſt provident Prince of His Age, yet it cannot be ſaid that He ever expoſed Honour to Sale.

And here it will not be much from the purpoſe briefly to recite what I have heard from good Authority, to have been the Practice of this wiſe and provident King in diſpenſing His Favours. Firſt, He kept a Book of all places in His diſpoſal, and their Value and Quality; and in another Book, the Names of all Perſons of Merit, and for whom He had any Favour; and when any Office or Imployment became void, no Perſon durſt

durſt preſume to be a Suitor for it, but the King Himſelf would ſend for him He fixt upon, acquaint him that ſuch an Office was void, and the Nature of it, and agree with him for ready Money to one half or third part of the Value, or oblige him to pay yearly ſo much out of it. And although in ſome kind this may be ſaid to be below the MAJESTY of a King, whoſe Favours ſhould be free as Himſelf, yet this courſe had three material Conveniencies; Firſt, it freed the King from Importunity, and diſobliged no Man becauſe no Man was denied; Next it procured Money, which makes a King moſt conſiderable; Thirdly, it obliged the Perſon, who although he paid in part for it, yet his ſole Obligation was to the King, and ſo he could not ſay (as many in our times) that he had his Riſe from any other. Whereas in this laſt Age, from the higheſt to the meaneſt in dependence on the Crown, I fear few can be inſtanced that had Advancement but by the Means and Mediation of their Friends and Kindred, or by paying the true Value of what they obtained; by which means they owed their Advancement to others, and not to the Crown. And hence it proceeded that moſt of their late MAJESTY's Servants and Dependents if their Raiſers were ungrateful or treacherous proved no leſs; though after their firſt Introduction, many of them by the Royal Bounty were in capacity to oblige their Friends as their firſt Raiſers had introduced them, and the Kings only were left alone, and many times concluded againſt by their Servants, as invading their Rights if they afforded Place or Imployment to any but by ſuch their Recommendation. One thing more I will briefly touch in this King's Reign (as Tradition tells us) that by the Statute made againſt Retainers in His Reign this King abated the Power of the Nobility; which for my part I cannot grant, for that Statute only aboliſhed their unneceſſary illegal Dependencies, which were uſurped by them during the Wars about the Title of the Crown, and were only a Burthen no Advantage to the Nobility. For ſuch Dependence might put them in a capacity to offend their Neighbours, but never enabled any of them how turbulent ſoever to oppoſe the King, but under pretence of advancing a better Title than they alledged that King had. So as I may poſitively ſay never any Power either of Nobility or tumultuous Commons did or could have endangered the Royal Government, till in our unhappy Times, under the ſly Inſinuation of the pretended Power of Parliament backed with antimonarchical and puritanical Principles, as ſome of the Nobility baſely concurred, ſo they have been as juſtly puniſhed by being outed of all Authority.

To Him ſucceeded His Son that potent and active King *Henry* VIII. who may be truly ſaid not intentionally but by Conſequence to have abaſed the Nobility, and laid the Foundation of the ruin of Monarchy. And though I may incur the Cenſure of ſome fantaſtick and zealous Spirits, and of others that are intereſſed, yet Truth is not to be forborn. For till this time the Eccleſiaſtick and Civil Power had like two Arms ſupported the Royal. 'Tis true ſome Ages before ſome turbulent Churchmen, for private Intereſts, under plauſible Pretences contended with MAJESTY. But the Wiſdom of the Kings, the Courage of the Nobility, and the Temper of their Succeſſors had ſo qualified it as that they were (principally ſince the Reign of King *Edward* II.) aiding and ſubſervient to the Kings. And many Churchmen worthily executed the Offices of Conſcience and Adminiſtration of publick Revenues; and ſome of them being Men of great Nobility, and without the Cloggs of Wives and Poſterity, did highly advance the Honour, Profit and Advantage of the King and People. But this King for Reaſons evident (how juſtly I will not ſay) in a moment diſſolved all thoſe religious Fraternities that for many Ages had flouriſhed, and in all times (by their Providence) had been as it were ſo many Treaſuries for the Kings on publick Occaſions. And not only theſe were outed, but even their Houſes and Churches, which for Beauty and Riches were much more than ſtood on ſo much Ground in *Europe*, were rifled, thrown down and put to prophane Uſes; their Lands given to many of the Nobility, and to others of unheard of and mean Families, who thereby got to be enobled. The Conſequence whereof had this ill Effect, that whereas theſe Foundations conſiſted of a numerous Body, for the moſt part of unactive and contemplative Spirits, (who were never in Capacity to rebel) their Revenues being thus diſpoſed to particular Perſons, who thereby grew potent, it put their Poſterity in Condition and Power to act againſt the Sovereign Authority which firſt advanced them, in ſuch manner as we have ſadly lived to ſee. For Example, the Prior of *Lees* could never have been in a Poſture to have uſurped the Admiralty, or been a Rebel, as the Earl of *Warwick* hath been; nor could the Abbeſs of *Wilton* have proved ſo ungrateful as the late Earl of *Pembrook*; and the like may be ſaid of others poſſeſſing theſe Lands.

BUT the Reaſons that were then given for theſe Diſſolutions were plauſible; as that theſe Revenues would maintain a potent Army for the Service of the Kingdom; and that the

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King ſhould never be inforced to leavy or demand any more Subſidies of His People; and yet like Snow this vaſt ſacrilegious Acquiſition melted away, and this King (whoſe Father left Him 1700000*l.* in ready Money) was forced not only to impoſe on His People, but to coin Copper Money before He died. And it is obſervable that as He uſed *Cromwell*, whom from the Son of a Blackſmith He made Earl of *Eſſex*, and His Vicegerent to act principally in this Sacrilege; ſo the pretended Parliament of *England* have rebelliouſly and traiterouſly impowered another *Cromwell* (whoſe Anceſtors either by Obligation or Alliance to the former took that Sirname) as their Inſtrument moſt barbarouſly and with unparalled Villany to deſtroy the King and Royal Government. As for the Families thus enriched and enobled by Him, it has been as a Cancre in their Eſtates, and no one can be produced free from Misfortune; ſome of them have come to fatal Ends, the Poſterity of others have been extinct, and their Names forgotten, and many of thoſe that remain have been Traitors and Rebels to their King.

The Greatneſs and Splendour of the Church being thus deſtroyed (though the Order of the Biſhops remained, but leſſened in their Revenues and outed of much Authority) in their places ſome Men of obſcure Beginnings came into Action, and were advanced to Titles of Honour: And yet when the King died, the Nobility was not numerous, nor His Creations many. And although He advanced His Favourite *Charles Brandon* from a private Gentleman to be a Duke and his Brother-in-Law; yet it is evident that Duke had not ſo much Power as to procure any of his Kindred either Titles of Honour or publick Employments.

His Son *Eward* VI. being a Child ſucceeded to the Crown, and His Father's Executors, as the Tradition goes, anſwered for one another, that King *Henry* deſigned them Titles of Honour; ſo that the Earl of *Hertford* the King's Uncle by the Mother was created Duke of *Somerſet*, and Protector; the Marqueſs *Dorſet* Duke of *Suffolk*; the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Wiltſhire* Marqueſſes of *Northampton* and *Wincheſter*; the Viſcount *Liſle* Sir *John Dudly*, Son to *Edmund Dudly* the Lawyer, was firſt created Earl of *Warwick*, after Duke of *Northumberland*; the Lord *Wriotheſley*, Lord Chancellor, Earl of *Southampton*; the Lord *Ruſſel* Earl of *Bedford*; Sir *William Paget*, Principal Secretary, Lord *Paget*; Sir *Richard Rich*, Attorney General, Lord *Rich*, and made Lord Chancellor; and Sir *William Herbert* Earl

of *Pembrook*; ſome of whom could not boaſt of very noble Anceſtors, and ſo after a troubleſome Reign of ſix Years, this King died.

To whom ſucceeded His Siſter Queen *Mary*; whoſe Creations were the Viſcount *Mountague*, and ſome few Barons, and Reſtitution of the old Duke or *Norfolk*, and the Lord *Percy* to the Earldom of *Northumberland*. Her Reign was ſhorter than Her Brothers.

THEN came to the Crown that fortunate Princeſs Queen *Elizabeth*; who in all worldly Felicity governed forty four Years, and yet in all that time She created but ſix Earls, and eight or nine Barons. So that when She died the Nobility conſiſted but of one Marqueſs, nineteen Earls, two Viſcounts, and about thirty Barons.

AFTER Her Death *James* King of *Scotland* as next Heir ſucceeded to the Crown, and as it was ever fit and practiſed by His Predeceſſors in *England*, to give ſome Teſtimony of Reſpect to Men in great Authority and of eminent Birth, He near the time of His Coronation created the Lord *Howard* of *Walden* Earl of *Suffolk*; the Lord *Buckhurſt*, then Lord Treaſurer, Earl of *Dorſet*; the Lord *Montjoy*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, Earl of *Devonſhire*; and the Lord *Henry Howard*, Brother to the late Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl of *Northampton*; and about eight or ten Barons. Afterwards the Lords *Burleigh* and *Cecill*, two Brothers, Earls of *Salisbury* and *Exceter*; Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger Brother to the Earl of *Pembrook*, Earl of *Montgomery*; and his Favourite Sir *Robert Car*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, Earl of *Somerſet*. Some few Years after, this King placing His Affection on a young Gentleman of an ancient Family, Son of Sir *George Villers* of *Leiceſterſhire*, from that Condition lifted him to the height of Eminence; creating him firſt Viſcount, then Earl, Marqueſs, and laſtly Duke of *Buckingham*: Under whoſe Influence and the Power he had with the King his Maſter, Advancements to Titles of Honour grew frequent and mercenary. And though it cannot be denied that this Duke ſhewed a great Affection to his own Family and Allies, in procuring their Riſe to Honour from the private Condition they were born to; yet it may be doubted whether the diſpenſing of Honours with ſo liberal (I will not ſay unconſiderate) a Hand, were not one of the Beginnings of general Diſcontents, eſpecially amongſt Perſons of great Extraction. So that when this King, died having reigned

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but twenty one Years, He left the Nobility in His three Kingdoms above double the Number to what He found them; and yet His Reign was peaceable, and so not full of Action, which renders Men in capacity highly to merit from their Prince and Country, and so without Envy to receive Advancement.

UPON the coming to the Crown of the late most pious though unfortunate King *Charles*, He advanced eight or ten Viscounts and Barons, most of them of His Father's enobling, to the Titles of Earls; and *de novo* created about that number of Barons. Yet of these 'tis not to be denied, that during the Life of the Duke of *Buckingham*, many of them for Money got their Promotion; though I am very confident had not the fatal and horid Rebellion broken out, His MAJESTY would have for the future restrained Himself from frequent Creations, finding the Inconveniences that attended them. But when for His own just Defence He was forced to take Arms against His Rebels; the Merits of many Gentlemen and some of the Nobility that attended Him, the Ambition of others that had Pretences, and the necessity of His Affairs, drew on more Advancements in four Years time than had passed Him in all the rest of His Reign; for He encreased their Number above fifty in the three Kingdoms, and if all of them either deserved it or prove grateful, their Memories will be the better. But whether His MAJESTY advantaged Himself by yielding to Importunity, and His Necessity for small Summs of Money, will be another Question; I shall only say, as some of His Father's time, and others in the beginning of His own Reign, wanted Birth to qualifie their Dignities, so most of those wanted Estates to support them; and whether that be not a great Inconvenience to the Crown will I fear in time be made evident.

BESIDES, in the distribution of those Honours I know not the Reason why the Duke of *Lenox* before the Parliament, was made a Duke of *England*, before the King's second Son then four or five Years old; and that Prince *Rupert* at *Oxford* was created Duke of *Cumberland*, and three Days after the King's second Son Duke of *York*; whereby in three Descents either of their Grandchildren will have Precedency of the Duke of *York*'s.

THUS by way of Narrative I have looked back and discovered what hath been the Practice of precedent Kings in distribution of Honours; and by observation may truly say, that the paucity of Nobility, how powerful soever, never either had or could have design, either materially to oppose, or totally

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to aboliſh Monarchy. For the Differences between the Kings *Edward* II. and *Richard* II. and the Peers were on private Animoſities, cloaked with publick Pretences. And to look back to the greateſt of all between King *John*, as alſo His Son *Henry* III. and the Nobility, though the Pretence was plauſible about *Magna Charta*, yet the Concluſion was fatal to the Barons, and induced the erecting the Houſe of Commons to curb the Nobility. For their Power in the Reign of *Henry* VI. they bent it one againſt another in ſiding about the Title of the Crown, which ſo brake them all, as they never after got Intereſt ſo much as to make themſelves eminently conſiderable. So as I may truly ſay, their Number either many or few, are not deſtructive to Monarchy by their natural Power but by Accidents; in which only a greater number are in capacity to do more Prejudice than a leſs numerous Body can.

It remains therefore that I demonſtrate the Inconveniences that have, in ſeveral kinds, attended the late frequent and numerous Creations, and circumſtantially ſhew how they have conduced to the diſſervice of the King, and alteration of our happy Condition under the Royal Government. As firſt, King *James* no doubt with great Reaſon coming to the Poſſeſſion of a greater and richer Kingdom than His own, thought it fit to oblige ſome worthy and notable Perſons, ranking them amongſt the Nobility. For ſhould there be no Reward for Virtue or eminent Services, nor no Advancement in Titles of Honour, Diligence and Induſtry would be abated, and in time Nobility be worn out. For in no King's Reign but ſome deſerve as well the Marks of Royal Favour as thoſe that have them, becauſe their Anceſtors were worthy of the Advancements they received. Beſides, probably that King was induced to it by the hard Meaſure He had found from ſome few factious Nobility at Home, who had in His Minority oppoſed Him; and He in His maturity of Years coming to reſide in another Kingdom, thought fit to oblige ſome of that Nation to Him, the better to preſerve His Royal Dignity. And poſſibly might conclude, that as the Scripture ſaith, *in the Multitude of Counſellors there is Wiſdom*, ſo in the Multitude of Nobility there is Strength. And thus far the Promotions given by Him in the firſt ten Years of His Reign did well conduce; but when Alliance to a Favourite, Riches though gotten in a Shop, Perſons of private Eſtates, and of Families that many of them and their Fathers would have thought themſelves highly honoured to have been but Knights in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, were advanced; then the Fruit thereof began to appear. As firſt, it

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might cauſe the greater Nobility to think themſelves undervalued, that Perſons ſome of whoſe Anceſtors had depended on theirs ſhould (no eminent deſerts appearing) be brought into equality with them. Next it might diſoblige the ancient Baronage to be left in their old Places, and many of inferiour Families and Eſtates to have higher Titles and Precedency of them.

Again, it took off from the Reſpect due to Nobility, and introduced a parity in Converſation; which conſidering *Engliſh* Diſpoſitions proved of ill Conſequences, Familiarity (which ſuch Perſons were obliged to uſe) begetting Contempt, and the Curtain being drawn they were diſcovered to be Men that heretofore were reverenced as Angels. Again, it abated the King's Revenues by Fees out of the *Exchequer*; but moſt of all by Penſions and Gifts to enable many of them to ſupport their Dignities; whereas had they been left in private Condition, they would have had leſs Confidence to demand, and ſmaller gratification would have ſatisfied them. But that which eſſentially was deſtructive, was that the King was not in Capacity to gratifie them all; which had this ill effect, that ſome of them grew envious, others factious becauſe they were not employed; others ingrateful becauſe denied ſomething they aimed at, how highly ſoever obliged. Whereas had their Number been leſs, they might every one in his Time and Station have had opportunity to have taſted of the Royal Favours; for it is obſerved that in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time there was hardly a Peer in *England* but in ſome kind or other was employed by Her according to their Capacities. Some had the great Offices and were Counſellors, others Companions of the Garter; ſome Lord Lieutenants of the Counties wherein they lived; others again Deputies of *Ireland* and Commanders of Forces; others employed in Embaſſies; and the younger lived in and followed Her Court in expectation of Her Favours. Beſides, had ſuch as have ſince deſerted and oppoſed their Sovereign been by Him and His Father left in the Condition. They found them, they would not have had an Opportunity to have contributed to His Misfortune; nor had it been in their Power (how ſeditious ſoever their Inclinations were) to have done any thing conſiderable againſt the King. And though the factious Nobility be now outed of all Power and Reſpect, (I mean ſuch as contributed to the Rebellion) yet the other, who were the major and more Noble part of them, are worthy of all Honour and Regard; for it was the factious part that gave the firſt Countenance to the Miſeries that have happened.

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The Name of the King being Sacred till ſome of them vilified Him to the People; others betrayed His Counſels; were in Cabal with the factious Party in the Commons Houſe, and adviſed Him to ſuffer His Counſellors to be ſworn to diſcover Treaſons they had hatched themſelves, pretended to have been committed by the Earl of *Strafford*. And it was they that ſuffered the Biſhops to be outraged, and actively complyed in turning them out of the Houſe of Peers, where in all Ages they had Places as one of the three Eſtates. They firſt divided the Militia of the Kingdom amongſt themſelves; then voted to live and dye with their Rebellious General the Earl of *Eſſex*, and began a War againſt their King. Whence then, could or did this proceed but from their Ambition, Malice and Covetouſneſs? and what gives Fuel to thoſe Inclinations more than Titles of Honour? For by thoſe, Men have Power in Parliament to ſhew themſelves, (whereas the Commons are only elected at the Will of the People) and if not gratified, to lay hold of Occaſion either to be revenged, or at beſt by force to attain their Ends. For I am confident that if the Nobility had been unanimous to have defended the juſt Rights of the King, the Honour and Intereſt of their own Body, and the good of the People, it had never been in the Power of the Commons to have begun their Rebellion. So likewiſe I believe that hardly one of them had ever a deſign to deſtroy the King, or totally to alter that Power and Government, but to be Petty Kings themſelves; but they were miſtaken, fancying to frame an Ariſtocratical Monarchy by the Hands of the Popular Anarchy.

To ſpeak a little of the many Titles of Honour given by the late King during the Rebellion. Although much may be ſaid for the doing of it, yet I fear, conſidering the ſmall Fortunes many of them have for to ſupport their Dignities, and the great Pretenſions they have, His Majesty (when it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore Him) will find Trouble enough to content them. Whereas had His late Majesty been pleaſed to have made them Bannerets, or otherwiſe perſonally gratified them, their Poſterities had ſtood upon their own Merits for the future; whereas now they will have Place and Voice in Parliament, (and being but Men) may prove as diſcontented as others that had as great Obligations and yet proved ingrateful.

Besides, where Honours are eaſily obtained, there is never an end of ſuing for them, and every one is ſo partial to himſelf as to conclude he is neglected, if another he conceives either

ther his equal or below him in Merit, Family, or Eſtate obtain it before him. So that the Advancement of one is the Diſcontent of another, as is ſadly to be remembred by creating the Earl of *Strafford* Baron of *Raby*, the Houſe and Poſſeſſion of Sir *Henry Vane*; to which Title though the Earl had ſome Pretence by the Blood of *Nevill*, yet it being the others Land who likewiſe affected that Title, it ſo inflamed him as that *per fas & nefas* he not only contributed to the Earl's Deſtruction, but was by himſelf and Family an active Inſtrument of our Miſeries.

His Majesty therefore conſidering chiefly His own Intereſt and that of Government, will thereby give Himſelf leſs Diſqueit, avoid dangerous Importunities, and beſt ſatisfie ſuch as merit of Him; and in doing ſo if He throughly oblige, will find the Conſequence of it; for half Obligations are more pernicious than total Omiſſions. For example, had King *James* either abſolutely reſtored Sir *John Gray* whom He created Lord *Gray* of *Grooby* to be Marqueſs *Dorſet*, or left him a Knight as He found him, 'tis poſſible his Son and Grandchild who have proved (eſpecially the laſt) unparallelled Rebels, might have been Loyal, or at leaſt not have been able or conſiderable to have acted as they have done.

But now as I have pointed out the Inconveniences, if I could propoſe a Remedy it were eſſentially to purpoſe; but in that as I am neither asked, nor is it fit my Opinion ſhould be demanded, the future Diſpoſition muſt be left to God's Providence and His Majesty's Wiſdom; who is the Fountain of Honour, and will no doubt govern Himſelf in the diſpenſing of His Favours, ſo as to have an Eye to ſuch contingencies as may happen by Promotions of Honour; wherein the Accidents of Birth and Eſtates juſtly acquired, are equally as neceſſary to be conſidered as particular Merit. For Dignity without Blood or Fortune, is both burthenſome to the Crown and inconvenient even to the Poſterity of ſuch as have it, how ambitious and vain ſoever their Fathers were to obtain it.

It reſts now that I ſay ſomewhat of the late Advancements in His Majesty's other Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. To begin with *Scotland*, when King *James* came to the Crown of *England* the Nobility of that Nation was not numerous; and to ſay truly of them, they were for the moſt part of noble and ancient Extraction; but yet being infatuated with the Doctrine of *Knox* and the furious Presbytery, ſome of them had given Him great trouble in His Minority; and becauſe many of

them had great Dependencies, 'tis probable He believed the multiplying of them might abate their Power; or at leaſt that thoſe He advanced would more faithfully ſerve Him on any Occaſions. Beſides He being removed to another Reſidence, this might be thought the beſt way to gratifie ſuch as followed Him into *England*, or at leaſt to content them at home. But that it had not any Effect either in Loyalty or Obedience, (eſpecially to the late King, who as bountifully in this and all kinds complied with that Nation as any Prince that ever governed them) is yet freſh in Memory. For from this People and from their Doctrine firſt ſprang all our Miſeries. And as afterwards the Commons in *England* (baſely complied with by ſome factious Noblemen) added to it, ſo the Nobility of this Nation for Self-intereſts even forced the People into Rebellion. Which was meerly Ariſtocratical, and both begun and continued to the end by the Power of the Nobility, who at this Day are multiplied above treble the number they were forty Years paſt. The effects whereof have proved more dangerous than thoſe Advancements in *England*; for out of Parliament they rebelled and forced a Parliament to be called to juſtifie their Actions. Whereas the *Engliſh* had they not been taught by them, and by their invading *England* neceſſitated the King to call a Parliament; and then by Degrees and their Aſſiſtance been encouraged, never would nor durſt have begun and acted as they have done. So as truly from this factious Nobility the Riſe of our Miſery begun; and yet we have lived to ſee them puniſhed and deſtroyed by that Power they firſt ſupported. Beſides, a numerous Nobilility is more dangerous there than in *England*, for they have much more Power over their Tenants, who are little better than Slaves, and have many Kindred and Followers; and the encreaſing of them from Gentlemen of Families, rather augments this Dependency than otherwiſe. For every one by Nature ſtrives as he is like in Dignity, ſo to be no leſs in Power than his Neighbour. Whereas on the contrary, when they were but few, though powerful, one great Man would endeavour that another might not overtop him, or at leaſt would ſide againſt him. But to remedy it is I fear not practicable; and I can ſay no more, but that time, and His MAJESTY's Wiſdom when that Nation is again under His due Obedience, will I hope diſpoſe all to His Advantage, and the Security of His future Government over them.

FOR the Kingdom of *Ireland* it was obtained by King *Henry* II. and hath been almoſt ever ſince till the Change of Religion obedient to the Crown of *England*, and thoſe that aided in the Conqueſt, and ſome others of the ancient Families of that Nation, have been in all times ennobled, but ſo as that they were not very numerous; there being in that Kingdom when King *James* came to the Crown not above five or ſix Earls, and not twenty Viſcounts and Barons: But ſince many Perſons of Condition and Families private enough have obtained great Eſtates and Dignities there; and their Number is not only ſo much encreaſed therein, but many Perſons who could not procure Titles of Honour in *England*, for Money and other Reaſons have with great eaſe gotten them there; ſo as there is hardly a Town of note, much leſs a County, but hath ſome Earl, Viſcount or Baron of it. This, beſides the Conſideration of their Influence in Parliament (that Kingdom being governed by the ſame Laws with *England*) had a double Inconvenence; for it diſcontented the Natives to have Strangers (even with the Appellations of their Inheritances) advanced and themſelves not, and troubled the Nobility and Gentry of *England* to have their inferiors and equals in all Aſſemblies to have place before them; according to their Degrees every *Iriſh* Earl or Viſcount, though but of yeſterdays Gentry and Creation preceding the old Baronage and ancient Families of *England*. And theſe were ſo multiplied as that an Act of Parliament was paſs'd by the late Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant of that Kingdom, inhibiting the ſitting of ſuch *Engliſh*, or giving their Proxies in Parliament, except they had Eſtates in that Kingdom of the value by that Act provided. Again, if it be duly weighed, many of thoſe new Noblemen have acted againſt the King, either for the *Iriſh* or *Engliſh* Rebels, and thoſe Families have been moſt faithful that have in all Ages been of Honour, Power and Greatneſs in that Kingdom.

FOR concluſion of theſe Obſervations relating to the Major Nobility, I ſhall preſume to ſay, that what I have alledged and affirmed in order to the Inconveniences that both have and may ariſe by their Numbers, hath principally proceeded from the Duty I owe to the Greatneſs, Safety and MAJESTY of the King, and to the Honour of the Nobility; for in the reſpect of my own private Intereſt, conſidering the place I hold in His MAJESTY's Service, the greater their Numbers and Titles were, the more would my Profit and Advantage be.

My next Diſcourſe ſhall be applyed to the Minor Nobility, for every Gentleman is *Nobilis*. Theſe be diſtinguiſhed by the Titles of Baronets, Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen. And although in our Nation they have not Privileges equal to the Major Nobility, yet they have Reſpects and Advantages to difference themſelves from Artificers and common People; for out of them are Sheriffs, Deputy Lieutenants, Juſtices of the Peace, Knights of the Shire, Burgeſſes in Parliament, and other Officers for Government elected. The only Privilege, as I remember, they have, is not to be preſſed to the Wars; and anciently, as I have read, not to be whipt or ſtigmatized for Offences; nor, if they claim it, to be tried criminally but by thoſe of their own Rank. And the Marks by which they are known are the bearing of Arms peculiar to their Families, by which and their Appellations they are known from the reſt of the People. Now as the Multitude of Nobility, beſides other Inconveniences have abated the Reſpect anciently paid by all unto them; ſo the frequent conferring the two greater Dignities, and the promiſcuous uſe and aſſumption of the two laſt Degrees, and the eaſie attaining of Arms (by the bearing of which Men are only really known to be Gentlemen) hath no leſs introduced a Parity amongſt Men, the Inconveniences whereof have in a degree leſſened the Duty due unto the King, and brought both Nobility and Gentry into Contempt.

First for Baronets, it is a Dignity of new Erection deviſed by the Earl of *Salisbury* Lord Treaſurer, about the ſeventh or eighth Year of King *James*, the Pretence being to plant, and ſuppreſs the Rebels, in *Vlſter*; for which every one of them was to give 1000*l.* and for diſtinction to bear in Canton, or in Eſcutcheon a bloody Hand, part of the Arms of *O. Neal*. They were all of them to be Gentlemen of three Deſcents, and their Number was but fifty, afterwards increaſed to an hundred. They have the Appellation of Sir preceding their Chriſtian Names as Knights have, and the eldeſt of their Famililies for ever have that Title, and their Wives that of Lady. They had likewiſe Precedency given them of all Knights and Bannerets, not made by the King Himſelf. But in time for Money and other reaſons their Number was ſo much enlarged, as that at this Day there are in His Majesty's Dominions above five hundred whoſe Perſons and Families are qualified with this Dignity; which I may truly ſay hath been a greater Cauſe of debaſing Nobility, and undervaluing Gentry, and hath generally given more Offence and Scandal to all Degrees than any Dignity that was ever deviſed;

for though thoſe of the firſt and ſecond Erection were moſt of them Men of Families, yet in no County where they lived but ſuch had their Equals. This cauſed Animoſities betwixt them about Precedence, and urged others, (though to the breaking of their Eſtates) to attain Titles of Honour. And then thoſe Baronets, becauſe they had once Precedency, and would not grow leſs, out bid them, and got higher Titles; ſo that there was no end of their Ambitions, but after the firſt hundred there was hardly one but had many Perſons in the County of his Reſidence his equal or ſuperiour in Blood or Fortune. This diſobliged all the reſt, and abated the Duty and Reverence they ought to the MAJESTY of the King, and the Reſpect He had for His People, ſeeing that for no Merit and a little Money, mean Perſons had the Appellations of Sir, with Place and Precedency given them for ever, before them and their Deſcendents; for I dare ſay, there are very many of them that cannot prove themſelves Gentlemen of three Deſcents, and ſome not of one. Beſides, no one Degree perpetuated as this, ever ſo much weakned that Dependence which all Gentlemen ought to have of the King; for they being higher advanced than they could juſtly expect, their Wives having Place of their Betters, and their Poſterities the ſame, they had no more need of applying themſelves to the King for the Teſtimonies of His Favour; but inſtead thereof, upon Pretence of defending Peoples Rights, many of them became factious and affected Popularity. Whereas had they had no other addition but of Eſquires and Gentlemen, they would with Duty and Diligence have endeavoured to have merited ſome Mark of Royal Favour. For concluſion therefore, this deſtructive Degree ought to be aboliſhed, and juſtly; for many of them make not good the Condition of their Erection for want of Birth, others in time will fail for want of Eſtates, and ſo their Quality will prove a Burthen to them; but being reduced to their firſt Condition, they will ſtrive by Merit to attain Perſonal Promotions, which will not be ſubject to the Contempt of their Equals, or Envy of their Inferiors.

ONLY I cannot omit to remember, that His late MAJESTY of ever glorious and bleſſed Memory, after the firſt three Years of His Reign until the late Parliament and horrid Rebellion, was in this and in matters of Nobility ſo reſerved, as in ten Years not one received this Dignity of Baronet; and He that to ſatisfie the Importunity and Merit of a *Scotiſh* Gentleman firſt broke the Ice, was a Perſon of Family and great Eſtate; yet it coſt him near 2000*l.* to obtain it, though afterwards the

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Neceſſity of His MAJESTY's Affairs induced Him to confer it on many to gratifie them and their Friends that had or might deſerve well of Him.

THE next Dignity or Degree to this is Knighthood, which for Antiquity and Univerſality is as eminently known as any Degree of Honour, and is more ceremoniouſly performed in *England*, eſpecially in that of Knights of the Bath, than in any other Monarchy. But they being only made on ſolemn Occaſions, as at Coronations, Creations of the Prince of *Wales*, and the like, hath been ſtill for Number or Quality not liable to much Obſervation. For the other Knights commonly called Batchellors, they are ſuch as either for their Families, Offices, and moſt eſpecially for Service done in the Wars, have been made by the Kings and their Generals. Of thoſe Knights Batchellors, eſpecially in the beginning of King *James* His Reign, to gratifie the Gentry that King made very many, ſome whereof were neither for their Condition or Fortunes very capable of it; which brought that Degree into a general Diſeſteem, and cauſed others that had greater Pretences to be ambitious of higher Promotions. But time hath worn them out, and the late King's general Reſolutions in that kind had again brought them into Eſteem, though in the Wars He was obliged to confer that Honour on many Perſons that had faithfully and valiantly behaved themſelves. Beſides, the Inconvenience of it is not equal to that of Baronets, this Dignity being but perſonal only, and it leaves the Title of Eſquire to their eldeſt Son and their Deſcendents.

THE next Degree or Qualification is that of Eſquire, which was anciently applied to the younger Sons of Nobility and their Heirs in the immediate Line, to the eldeſt Son of Knights and their Heirs, to the Eſquire of the Knight's Body, and others of that Rank in His MAJESTY's Service, and to ſuch as had eminent Employment in the Commonwealth, and were not knighted; ſuch as Judges, Sheriffs and Juſtices of the Peace during their Offices, and ſome others. But now the Addition is ſo increaſed as he a is very poor and inconſiderable Perſon that writes himſelf leſs. And though it may be asked where the Inconveniences lye, or what Prejudice is it to the King or Commonwealth? yet if it be conſidered as a Condition applied only to thoſe Qualities above named, it will appear not only a Preſumption in ſuch as are not, to equalize themſelves with thoſe that are ſo, but an invading of the Rights of others; the Conſequence

whereof

whereof breeds Diſcontents and ill Blood amongſt them. And being now in a Diſcourſe of my own Sphere, and that which I have frequently obſerved and conſidered; I ſhall humbly ſay, that when it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore His MAJESTY to His Dominions, He cannot in a matter held ſo indifferent by many People as this is, put a higher Tye upon ancient Families, than by reforming this Abuſe, and (by ſetting but a very few Hours apart for conſideration) ſo to ſettle the Degrees and Precedencies of Perſons according to their Qualities, Birth and Offices, as may ſhew that from the higheſt Peer to the meaneſt Gentleman His MAJESTY hath a Care of their Honours and Reputations. For by Order and Reſpect from one Degree to another, Unity and Obedience is maintained, and the MAJESTY of the King preſerved. As may be ſeen by looking back to the Eſtate and Diſtance obſerved by all Degrees in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time; which conduced ſo much to the Splendor of the Crown and Peace of the Covernment: As on the contrary the *Scotiſh* and *French* Diſpoſitions ſince, have as much contributed to the bringing in of Parity, and to the Diſreſpect of Monarchy. And as none can ſettle this Order amongſt the Degrees of Men but the King Himſelf, ſo no Perſon will find greater Quiet and Benefit by it, nor no Act more increaſe the Duty of thoſe who are preſerved in their Rights, nor cauſe others to be more induſtrious by Merit to obtain ſuch Degrees and Appellations. Whereas now no Value is ſet upon it, Riches and Uſurpation (without contradiction) being the beſt Titles that moſt Men have to this Qualification.

THE laſt is that of Gentleman, which, though it be the meaneſt, yet the Badges thereof (to wit the bearing of Arms) are common to all Degrees; and being ſo, and as it were the Foot of the Ladder of Honour, there ought to be as much Care in the preſerving that Title from Uſurpation, and from the unworthy Admiſſions into that Rank as of any other. And as I ſaid before in that of Eſquire, the regulating of this ſo as that every Perſon ſhould not preſume to give himſelf that Title, would not only ſatisfie that great Body, but afford them Reſpect and Advantages which they now want. And it were to be wiſhed that as generally the Gentry have ſignally (though unfortunately) aſſerted their Loyalty, ſo that ſome Privileges not deſtructive to the common Good were granted them, and of which none but Gentlemen to be capable. For in our times every Man without Contradiction gives himſelf that Denomination. But then it may be juſtly objected, that if bearing of Arms creates

Gentry,

Gentry, and the Power of granting them reſts in the pleaſure and Authority of the Kings of Arms, Money and ſmall Conſiderations of Perſons of little or no Merit, will frequently obtain that Title and the Advantages thereof. Now for my part, though I have the Honour to be principal of that Society, and to have legally that Power, I cannot deny and anſwer this Objection; and have therefore often ſeriouſly conſidered (not only to remedy the Abuſes formerly committed by my Predeceſſors in that kind, whom yet I cannot blame, conſidering their great Titles and moſt inconſiderable Means of Support, if they acted herein as they lawfully might) how by the Countenance and Favour of the King to regulate that Office, ſo as to put not only an Obligation generally upon all the Families of the Nation, but a Value and Reſpect on the Kings and Officers of Arms. Though when I conſider the vulgar Fancies and ſordid Meanneſs of many, who for the preſervation of their Names and Families think themſelves either above that Care, or invaded of their Property, if they once afford but as much as they daily ſpend in the Hire of a Coach, I am diſcouraged in my Deſign; but yet having ſo freely diſcourſed of all Inconveniences that have occurred to my Obſervation in the diſtribution of other Degrees, I ſhall as freely ſay what I think may be properly done to hinder the Continuation of the Errors formerly paſt in this kind. And herein I ſhall offer whether it may not be convenient for the ſetting a greater Luſtre upon the granting of Arms, that the King Himſelf ſhould do the ſame, either under the Great Seal or Seal of the Order of the Garter, the Principal King of Arms drawing up the Patent, according to Practice, and deviſing the Arms. But except the Gentry have ſome Privilege or Reſpect by it, it will not be worth either any Man's ſuit, or the King's putting Himſelf to the trouble. But if ſo, it will be no difficult matter to ſettle an orderly and proper way for the doing of it; which I hope no Man will conclude can be illegal, the King being the Fountain of Honour, which He may diſpoſe as beſt pleaſeth Himſelf. Next, if it be thought fit that it be done by an inferior Officer, it will be moſt neceſſary that the Power be aſſigned to one Perſon, that may be anſwerable openly for all his Actions. For the Power of all the Kings of Arms diſtinctly to do it, hath been the greateſt Cauſe of encreaſing the Number of the Conceſſions, and of granting them privately in Corners to mean Perſons and for petty Sums. Whereas one Perſon will have leſs need to be greedy, and if it be left to his Diſcretion will more inſiſt upon his Reputation, eſpecially all Grants by him

him to be made, being publickly regiſtred; and yet the more to limit this Power, in caſe any Privileges be granted the Gentry, I would have him ſo reſtrained, as to grant Arms only to ſuch Perſons as ſhall be agreed fit to demand them, and to no others without particular Warrant from the King, or Earl Marſhal ſignifying the King's Pleaſure. Thus far my Propoſition is ſtated in relation to the granting of Arms; now for the preſerving of Deſcents of Families and their Arms from Oblivion, and that ſuch Deſcents may be of Force for the clearing of many Differences that frequently ariſe in Courts of Judicature, about the Poſſeſſion of Eſtates, and for other Conſiderations in relation to the Honour of the Nobility and Gentry; I ſhall again propoſe that this Officer and the other Kings of Arms may in their Provinces, and he for the Nobility, have Power by Oath to take exact and faithful Accounts of all the Deſcents of the Gentry, from three Deſcents upwards from the giver of the Information, and for Illuſtration of the Family what more can be produced; and thoſe three Deſcents ſigned by the Hand of the Perſon informing, to be fairly written and kept in the Office of Arms; which being made an Office of Record, may teſtifie the ſame for the uſe of Poſterity. And becauſe it may not be conceived this Deſign is ſtated for private Advantage, I ſhould likewiſe propoſe that this ſhould be done at the King's Charge if he pleaſes; otherwiſe ſuch moderate Fees to be allowed as may only defray the Charge of doing it, and every twenty five Years new Viſitations to be made in the ſame manner. Which only to be Records, and all former Viſitations and Pedigrees to be ſuppreſſed and of no Validity, but to ſhew there are ſuch Families; and no Officer to forge and falſifie any Record upon pein of Forfeiture of his Place and other ſevere Puniſhment; nor to admit or acknowlege any in his Viſitation that is not in former Books, or can ſhew the uſe of bearing Arms and writing Gentleman for fifty Years paſt, or ſhew a Pattent of Arms from a King of Arms before the late horrid Rebellion, or ſince by any that legally derived his Authority from His Majesty; and in entring ſuch to deduce the Deſcent but from the Perſon to whom the Grant was made. By thoſe and ſome other means that may be deviſed, the true Deſcents of all Families will be juſtly preſerved, the Reputation of the Officers of Arms augmented, and all Forgery in points of Honour and Families prevented.

But what Advantage the Labourers in this unfruitful Vinyard ſhall have, is yet not evident; neither dare I propoſe any,

leſt it might be objected I intend my own Intereſt, which I throughout this whole Diſcourſe oppoſe, and be bid to kill the Bear before I divide the Skin. For all theſe are but the Thoughts of leiſure Hours, and I am ſure can never be practiſed, unleſs it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore His MAJESTY to the Poſſeſſion of his lawful Authority, which I am confident no Perſon more heartily (and with more reaſon) deſires may be ſpeedily effected, than doth,

Hague the firſt of February 1653. *E. W.* Gr.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
ANNALS
PUBLISHED
By *Hamond Leſtrange* Eſquire
OF THE
Reign of K. Charles,
BOTH
General and Particular.

BY
Sir *EDWARD WALKER*, Knight,
Garter Principal KING of ARMS, *&c.*

At *Amſterdam.* 1655.

Great Principal King of Arms &c.

SIR EDMUND MALLETT, Knight

BY

Regium of K. Charles

BOTH

Great and Particular:

BOTH

Regium of K. Charles

OF THE

By Hammond Lestrange Edmitr

PUBLISHED

ANNALS

UPON THE

OBSERVATIONS

Observations upon the Annals Published by Hamond Lestrange *Esquire of the Reign of King* Charles, *both General and Particular.*

WHEN this Work came first to my View, I did with an earnest Zeal betake my self to the perusal of it, not out of any Fear that the least Blemish could truly lie on the Life and Actions of that most Excellent (though Unfortunate) King; (all these Calumnies so often cast upon Him by His most traiterous and malicious Enemies, having been so often both truly and judiciously refelled) but out of an hope and expectation to read somewhat in the more authentick way of History (as well as by Answer to scurrilous Libels) that might *seriatim* discover to the World His MAJESTY's Lenity, Candor, and Justice in the Government of His People. And now having read and impartially considered these Annals, I must needs confess that my Hopes in general have not failed me; for they do not only so methodically state the matter of Fact between His MAJESTY and the factious Part of His People, and therein assert the Piety and Justice of His MAJESTY throughout His Government; but lead the Reader to a serious perusal of the several Speeches, Answers, Petitions, and Replies, both of His late MAJESTY and those of the Lords and Commons in Parliament (as far as the Author proceeds in his Narrative) into an easie way of Judgment which was the injured Party. For therein all His MAJESTY's Actions, Speeches, and Declarations appear to be full of Grace, Condescention and Justice. And on the contrary, the Demeanor, and most of the publick Actions and Addresses (more especially of the Commons led by a factious Party) in all the Parliaments of His MAJESTY's Reign, will be found no other than Schismatical, Insolent and Antimonarchical. So as if there were any Irregularities in His MAJESTY's Government, such must solely lie at the Doors of the factious Commons, and not at the King's; who left no ways just or honourable unattempted to give them full Satisfaction. Yet because the Author in his Preface confesseth that he hath declined the inserting many things remarkable, contenting himself with saving Truths: I that have been an humble

humble Actor upon the fatal Stage of *England*, and have thereby ſeen and obſerved many Circumſtances which this Diſcourſe prompts me to remember, do conceive my ſelf to be obliged (though but for my own uſe) to make particular Obſervations upon the whole; wherein I ſhall endeavour to avoid perſonal Reflections as much as the Truth will give me leave. And although poſſibly I may not know many of the remarkable Paſſages omitted, yet ſomewhat I ſhall add for His MAJESTY's farther Vindication and Recrimination of His turbulent People, as naturally ariſing from the matter it ſelf, (and which probably the Author living under an uſurped Government, held not ſo proper or ſafe to inſert.) Next I ſhall take the Freedom to correct ſome few Paſſages, and enlarge others that fall under the Notion of my Memory. Wherein if I fail or am miſtaken, it muſt be imputed to my want of Books and Memorials, as not having any by me at this time; and for which I preſume, if ever they ſee the Light I ſhall have the Author's thanks, as he hath mine for publiſhing theſe Annals. Only by the way, I could have wiſhed that in ſome Places he had not followed the Error of ſome of our late Writers, in mentioning great Perſons by their Offices, as Lord Treaſurer, Lord Privy Seal, *&c.* without their Names or Titles. For though our times know who they were that held theſe Offices, yet after Ages will be to ſeek therein; and thereby the meritorious Actions of ſuch great Officers will be buried under the Notion of their Offices, and themſelves and Families deprived of the Honour and Memory of their Virtues: And on the contrary, ſhould any Infamy fall on ſuch eminent Perſons, it were fitter to reſt on their natural than politick Capacities. One thing more my weaker Underſtanding could have deſired in this Work, which is, that it had been written in a more vulgar and eaſie Stile; for ſome Phraſes, and more eſpecially ſome Words, (though derived from *Greek* and *Latin* Originals) have not (to my Obſervation) been as yet naturalized amongſt us. But as this is the effect of great reading, ſo it ill becomes one of my ſlender parts to ſay other, but that he wiſheth it had been more eaſie and agreeable to his Capacity. I ſhall conclude as the Author in his Preface, that I have no deſign but Truth in my particular Obſervations on this Work. And if many others who have the like Duty and Affection to the Memory of His late MAJESTY and His Government, and have far greater Parts and Experience, would do the like; ſuch Obſervations could not but be of excellent Uſe to the building up of that vaſt Fabrick of the Life, Actions, and fatal End of the moſt pious, juſt and unfortunate King *Charles*.

Parti-

Particular Obſervations. Page 1.

I muſt agree with the Author, that *His late* MAJESTY *had ſome Diminution by ſucceeding His Brother Prince* Henry; but whether juſtly or not is a Queſtion, and ſuch as no honeſt Man could truly determine, or ought to have governed himſelf by; either in relation to Affection or future Obedience. For admit Prince *Henry* to have been of an Heroick Spirit, yet he died before any Fruits could fully appear thereof. And Hiſtory will ſhew us many Princes of great hopes in their Youth, that have proved in Government nothing leſs; and others of unapt and ſome of gentle Diſpoſitions, that have proved both Juſt, Courageous and Fortunate. So as ſeeing the Almighty Providence had decreed to take away the one and leave us the other, we ought not to look back what the firſt might have been, but to content our ſelves with what the other was.

Again, Page 1.

It is ingeniouſly and truly ſaid by the Author, that *Obloquy never played the Fool ſo much as by imputing Folly to the late King.* And yet it is ſadly obſervable how prone the generality of Man is to embrace Falſhood in the place of Truth; for under the Notion of a weak and puſillanimous, inſtead of a modeſt and gentle Prince, factious ambitious Spirits traduced Him to His People. And it is as true, that as that falſe Opinion had gotten deep Root, ſo the diſcovery of it was equally if not more deſtructive to His MAJESTY than the former; for the firſt only held him unfit to govern, the laſt unfit (or at leaſt unſafe) to live. And that I may ſay ſomewhat in order hereunto, I remember very well, that Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, in a Diſcourſe that I had with him (during the Treaty in the *Iſle of Wight*) told me, that they were much deceived in His MAJESTY, who was repreſented to them to be a weak Perſon, and that they believed Him to have been ſo; but now they found Him far otherwiſe, and that He was a Perſon of great Parts and Abilities. Hereupon he inferted that they muſt conſider their own Securities, and that he feared the time was paſt to do any good by Treaty. And that the Effect of theſe Fears made good this their too late Obſervation, His MAJESTY ſoon after felt by the Councils and Hands of moſt inhumane and barbarous Regicides.

Page

Page 2 and 3.

It were to be wished the Author had been more particular in the account of the Prince's Journey into *Spain*, and who attended Him, who were only at first the Marquess after Duke of *Buckingham*, Sir *Francis Cottington* then Secretary to the Prince (after Lord *Cottington*) and Mr. *Endemion Porter* (some of whom had great Shares in the transaction thereof;) and Mr. *Graham* afterwards Knight: Only I conceive that in no Sense the Author's Expression upon his Highness's Return, *viz.* [*In truth they were so coincident, as the loyal hearted* English *could not distinguish between the* Spanish *Match and* Charles *His Ruin*] can be admitted. For whence could those loyal hearted draw this Conclusion? Certainly it could not be from the inclination of the Lady, who was a Princess of great Goodness and Virtue; nor from the disposition of that Nation, their Reservedness and Gravity better agreeing with our Humours than that of some other Nations. Next examine our Histories, and it will be found that the Alliance with *Spain*, both in point of Marriage and otherwise (even when that Crown was at the height) never did nor could have brought Ruin on our Kings or People. As for the matter of Religion, the effects could have been no other than what followed on the Marriage with *France*; so that upon the whole (although the King and People were as happy in the succeeding Match as this (had it succeeded) could in any kind have made them, yet) it is partially concluded by the loyal hearted *English*, that the Match with *Spain* would have been *Charles* His Ruin, which Epithet (without that of Prince) the Author improperly gives Him; as of *Philip*, without the addition of King; the Lady *Infanta*, without saying whose Daughter or Sister She was; and the Earl of *Bristol*, not naming him Ambassadour; all which in my Judgment are Defects in this Relation.

Page 5 and 6.

Since the Author hath presumed to represent a Character of King *James*, I shall take the same Liberty to observe thereupon, and to say that he hath in general truly represented Him, and hath in the Conclusion most pertinently said, that *the dismal Calamities that befell the late King His Son, derived the first existency from these Seminalities*; which in the Body of the Caracter he concludes to be Pusillanimity in that King in not assisting His Son-in-law the Prince Elector, His spending vast Sums in Ambassies, courting the Match with *Spain*, Pressures

ſures of His People by Privy Seals, and Largeſſes to His Favourite *Buckingham*: Moſt of which, although I muſt agree were the prime Cauſes pretended, *which begat Diſaffection and Contempt in His People, and thoſe generated a daring Diſpoſition to oppoſe His darling Prerogative* (to uſe the Author's own Phraſe;) yet I muſt be excuſed if I totally diſagree from him, that in Reaſon or Juſtice thoſe Cauſes ought to have produced ſuch Effects. For firſt, admit that the King were by Nature puſillanimous, which yet cannot be evinced out of any the precedent Actions of His Life; yet His not having a *Majeſtick Indignation* in the Cauſe of His Son-in-law, did not proceed from want of Courage, but from the ungroundedneſs of the *Palſegrave*'s Cauſe, and the almoſt impoſſibility of that King's aſſiſting him any other way than by interpoſing by Treaty for His Reſtitution. And it had been to be wiſhed, for the Honour and Advantage of that Prince and his Family, that he had never accepted the Crown of *Bohemia*, the Conſequence whereof cauſed his expulſion from his hereditary Poſſeſſions, and had withal a greater influence on the Ruin of the Monarchy of *England*; for therein, the more zealous Pretenders to Religion aſcribed his Sufferings to be for that Cauſe. And becauſe neither King *James*, nor the late King were as active or fortunate in order to his Reſtitution, as ſuch Mens Fancies concluded they ought to have been; it gave them not only a fair Pretence, but an Intereſt with the factious part of the People for their future Diſloyalty and Rebellion. And it had a farther ill Conſequence abroad, by beginning a War with *Germany* (which at laſt fatally returned on our own Heads.) To which War out of Affection to that Cauſe, many of the *Scotiſh* Nation applied themſelves, and at length returning with Riches and high Reputation, they concluded it as fit for them to domineer in *England* as they had done in *Germany*, deſpiſing the *Engliſh* as unwarlike, and accordingly they and the factious Party in *England* being joined, did effect theſe horrid Changes which no former Precedents can parallel.

Next, whereas the Author infers, that *if the Moyety of all thoſe vaſt Summs ſpent in Treaty, had been diſpoſed in Military Levies, it would have* (*whilſt* Heydelberg, Manheim *and* Frankendale *defended themſelves*) *reinſtated the* Palſgrave; his Aſſertion if impartially weighed, will be found to amount very near to an impoſſibility. For firſt theſe Treaties managed by *Carliſle*, *Briſtol*, *Belfaſt* and *Weſton* (as the Author ſtileth them) were not all at a time, but ſubſequent each to other, and aroſe from diſtinct and emergent Occaſions; and no wiſe or juſt Prince

(how couragious ſoever) did ever yet undertake a War (eſpecially upon an unſure Foundation) without firſt attempting to get Satisfaction by way of Peace. Next, all thoſe Monies ſo ſpent were not in the King's Purſe at a time, nor poſſibly could be; but were raiſed out of the yearly Revenues of the Crown and otherwiſe, and ſo could not (had they been employed in War) have maintained any conſiderable Forces. Again, it is to be conſidered, that the Elector's Territories lay far from *England*, and thoſe of other Princes and States were to be traverſed before any Forces could come thither, where they had a powerful Enemy to oppoſe them; how then could that King in Wiſdom embark Himſelf in a War at ſuch diſtance, and againſt ſuch powerful Oppoſition, before He had tryed all ways to obtain Satisfaction? And yet I believe it will appear that ſeveral Forces of the *Engliſh* Nation, under the Conduct of the Lord *Vere* and others, held ſome parts of the *Palatinate* until they were forced to quit them, and other Forces under the Command of the Earls of *Southampton*, *Eſſex* and Lord *Willoughby* afterward Earl of *Lindſey*, went over into the *Netherlands* to join with the Forces of the United Provinces to that end. But thoſe (as likewiſe Count *Mansfield* who undertook that Prince's Quarrel) were unfortunate; and yet it cannot be denied, but that the maintenance of thoſe Forces, did chiefly ariſe out of that King's Coffers. And if He diſcontented His People by Loans, (which I believe were to that end,) they may thank themſelves who were mad of War, becauſe it was againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, whether juſt or unjuſt. Beſides, conſider the time from the *Palſgrave*'s Expulſion to King *James* His Death, and it will not be found above five Years; and what in probability could that King do more in that time than He did: Yet at length by the Deſire of the Commons in Parliament, He vigorouſly deſigned a War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*; and dying before any thing was done, left the proſecution to His Son. But how undutifully they dealt with Him therein, the enſuing Diſcourſe will ſufficiently evidence; for the truth is, the deſign of factious Spirits was then, and ever ſince, to propoſe plauſible though unreaſonable or difficult Propoſitions, that ſo the King might either retard or deny them; and then they had gained their End, to throw the *odium* on the King for not complying with their Advice.

As for the King's courting the Match with *Spain* for His Son, He did no more on that Occaſion than His wiſe Predeceſſor and Anceſtor *Henry* VII. did; and His deſign therein was both honourable and juſt, both in order to the Peace and

Welfare

Welfare of His People, and the Reſtitution of His Son-in-law. For as the Author excellently well ſaith in another Place though upon the like Occaſion, *the Paucity of Proteſtant Princes was ſuch, that the whole Tribe of Reformation was not able to furniſh and ſupply the Prince with one ſingle Match of agreeable Birth and Fortune.* And although the People diſaffected it (which was the King's Misfortune) yet it was the Peoples Fault to do ſo, not being proper Judges of their own Good.

LASTLY, For that King's Favour and Largeſs to His Favourite *Buckingham*, no doubt it was great, and it may well be that he deſerved it; but if he did not, muſt therefore the People hate or deſpiſe the King? But the abuſe of that Favour, as it appeared after in the Reign of the late King, was (as all the reſt) but a falſe Pretence to cover wicked Ends; for it was the King and Kingly Government that was ſtill ſhot at through the ſides of their ableſt Miniſters and faithfulleſt Servants. So that upon the whole matter, this King cannot be juſtly taxed for want of Aſſiſtance to the *Palſgrave*, exorbitant Affection to the Match with *Spain*, impoſing on His People, or Bounty to His Favourite, when all theſe with their Circumſtances are duly conſidered. But yet theſe His Inclinations and Actions joined with other Accidents of His Government, being falſly repreſented and gloſſed on by the factious Puritan Party, were eaſily entertained amongſt the Multitude in the worſt Senſe; and conſequently the Diſaffection conceived againſt the Father was more unjuſtly transferred on the Son, to the Ruin of Him and all His faithful Subjects.

Page 8.

As in my precedent Obſervations on the Life of King *James* I have taken upon me to differ from the Author, and to controvert the Cauſes (though not the Effects) of many of his Aſſertions; ſo I muſt ingeniouſly confeſs that in his Reflex on His late MAJESTY's Marriage with the Queen His Wife, and conſequently on His Alliance with the Crown of *France*, he hath ſo excellently confuted thoſe great Pretenders to State Ætiologie (as he terms them) as nothing (and I am ſure, by my weaker Pen) can be added to confirm the Judgment he hath given, except (that which I preſume he believeth, though his Condition admits him not to write) that this Marriage was happy in their mutual Affection, and in a numerous Princely Iſſue of both Sexes, who are eminent for their Piety towards God and their Parents, Love to each other, and in the hopes that all Loyal Subjects have of their future Felicity and Greatneſs.

Page 9.

THE Author hath here ſo rhetorically enforced the neceſſity of a King's having a ſupream Council and Repreſentative, in the account he gives of His late MAJESTY's calling the firſt Parliament to meet the 18th of *June* 1625; as that if I had a Diſpoſition, yet I have not Ability to controvert his Aſſertions. But yet, as what he hath ſaid muſt be taken reſtrictively to His MAJESTY's Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, (other Kingdoms having different Forms whereby their Kings communicate with their People and receive their Aſſiſtance;) ſo becauſe this Form of a great Council in Parliament hath in our times produced ſo horrid Effects, it will not be impertinent in this Place to ſay ſomewhat of the Beginning of that Form, what their Buſineſs is, and how it got Strength and Power. But before I diſcourſe of the Particulars, I muſt aſſert it to be an indoubted Truth, that neither in the *Engliſh*, nor any other Monarchy, any Degree or Condition of Men had anciently a natural Right to counſel their Kings; but that all ſuch Immunities have flowed either from the Bounty of Kings, or the Conveniency and Neceſſity of their Affairs: Which granted, it will be no difficult matter both to point out the Beginning, Growth and Power of this Aſſembly, as well legal as uſurped. Firſt before the *Norman* Conqueſt there is no mention of any ſuch Form; the Biſhops in thoſe religious Ages being the chief Counſellors of the King; nor after until the Reign of *Henry* I. and if that King, and ſo four or five of His Succeſſours did adviſe with any great Aſſembly beſides their particular Counſellors, ſuch were only the Nobility and Biſhops. Nor are we beholding to any Parliaments for any of the Common Laws of *England*, which are ſuch as either by Cuſtom were taken up, or preſcribed to the People by the *Saxon* Kings; and even *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foreſta*, ſo much controverted between King *John*, *Henry* III. and their Nobility, were the Grants of theſe Kings and their Predeceſſors, and gotten us by the Nobility and Biſhops. For the firſt Statute Laws that are extant, are thoſe entituled of *Merton*, *Weſtminſter* and *Marlebridge*, enacted about the fiftieth Year of *Henry* III. at the paſſing of which, if any Commons were preſent, it was the firſt time they were ever called to Council, being introduced by that King to abate the Power and inſolent Height of the Nobility.

THIS therefore is the fartheſt time (and that not above 400 Years ſince) that the Body of the Commons in Parliament can preſcribe to that ſwelling Title of the Repreſentative of all

all the Commons of *England*; and yet examine how they came to be ſo, it will be found that no fundamental Cauſe or Cuſtom beyond the Memory of Man, gave either the People Authority to chooſe the Repreſentatives or any to appear for them; but it was only done by the Will and Power of the King, who by His Writ empowered the People to elect and ſend them.

Next for the Growth of that Body, it was not conſiderable in point of Intereſt and Power until an Accident made it ſo. For although *Henry* III. and His Son *Edward* I. called them to adviſe, yet it ſeems their aſſent to the laying of Impoſitions, was not demanded until about the end of that King's Reign; who to get the free aſſiſtance of His Subjects, thereby to ſupport His Ally the Earl of *Flanders* againſt the *French* King, promiſed from thenceforth never to charge His Subjects with Taxes or Impoſitions, other than by their Conſent in Parliament. Which Promiſe He was forced to make to ſatisfie the then only powerful part of the Parliament, which were the Nobility; who refuſed to aſſiſt Him until He had paſſed this gratious Conceſſion. So as to them and their Memories we owe this Immunity (all the Kings His Succeſſors having ſtill obſerved the ſame.) And this Grant of that King empowered the People by their Repreſentatives (when the Kings called a Parliament) to give their Suffrage to ſuch Aids as the neceſſary Occaſions of the Kings required from them; (which being paſs'd their Houſe, was tranſmitted to the Lords for their approbation.) This Capacity gave the Commons likewiſe another; which was, to petition for Redreſs of Grievances, and that Laws might be enacted as occaſion preſented itſelf for the Advantage of King and People; but neither Grievances or Pretence thereof were many in elder times; nor were there many Laws enacted either to indulge to or reſtrain the People, there being more paſs'd, and thoſe penal, in the laſt hundred than in the former three hundred Years. So that it is evident the chief Cauſe of calling Parliaments, was for granting Aids to the Kings; and by that means the calling of the Commons to Parliament, was from that time equally neceſſary with that of the two higher Eſtates. And theſe were the Beginning, Growth, and true Power of Parliaments; within which modeſt Bounds, the Houſe of Commons contained itſelf until this laſt Age; and probably had done ſo ſtill, had not a Concatenation of Cauſes and the Indulgence of Princes given them both Intereſt and Ability to pretend to thoſe Powers, which neither by Law nor Cuſtom they could juſtly claim.

It reſts then that I enumerate the Cauſes that ſeemingly gave Life to the horrid Uſurpation of the Commons in our times; which were,

First, Perverſeneſs of many in matters of Religion.

Secondly, The too great Liberality of King *James*.

Thirdly, The debaſing of the Nobility in his time.

Fourthly, The Wealth and Populouſneſs of the City of *London*.

Lastly, The taking off by Advancement ſuch factious Perſons as oppoſed the Kings in Parliament.

The ill Effects of which got Strength and Vigour in the Reign of King *James*, whoſe not preventing the Inconveniencies thereof may more properly be imputed to that King, than thoſe mentioned formerly by the Author; although probably the other pretended Defects (though unjuſtly) as being of higher Natures, did as much or more contribute to the diſmal Calamities that befel the late King His Son.

As firſt, in relation to Religion, that Cancre to all Monarchical Government, the Doctrine and Diſcipline of *Calvin*, got Favour and Encouragement from many of the *Scotiſh* Nation about the King, and ſo conſequently ſpred it ſelf more freely amongſt the People in *England*. And though the King Himſelf loved it not, yet (probably not foreſeeing it) did little to prevent it; and ſo that Faction increaſing, and hypocritically ſeeming to be the only Men of Integrity and Piety, and the great Aſſertors of the Liberty of the People, craftily traduced the King and His Actions (becauſe He was not theirs,) and then left Him in the Diſreſpect of His People, into whoſe Favours they had thus fraudulently wound themſelves.

Some of the Biſhops likewiſe were faulty in favouring the Conventicles of ſuch People, and permitting (to the bane of all Government) Lectures and weekly Sermons in populous Cities and Towns; where the Lecturers to pleaſe the ſilly Women, and to lead them after them, *laden with divers Luſts*, introduced new Forms, or rather no Forms of Worſhip and Doctrine. And becauſe the King and His chief Miniſters were not of their fanatick Humour, they were hated by them. All which Diſtempers having taken deep Root in King *James* His Reign, were too difficult to be eradicated in that of His Son, the only juſt Attempt whereof, being a great Cauſe of His Ruin.

To this may be added, King *James* His permitting the Houſe of Commons (whoſe leading Men were chiefly ſuch as by the way of ſeeming Holineſs and Love to their Country, had Intereſt

tereſt with the People) to take notice of Religion, and the pretended Errors and Innovations; the Effect of which very Act or Permiſſion principally contributed to our future Calamities. For from that time the Commons grew mad with ſpiritual Pride, not a Burgeſs amongſt them but thought himſelf abler and fitter to judge of Religion than an Archbiſhop. And after in every Parliament when the Neceſſity of the King or Honour of the Nation required their ſpeedy Advice, thoſe holy Gentlemen cryed out, We muſt firſt look to God, and the danger Religion is in; and if in any of their Propoſitions they were not ſatisfied, the King was traduced as a Papiſt or Favourer of them.

The ſecond Cauſe that gave the Commons Strength and Intereſt to oppoſe Him, proceeded from the over great Bounty of King *James* to His Favourites and Countrymen, which rendred Him neceſſitous, and forced Him to ask Aid of His People; and (no eminent Neceſſity appearing) the Commons diſputed His Deſires, and queſtioned how the Treaſure had been ſpent; which in other times they durſt not do, their Parts being only to give, and the King's to diſpoſe.

A third Cauſe was the over large Bounty and Grace of that King in diſpenſing Titles of Honour; which diſcontented the ancient Nobility and Gentry of great Families and Fortunes, and cauſed the People in reſpect of their numbers not to reverence Nobility in that Degree they did when they were fewer in number, nor the King that conferred them. And this was one of the greateſt Cauſes of the Ruin of Monarchy; for the King being not able to ſatisfie them all, many of them became factious and popular: Whereas in precedent Ages, the Nobility being not numerous, did all in proper time receive Marks of the Royal Favour, and ſtood as a Wall between the King and People, for the Advantage of both. And as this Bounty weakned the Monarchy, ſo the Degree of Baronets amongſt the Commons, did as much diſcontent ancient Families, and gave others that had thoſe Titles (higher than which their Ambition could not raiſe them) the Advantage to be ſawcy, and (affecting popular Applauſe) to oppoſe the King; whereas had they not had this Title (which is hereditary) they and their Poſterity would have been more dutiful in expectation of perſonal Favours.

The fourth Cauſe may be aſcribed to the Populouſneſs of the City of *London*, occaſioned principally by that King's Grace, in living moſt of His Reign in or near that City, which (like the Liver of the *Italian* Gooſe) had drawn all the Nutriment

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and Riches to it ſelf; and by this means not only gave Law to the King, but wrought on His Neceſſities: And Parliaments being called there, the City would acquaint them with the King's Wants; which gave the Commons Boldneſs to oppoſe His Deſires, or to ſupply Him ſo by halfs, as it rather prejudiced than advantaged His Affairs. The Conſequence whereof bred a Diſreliſh in the King of their Frowardneſs, and on the contrary cauſed the Commons to increaſe in Inſolency and Diſreſpect to Him; which in no other place they had means to do, but only in that populous City.

THE laſt Cauſe may be a falſe Principle of Government taken up by that King (and if practiſed by His Son He learnt it from His Father,) which was to take off by Advancements ſuch Perſons as in Parliament were oppoſite to His Deſires. This ſo multiplied the Number of thoſe factious Spirits (all gaping for Preferment) as when every one could not have it, it changed their feigned Pretences into real Hatred. So that at length the Ring-leaders in Parliament from hypocritical Commonwealths Men became eſſential Rebels.

SOME other Cauſes there probably were, (which fall not under my Obſervation) that bred a Diſrepect in factious People towards the King; and for theſe I have enumerated, if duly weighed, it will appear, that that King's Grace and Bounty, and His Lenity in not puniſhing thoſe factious ſeditious Spirits, (that firſt ſhewed themſelves in His time) ought if they had met with a generous and complying People, to have produced rather Love than Hatred from them: But I am ſorry to make the Obſervation, that always our beſt Kings have had the worſt Subjects.

FOR concluſion therefore of this Diſcourſe in relation to a Parliament, I ſhall agree with the Author, that nothing is more important for a King than the Love of His People; but whether He cannot have it, or (to uſe the Author's Expreſſion) *that He is but an half formed or ſteril thing without a ſupream Council*, I dare not determine. Though I conceive it may be poſitively affirmed, that the natural Relation and Affection between the King and His People, depends more on the general and equal Diſtribution of Juſtice by the King, than on the King's adviſing with a Parliament. Firſt, becauſe the King's Capacity is natural, a Parliament's Political; and Reaſon teacheth us more to honour our natural Superiour, than ſuch as He calls to adviſe Him. Next, a King's Power is perpetual, theirs contingent; and ſo much more Obedience due to His than theirs. Again, the ſole Adminiſtration, of Government is in the

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King, and delegated by Him to His ſubordinate Miniſters; and on the contrary no part of the Government was ever legally or of right in a Parliament, and leaſt of all in the Houſe of Commons; that part of this great Council having only Power as Aſſeſſors to grant Subſidies, to petition for Redreſs of Grievances, (if any are) and to tranſmit Bills to the Peers, and thence to the King for framing new, and altering old Laws; by whoſe Royal Aſſent, ſuch only have Force and are binding. From which and many other Arguments that may be produced, it is evident, and may eaſily be evinced, that the People's Love to their King ought not to be guided by His calling or not calling Parliaments; but by the real Expreſſion of their Duty and Affection, ariſing out of their natural Obedience, and from the Happineſs they enjoy under the Juſtice and Equality of Kingly Government.

I have been the larger in this Diſcourſe in regard all our fatal Misfortunes have proceeded from the Differences between the late Kings and their Subjects in Parliament. Whereupon in this place (as far as my Abilities have given me leave) I have diſcourſed of the Nature of that great Aſſembly, and by what means (as I conceive) it firſt invaded the Royal Power, and in what poſture that Difference ſtood at the Death of King *James*; that ſo in reading the Life and Actions of His Son King *Charles*, it may be ſeen that He was not the Cauſe of the Evils that ſucceeded; but that the Inſolency and Treaſon of that Aſſembly, eſpecially of the factious Commons in Parliament, have from the Beginning unto the fatal Period of His late MAJESTY's Life and Reign, proceeded from one Degree to another, until by Rebellion, Tyranny and Uſurpation they had deſtroyed both the King, Government, Laws, and the Idol Parliament it ſelf.

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IT will not be amiſs for the impartial Reader to conſider His late MAJESTY's Speech at the meeting His firſt Parliament, and the Reaſons that induced Him to indict that Aſſembly, (which are excellently expreſſed in the Speech it ſelf) and then to obſerve the manner of the Commons proceeding therein; and then it will appear (how much ſoever they formerly and ſtill ſeemed to take the *Palſgrave*'s Cauſe to heart, and thence made the World believe that they and not the King reſented his Sufferings,) they had another Deſign in hand, which was to bring His MAJESTY before He was warm in His Government under their Lure; and thereupon they laid the preſſing neceſ-

ſity of that Buſineſs aſide, and fell on two Petitions laid aſide in King *James* His time, and would have them firſt anſwered. Judge then (let the Nature of the Petitions be what they were) if this Proceeding were like that of faithful, diſcreet and affectionate Subjects, to irritate their Prince before they knew His Temper, or that He had done them good or evil. For admit (as they pretended) it was ever the Cuſtom to preſent Petitions at the Commencement of a Parliament, certainly they could not preſcribe that the Kings were bound to anſwer ſuch Petitions before any thing elſe were done. For Kings call not Parliaments to hear Petitions, but to acquaint their People with their Occaſions for Supply, and to have their Aſſiſtance therein; and in doing of that, by way of Retaliation to anſwer Petitions, and redreſs Grievances if any are preſented to them. But yet the King was ſo gracious at this time, as to give a diſtinct and ſatisfactory Anſwer to the ſeveral Heads of the Grievances, and to promiſe largely to the Petition of Religion (as the Author informs us.) And it were to be wiſhed that both the Petitions and His MAJESTY's expreſs Anſwers had been inſerted, that ſo a better Judgment might have been given of the Neceſſity of thoſe Petitions, and of His MAJESTY's Candour and Juſtice in giving ſo ſpeedy and ſatisfactory Anſwers. The Author farther ſaith that His MAJESTY the better to draw on Supplies, *did audit to them the ſeveral Diſburſements relating both to the Navy and Army*, (a Condeſcention rarely practiſed by His Predeceſſors) and then they gave Him two Subſidies, which if enough to ſupply the preſent Occaſion, admitted of no overplus.

THEN alſo the Commons took upon them to be Judges in point of Doctrine, cenſuring Mr. *Mountague* for his Books; which it is a Queſtion whether any of them well underſtood: But admit they did, it is a greater Queſtion whether they were his competent Judges. For I am ſure every one of the Commons had ſworn and acknowledged the King to be ſupreme Head of the Church, and ſo His MAJESTY and His legal Delegates, and not the Commons ought to be proper Judges of Doctrine. Neither can it be admitted, as the Author affirms, *that by the Artifice of his Court Friends he got into the King's Service undiſcerned*, except he was admitted and ſworn that or the next Day after his Commitment; for the Author ſays, *that two Days after His* MAJESTY *ſignified to the Houſe, that He thought His Servants, (whereof Mr.* Mountague *was one) ought to have as much Protection as the Servants of any ordinary Burgeſs.*

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AND that it may more clearly appear what Temper the Commons were of, and what His MAJESTY might expect from them, they prepared a Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, limitting it to a Year; whereas former Grants to His MAJESTY's Predeceſſors had paſſed for term of Life. The Reaſons (the Author gives) being that immoderate Rates had been ſet on the Cuſtoms, and therefore the Deſign was to reduce them to thoſe ſettled in Queen *Mary*'s time. However, what greater Argument can be made than this very Act of the Commons to evidence their Deſign of uſurping the Government, and undervaluing their King; for was not His MAJESTY as fit to have His Impoſition upon Merchandize granted Him as any of His Royal Predeceſſors? and had He done any thing at that time to diſpleaſe them? nay had He not embraced and purſued their Deſigns of War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, and graciouſly anſwered their Petitions? And was it juſt (admit the Impoſitions were encreaſed) to reduce them to the Rates in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, the Prices of all Merchandize being more than treble ſince that time? But it ſeems the limitting it to a Year, was either that they might ſit and domineer ſo long, or if diſſolved, that His MAJESTY might be forced to aſſemble them again, and ſo be neceſſitated to admit them as Partners and Controllers of His Government; elſe He ſhould not have wherewithal to ſupport His Royal Dignity, or to protect His Subjects. So that if the firſt Act of their Diſreſpect be truly weighed, it will appear to be the Baſis on which they built moſt of their future Diſloyalty; and that His MAJESTY (when He took that Impoſition afterwards without their Conſent) did no more than what in Juſtice He ought, and what in Reaſon they forced Him to do. And if the People were offended at it, they ought moſt juſtly to have laid the Blame on the factious Commons, and not on the King; for they could not but know, eſpecially all Merchants that paid the ſame, that the former King had it. So that the Queſtion now was, whether it ſhould be taken with or without Authority of Parliament, ſeeing ſuch Impoſitions ought neceſſarily to be levied. And why then ought not the King to have had it formally granted to Him, as well as it was to any of His Predeceſſors; but it was then the Misfortune of that good King, and ſo ever after, that the factious upſtart Ringleaders amongſt the Commons had more Credit with the People, and were thought fitter to be truſted for their Good than the King, though His Inclination and Intereſt was ever to preſerve His Subjects in Honour and Plenty.

Page 14, 15, *and* 16.

It is not unworthy Obſervation that the Commons at their meeting again at *Oxford*, brought no better Affections to His Majesty than thoſe they formerly had. For although His Majesty repreſented to them His Wants for ſetting forth His Fleet; inſtead of a juſt and ſpeedy Compliance, they fell to their old Trick, the Care of Religion, and preſented His Majesty a long Petition againſt the Papiſts; to which in three Days after (as the Author ſays) His Majesty *returned ſo plauſible and ſatisfactory an Anſwer as could be deſired.* The which it were to be wiſhed had been as well rendred in *terminis* as the Petition is; but yet it may be ſeen what Temper that Body was of, and how zealous Proteſtants they were. One of their Remedies (proper enough againſt Papiſts, but moſt deſtructive to the Church of *England*, whereof they pretended themſelves to be the only true Sons,) was, *that for the Propagation of the Goſpel, ſuch able Miniſters as had been formerly ſilenced may by fair intreaty of the Biſhops be reduced to the Service of the Church.* Yet notwithſtanding this gratious Anſwer of His Majesty to their Petition, it ſeems that their Tempers were ſtill the ſame or worſe; for inſtead of ſetting themſelves to the thoughts of ſupplying His Majesty's preſſing Occaſions, they inſtantly fell into thoſe Diſtempers the Author excellently enumerates. Whereupon it is obvious to every unbiaſſed Reaſon, that His Majesty in Juſtice to Himſelf and His own Authority, could do no leſs than diſſolve them. For what had the Commons to do with the Deſign, or by whom managed? Or, how came the Duke of *Buckingham* ſo ſpeedily into their Diſgrace, having not a Year before been ſo highly in their Favour? And what Juſtice was it to diveſt him of his Employments, and to call him to account for publick Moneys, before any Charge or Accuſation was brought againſt him? Certainly theſe Proceedings will ſeem ſtrange to ſucceeding Ages. But the Truth was (as I have been aſſured by ſuch as ſat in the Houſe at this time, and knew Sir *John Elliot* well) that he, and ſo probably other Ringleaders in the Houſe, were not ſo countenanced and advanced by the Duke as they expected; and this cauſed them to engage others, under pretence of the Publick, to ſacrifice their own private Revenge.

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The Affairs of the *Palatinate*, as it ſeems, being the principal Cauſe that induced a War with *Spain*; it followed that a Diver-

Diverſive, and that upon the Continent of that King's Dominions, was held moſt proper. To which end the Fleet and Army at this time put under the Command of the Viſcount *Wimbleton*, who had been bred up in the Wars of the *Netherlands*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, no Friend to *Spain*, were ſent to attempt it. Whereupon it may be demanded, that if the Commons had had any Right to form the Deſign, or appoint Commanders, whom would they have pitched on at that time more proper for it? And if it proved fruitleſs, muſt it not (next unto the diſpoſal of the Almighty Providence) be aſcribed unto the Perverſeneſs of the Commons, for not timely ſupplying the King? And the Deductions thence of Inauſpiciouſneſs in relation to His MAJESTY's future Reign, were ridiculous; for conſtant Fortune never yet attended the Actions of any Prince. *Edward* III. one of our greateſt and moſt victorious Kings, was very unfortunate in the firſt ſeven Years of His Reign, and yet afterwards attained great Glory and Reputation both in War and Peace.

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THAT my former Aſſertion may appear not to be groundleſs, where 'tis ſaid, that the Commons grew mad with ſpiritual Pride as ſoon as they got the Power to examine Errours in Religion, is again evident. For though His MAJESTY had in the precedent Parliament fully ſatisfied them therein, yet they reſume it again in this: *Religion being* (as the Author ſaith) *their ſuperlative Care.* And thereupon they eſtabliſh a Committee to examine the Abuſes of His MAJESTY's Grace, which any Man might ſee reflected on His MAJESTY, (who is truſted as well with Mercy as Juſtice.) But it ſeems, that factious Committee held the firſt not proper for Him; elſe they would never have done ſo inſolent an Act, as to ſearch the Signet-Office about a Letter that had been written to reprieve Jeſuits and Prieſts at *York*. And although this was an high Affront to the MAJESTY of the King, who queſtionleſs in doing this Act, (if He did it) had then cauſe to ſhew His Mercy; yet therein the Contrivers had a farther aim, thereby ſtill to traduce His MAJESTY as a Favourer of Popery, and to bring Him into the *Odium* of factious People; and on the contrary to magnifie themſelves, and the abſolute Neceſſity of Parliaments, leſt Religion ſhould be deſtroyed. But if they had conſulted the Speech of *Gamaliel* in the fifth of the Acts, they would have found that Humane Policy is not ſo requiſite to preſerve Religion; for that which is of God will ſtand: And if they had been true Sons of

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the Church of *England*, they would ſurely have had more Charity and leſs Fear. And it was not unwittily ſaid of a Member of the Houſe of Commons in this or in the precedent Parliament, that there were Ginns and Snares made to catch the Papiſts, but not ſo much as a Mouſe-trap for the Puritans; but this his Conceit cauſed him to be turned out of the Houſe.

Page 22.

I muſt confeſs I am at a ſtand in reading this Petition, and know not what to ſay; for it is evident that the Reaſons laid down therein are of great weight, and ſuch as if the King had or could have ſatisfied the Peers therein, would certainly have exceedingly obliged them to His Service: So on the contrary it may be ſaid, that His MAJESTY might conclude it to be a Preſumption in the Nobility to confirm or preſcribe to Him in the conferring of Honours, He being the only Fountain from whence it flows. Next, had He done it at their Deſires, the Thanks had been theirs not His. Beſides, no precedents of Degradations without Attainder can be produced, but thoſe in the firſt Year of *Henry* IV. and one in the Reign of *Edward* IV. and yet it is too evident that the extraordinary Grace and Favour of King *James*, and of this King in the beginning of His Reign, in conferring Titles of Honour, did Monarchy more Miſchief than poſſibly can be imagined would ariſe from any Act, as this was, ſimply good and juſt in itſelf.

Page 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.

IF we look back and conſider all the Actions of this firſt Year of His MAJESTY's Reign, what can be found to give the Commons juſt or indeed any Cauſe to behave themſelves ſo inſolently as they did? Had not His MAJESTY complyed with their Deſires in beginning a War with *Spain*? And though that Deſign proved unfortunate, it was God's Will, whereunto the Commons Perverſeneſs contributed. Had not the King ſecured their Fears, and ſatisfied their Zeal in point of Religion? What then could be the Cauſe of that inſolent ſeditious Speech of Mr. *Coke*, and extravagant Queries of Dr. *Turner*, but that the Commons would like nothing the King did, whether it flowed from their Advice or not, as all the precedent Acts had done? Otherwiſe ſurely they could not in Juſtice or Obedience have ſuffered Mr *Coke* and Dr. *Turner* to have eſcaped without exemplar Puniſhment, nor have deferred to give His MAJESTY juſt and ſpeedy Satisfaction therein; which cauſed Him to aſſemble the Houſes. And then His MAJESTY's

Senſe

Senſe of that Indignity, and other their Extravagancies was rendred by the Lord Keeper, and a ſhort Speech by way of addition made them by the King. Both which being compared with the Remonſtrance that aroſe thereupon, no other Judgment can poſſibly be made of either, but that His MAJESTY's Senſe and Speech was poſitive, juſt and neceſſary; and the Commons Remonſtrance deluſory, falſe and inſolent. For to deſcend to Particulars, it was poſitively laid to their Charge their not puniſhing but rather countenancing *Coke* and *Turner*. Next, it was juſt to tell them of their Inſolence in ſearching the Signet-Office; an Act to the end they did it, (which was to aſperſe the King) never before practiſed. And it was no leſs juſt in His MAJESTY to declare the Duke of *Buckingham* innocent, His MAJESTY beſt knowing him to be ſo. And laſtly, it was neceſſary to urge them for ſpeedy Supplies, a War being undertaken upon their earneſt Deſires. And although the Author (for what reaſon I cannot ſay) calls them tart and vinegar Expreſſions; yet if they were ſo, the preſent Occaſions required them: And indeed Juſtice and Reaſon called for ſharper Actions inſtead of Words, had it been in His MAJESTY's Inclination to have uſed them. So on the contrary, examine the Commons Remonſtrance, and their Expreſſion in relation to Mr. *Coke* and Dr. *Turner* and it will be found deluſory and partial; that in reference to their Power, and in ſearching the Signet-Office, falſe and unwarrantable; and laſtly, in relation to the Duke of *Buckingham* (ſeeing His MAJESTY's Declaration could have no credit with them) what could be more inſolent, or a greater Contempt of His MAJESTY than that was? And for Supplies, they promiſed largely in general Terms, but yet reſtrained it with a condition. But it ſeemeth they were reſolved to follow their own Fancies, eſpecially to proſecute the Duke; though their future Proceedings againſt that great Perſon will both evidence his Integrity, and brand to Poſterity their Malice, Violence and Impertinency.

Page 29, 30, 31, 32.

NOT to derogate from the Worth and great Parts of the Earl of *Briſtol* (eſpecially ſeeing that himſelf and his whole Family have in the late horrid Rebellion, even to the Ruin of their Fortunes, behaved themſelves with moſt exemplar Fidelity and Courage) it will not be amiſs adviſedly to conſider the ſumm of his Accuſation againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*. And ſurely it will be then found there was little colour of Treaſon (though poſſibly of Indiſcretion) in the whole Charge: And therefore I

wonder

wonder that the Author in his Introduction of this Charge, ſays, *that many ſeemed not to queſtion which was the Traitor, but which the moſt*, when really neither of them was ſo. And I more admire at the Author's words after the Enumeration of the Charge in relation to the Lord *Spencer*'s Sence of it; for not to deſcant on the word *Upſtart*, (only by the way, if the Author meant that Lord to be of ancient Nobility he is miſtaken, for this Lord or his Father was firſt made a Baron by King *James*, and yet was no Upſtart, or advanced without Merit) let the Charge be impartially weighed, and the great Expectation the World had of it, and it muſt be confeſſed that it fell not much ſhort of the Lord *Spencer*'s Expreſſion. And if preſently after the Lord *Cromwell* uſed the ſame Phraſe to the Lord *Spencer*'s Son; was it therefore to be ſtiled a Crotchet, becauſe that Lord was of the other's Opinion? But it ſeems the Humour of that time was (as I am ſure it was after with a Miſchief) to conclude a Parliament could not err; and for any to think ſo, was no leſs a Crime than High Treaſon: But I hope ſad Experience hath taught ſuch more Wit and Judgment.

From Page 32 *to* 53.

It will not be improper to look back and obſerve the Proceedings in delivering the Charge againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*; as a Preface to which is inſerted Sir *Dudley Digg*'s Speech, compoſed (as the Author ſays) of extraordinary Elegancy and Conciſeneſs of Metaphors. But yet what was that to the Nature of the Charge? Sure the Lives, Honours and Fortunes of Men ought not to depend on Rhetorick and elegant Terms, nor to be judged by it; and yet it is not unworthy Obſervation how in theſe fatal times, not only in Parliament but in Pulpits, factious Rhetorick hath more prevailed than real Truth. Next, examine the Particulars of the Duke's Impeachment, and it is as much to be conſidered, (conſidering the Power and Influence He had on the Government) that greater Offences were not objected againſt Him, as that the Commons (ſetting aſide Malice) could think any of thoſe Crimes fit for ſo wiſe a Body as theirs to take notice of; only the laſt (had it been true) ought to have had a worſe Character than they gave it, *viz. An Act of tranſcendent Preſumption.* But the beſt way to judge of the Merit of the Cauſe is to compare it with the Charge againſt him, and then ſurely any unbiaſſed Perſon may perceive that this Accuſation rendred him more innocent than indifferent Perſons thought him, and the Commons more inſolent and malicious

litious than was fit for the great Representative of a Kingdom to be; and yet how modest and satisfactory soever the Duke's Answer was, the factious Commons held themselves obliged in Honour (a sad Precedent which hath produced many more sad Examples) to ruin Him *per fas & nefas*; and thereupon proceeded to act as the Author relates. What then could the King do less than to dissolve them? they having likewise drawn up and pass'd (before the Bill of Subsidy) a Declaration (which it were to be wished had been there inserted) of the miserable State of the Kingdom; though they never considered (if it were so) that they were the Causes of it, by ingaging His MAJESTY in a War to satisfie their Desires for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*; and when they had done so not assisting Him, because some of His Undertakings were unfortunate, and that He would not (because they unjustly desired it) sacrifice His prime Minister to their Malice. And thus far the Commons Insolence and Malice was the Cause of all the Evils that had then happened.

Page 64.

IT is very true the Condition of the King's Affairs at that time was much perplext; for He had War with the two most potent Kings of *Europe*, and His Subjects in Parliament would afford Him little or no Assistance, but on hard and dishonourable Terms; though they had engaged Him in the first War, and seemed glad of the last, it being for the Defence of Religion. And thereupon His MAJESTY issued this Commission for the Loan, which the Author calls, *an illegal Tax*; *and yet* Rochel *and all other Foreign Considerations must stand by, when home bred Liberty is disputed.* Hereupon not to take upon me to controvert the Illegality, I cannot but observe that this way of raising Money was not first practised by this King; for I find *Edward* IV. in the second Year of His Reign raised Money by Privy Seals to resist the *Scots*; and in His twentieth Year, towards His Wars with *France* great Sums of Moneys were raised by a Benevolence, and both these done out of Parliament: And King *Henry* VII. in the twentieth Year of His Reign, made use of Privy Seals and a Benevolence to supply His Occasions. But what Difference there is between Privy Seals, Benevolence and Loans I cannot determine; only I must say, if this Proceeding in this King's time was illegal, it seems to have been no less in the former, though those Kings had the good hap to find better Compliance. However, I cannot agree with the Author, *that most of the prime Gentry refused it*; and

if they did, I fear it was rather out of the Vanity to be eſteemed Patriots, than that they were ſo; for ſome of them (more eſpecially the prime Ringleaders in Parliament, and all the Puritan Faction) have ſince baſely betrayed the Liberties of their Country, and trodden all Law and Propriety under Foot. I will not take upon me to determine whether it be againſt the Law of God to give a Toleration of Religion to the Papiſts, nor examine whether Biſhop *Downham*'s Proteſtation ſubſcribed by the Biſhops in *Ireland* be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; only it muſt lye as a Blot upon thoſe who had the free Exerciſe of Religion, with all Advantages of Honour, Safety and Profit, as the People of *England* then had, and yet that ſo many of them ſhould be (both in and out of Parliament) ſo averſe from ſupplying their King, under whoſe gracious Government they ſo happily enjoyed their Freedom; and on the contrary, that Perſons whoſe Religion is penal to the Profeſſors ſhould for a Toleration offer conſtantly to pay an Army of five thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe for His MAJESTY's Service, as the Author ſays the *Iriſh* did. Whence (it not being accepted) it may be truly inferred that His MAJESTY, however maliciouſly traduced, had not the leaſt Inclination to that Religion or the Profeſſors thereof.

Page 71.

I cannot agree with the Author that in our Defeat in the Iſle of *Rhe*, we loſt all the Honour we got at *Agincourt*; except that as that was one of the greateſt Victories that ever was got of the *French*, ſo ſince that time that this was one of the greateſt Defeats they gave the *Engliſh*; otherwiſe it holds no Proportion of Compariſon; for the *Engliſh* at *Agincourt*, and before *Cresby* and *Poictiers* overcame Royal Armies, and they at this time only cauſed a Petty Army to retreat in diſorder, that had fallen on the Skirt of that vaſt Dominion. So that in point of Diſhonour (ſetting Intereſt aſide) the Defeat was not conſiderable, except the *Engliſh* could preſcribe that they ought always to beat that Nation.

Page 72.

THE Author having here excellently repreſented His late MAJESTY's Zeal in order to the Relief of the *Rochellers*; for which ſeeing they were not obedient to their own King, it had been to be wiſhed that they had been more grateful to ours. For notwithſtanding that for their ſakes, His MAJESTY had the Year before borrowed largely by Loan, to the diſcontent

of

of thoſe of His Subjects, who ſeemed moſt to commiſerate their Condition, and had therewith ſet forth a Fleet and Army that was repulſed at the Iſle of *Rhee*; yet His MAJESTY to give them farther Aſſiſtance pawns above two thouſand Pounds yearly of his Lands to the City of *London*, (to his no ſmall Diſhonour and Loſs of Intereſt) and that not being ſufficient, reſolves to call a Parliament, by whoſe farther Aſſiſtance vigorouſly to purſue their Relief: And yet for all that, this People and their Favourers in *England* and elſewhere (His MAJESTY's Attempts proving unproſperous) falſly impute to His MAJESTY the Loſs of that place.

Page 75.

IT was but a ſad Preſage of the Succeſs of this Parliament, when as the greateſt part of the Houſe of Commons was compoſed of Loan-recuſants (as the Author terms them) eſpecially ſeeing that Tax was to relieve diſtreſſed Proteſtants: Nor can I agree that their Sufferings ought to have *made them of eminent Remark for their Courage*, it being properly to be ſtiled Perverſeneſs, becauſe it was not done in their way: Nor that, *how gallant ſoever that Aſſembly was*, it is modeſtly ſaid they were able to buy the Houſe of Peers thrice over; and to except the King as needleſly inſerted, He being no Peer but Head, and above both Lords and Commons. Yet if the Commons were ſo potent in Wealth, it was their Shame they imparted ſo little to their King; and more to be led and governed by Perſons of ſo ſmall Eſtates and Fortunes as thoſe ten were, (who were committed at the Diſſolution of the Parliament) for I believe it may be ſafely ſaid, he was no very rich Lord whoſe Eſtate was not more worth than all the Eſtates thoſe ten then had, and Mr. *Pym*'s added to them, who was both then and after ſo great an Oracle.

Page 78.

THERE is no Queſtion to be made, but that the Commons inſiſting on the perſonal Freedom of the People was juſt and honourable. But yet it doth not therefore follow that it was Law, becauſe they reſolved, *That no Freeman ought to be impriſoned either by the King or Council, without a legal Cauſe alledged*; for there may be ſuch a Cauſe as a Freeman may be committed, and yet the Cauſe unfit to be expreſſed. For Example, I believe it is a great Crime (if not Treaſon) to attempt the vitiating the Wife or Daughter of a King; yet ſurely the King may commit ſuch a Perſon, though for Honours

ſake not think fit to publiſh the Cauſe. However, in general that Vote and the Petition of Right that was framed thereupon was graciouſly aſſented unto by the King; and it were to be wiſhed that the Deſign of the Contrivers had had reference, as well to the univerſal as their particular Safeties. For Experience teacheth us the Ends of ſuch were to exempt themſelves from Puniſhment for any factious Demeanour in the Houſe, to tye up the King's Hands from receiving Tonnage and Poundage, and to neceſſitate Him to ſteer Himſelf only by their Advice in Parliament, and to ingratiate themſelves with the People by ſo popular an Act. As for the Lord *Say*'s Motion, although it were inſolent, yet being for Liberty it was plauſible, and might have ſet a Value on his Generoſity had it proceeded from a noble not a factious Spirit: For it is evident, that not many Years after that very Lord was one of the prime and moſt active Inſtruments moſt ignobly to betray the Freedom of the Nation, and breaking that and all other Laws both Divine and Human, did principally contribute to the Ruin of the King and Kingdom.

Page 86.

It is evident by the Actions of the Commons at this time, that ambitious and inſolent Perſons are never to be ſatisfied; for had not the King lately ſecured and declared the Liberty of the People? What then was left for them to deſire? And yet for Retribution of ſo extraordinary a Grace, they immediately preſent His Majesty with an impertinent Remonſtrance; moſt of the Abuſes complained of therein, being either ſecured to them, or paſt help: Such as the Defeats at *Rhee* and *Rochel*, and yet the Duke of *Buckingham* muſt needs be the Father of all theſe Miſcarriages. And it were to be wiſhed that the Author had here as particularly inſerted His Majesty's Anſwer hereunto (which he ſays was a ſmart one) as well as the Remonſtrance; for thereby His Majesty's Government and Actions would have been as well vindicated as they are now expoſed to Cenſure, the Commons being only heard to ſpeak. And it ſeems His Majesty had Juſtice on His ſide, when it ſo irritated them as they intended a Remonſtrance againſt Tonnage and Poundage; an Intention full of Inſolence and Malice. For if it were not the King's, it was not theirs; and if the King had it not, who could protect them and their Trade at Sea? But the Truth is, the Ringleaders amongſt them were mad with Pride and Inſolency, and (becauſe they were in opinion with the factious Multitude) concluded that the King ought

to ſubmit in all things to them, and to depend wholly on their Judgments. And therefore the King in Prudence could do no leſs than Prorogue them in that hot Seaſon of the Year, that breathing cooler Air, they might be in better Temper when they met again.

Page 102.

ALTHOUGH the Author hath rendred an excellent and exact Account of the Proceedings of the Commons when they met again until they were diſſolved, and in the Concluſion ſays, *whoever ſhall caſt a Reflex on the woful Miſeries which were the Conſequences of this unhappy Diſunion, may perhaps find Cauſe to think they could not have been worſe, poſſibly better, had the Parliament been more complacent.* Yet it will not be amiſs, for His MAJESTY's farther Vindication to obſerve the prepoſterous Malice of the factious Party in their Proceedings. For inſtead of paſſing the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage (which might have been diſpatched in few Days) they reſorted to their old hypocritical Pretences, Care of Religion, which they ſaid was above Policy, and God above the King, (a ſafe Poſition.) But yet if truly examined, it will be found Religion was not in ſo imminent Danger. For was not *Mountague*'s Book called in by Proclamation? But admit all theſe Innovations in Doctrine and Worſhip were true, as they were returned by their curious Committee or Inquiſition, yet can it not be thence inferred that Religion was tottering; for the Number of the pretended Innovators was few, and ſuch as had, in no kind, influence on the People. And if ſome of thoſe few were advanced after Cenſure in Parliament, did that ſo oblige the King as (upon aſſurance of their being faithful and orthodox) He might not pardon and prefer them? But the ſad Truth is, all that were not factious Calviniſts were hated as Arminians and Papiſts; and ſuch were the Orthodox Party, the Commons ſaid, as were depreſſed under inglorious Diſdain, and who ſince in Swarms have deſtroyed their Mother Church that bred them. And was it not a moſt malitious Reflection on His MAJESTY as a Favourer of Popery, becauſe He reprieved a Prieſt condemned? Again it is moſt obſervable, that when His MAJESTY earneſtly preſſed them to paſs the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, which He ſaid *He had taken out of a firm Preſumption, ſuitable to their large Profeſſions, that they would grant Him*; they reſort to their malitious diſtinction, that His MAJESTY had in His Warrant to the Cuſtomers declared it to be a principal Revenue of the Crown; which if ſo, *He had no Cauſe to demand*

demand, nor they to grant what was His own already. Which admit to be true, were not they then the more undutiful to deny it, ſeeing His MAJESTY deſired it of them? But it appears their End was ſolely to diveſt His MAJESTY of His Title of Preſcription, and that He ſhould acknowledge it only as an Act of their Grace. And thus like the Dog in the Manger, although they could not have it themſelves, they would keep the King from it, except upon diſhonourable and ſubmiſſive Terms. Neither will it be impertinent to obſerve the Fraud and Inſolency of the three Articles of their Proteſtation. For by the firſt, they ſhewed whoſe Children they were, carefully no doubt avoiding to mention the Orthodox Church of *England*, that ſo they might have Liberty to conclude what Church they pleaſed to be the true Orthodox Church; and the other two, did both for Matter and Expreſſion more evidence their Malice and Diſaffection to the King; where they declare *that the Actors, Adviſers,* &c. *in collecting Tonnage and Poundage ſhall be reputed Capital Enemies to the Commonwealth, and that all who voluntarily ſhall pay the ſame, ſhall be reputed Betrayers of the Liberties of* England *and Enemies to the Commonwealth.* For what Law or Precedent gave them Power to make ſuch a Proteſtation? Or in general (nay collectively as they are the Houſe of Commons) to judge any Man? And which is worſe, the Words Commonwealth rebelliouſly implyed that there was a diſtinct popular Government not depending on the King. What then (all Circumſtances conſidered) could the King do leſs than diſſolve them? The Cauſes whereof His MAJESTY to diſabuſe His People expreſſed by a Declaration, which it were to be wiſhed had been litterally inſerted, out of which a clearer Vindication of His MAJESTY's great Juſtice and Integrity for the good of His People might have been deduced. Thus ended the factious Oppoſitions which His MAJESTY in the firſt four Years of His Reign always found from the Commons in Parliament. So that hereafter we muſt look upon Him (for double that time) as governing by Himſelf; and therein you will find as much Tranquillity, Wealth and Happineſs enjoyed by His Subjects as ever *England* ſaw, and ſuch as it is impoſſible they ſhall ever ſee again. But they are the leſs to be pitied, ſeeing ſo many of them have actually contributed to their own Bondage.

Page 115.

IT cannot be truly inferred that the Favour the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Wives got at Court, was in part or indeed any Cauſe of that Earl's

Earl's engagement afterwards againſt the King; for his firſt Wife was divorced from him in King *James* His Reign, and ſo could have no reflection on this King; and for the Familiarity of His laſt Wife with Mr. *Uvedale*, the Court could not reſent it; nor indeed could any Law faſten on it, it being a clandeſtine Fact. But the truth is, that Earl was of a ſtout but eaſie Diſpoſition and affected Popularity, (which he had on his Father's Score) and afterwards many Cauſes concurring, he was by the Artifice of crafty ſeditious People made uſe of to head the Rebellion in the Beginning, and afterwards in Diſgrace laid by when he was not found ſo fit for their wickedeſt Deſigns: For though he was too much a Rebel, yet I have ſo much Charity for him, as to believe he never intended nor would have conſented to the Deſtruction of the King or Kingly Government.

Again Page 115.

I am ſorry the Author hath taken ſo much Pains to enumerate the Facts, and Circumſtances thereof for which this Nobleman ſuffered; in regard ſuch odious Crimes as theſe had better been paſſed over in general Terms, reflecting ſo much on the Honour of his Poſterity, ſome of whom may in future Ages be as famous as others have been in precedent; for he was of a moſt illuſtrious and noble Extraction, and ſo he is improperly ſtiled, *This titular Peer of Nobility.* Nor can a Man in Conſcience believe that he ſaid theſe Words to the Lords in the Tower, *as others had their ſeveral Delights*, &c. except by way of Repentance: However he ſuffered, and ſo let his Faults be buried with him.

Page 138.

I having had the Felicity and Happineſs to attend the Earl of *Arundel* in this Ambaſſy, ſhall take upon me to rectifie ſome Miſtakes in this Relation, and ſhould be able to be more particular, had I not in theſe late unhappy times loſt all the Papers wherein I obſerved any Paſſage of that Tranſaction; only in general I remember that His MAJESTY was induced to ſend that Earl upon hopes of better Succeſs than of His former Addreſſes, in regard that Mr. *John Tayler* His MAJESTY's then Agent in the Imperial Court, had given very large Hopes and ſeeming Aſſurance, that if His MAJESTY ſent an Ambaſſadour of eminency, firſt unto the Emperour and then unto the Dyet, the Reſtitution of the *Palatine* would then probably be obtained: Whereupon this great Perſon was made choice of, (the better to have him out of the way to introduce

the

the Earl of *Northumberland* into the Office of Admiral, which this Nobleman aimed at, and for which he was very fit, as loving the Sea and Motion.) But the Earl ſpeedily after his firſt Audience with the Emperour at *Lintz* in the Upper *Auſtria*, found that there was little ground for the Hopes given by Mr. *Tayler*, and accordingly repreſented as much to His MAJESTY. Yet in regard the Dyet was to meet in *September* following, he had Order to ſtay and purſue that Buſineſs. But I do not remember that there paſſed any ſharpneſs of Language between the Ambaſſadour and the Emperour's Deputies; only when the Diet met at *Ratisbonne*, the Duke of *Bavaria* much oppoſed the *Palſgrave's* Reſtitution; to whom our Ambaſſadour (the Duke being the only temporal Elector then preſent) did not at all apply himſelf, as ſufficiently underſtanding his averſeneſs from the *Palatine's* Reſtitution, either to the higher *Palatinate* or the Electoral Dignity; and for leſs than a total Reſtitution, I believe the Ambaſſadour had no Order nor Inclination. Beſides, at that time the good old Emperour *Ferdinand* had other Buſineſs to diſpatch, *viz.* The election of his Son (now Emperour) to be King of the *Romans*, and ſo would not diſpleaſe *Bavaria*, who likewiſe had not long before married the Emperour's Daughter. Hereupon in *November* (about two Months after the beginning of the Dyet) the Ambaſſadour took his Leave of the Emperour and Empreſs, King and Queen of *Hungary*, and ſo of the Electors of *Mentz*, *Colen*, and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadours, being diſmiſſed and treated by them with much formal Civility; though it is true he was troubled to make ſo long a Journey, and to return *re infecta*. Nor do I remember that he was deſired to ſtay a Month longer; and I am ſure neither *Spaniſh* nor *Poliſh* Ambaſſadour were ſent after him; the laſt of which never was with the Earl, being arrived at *Ratisbonne* but few Days before we left that Place. And ſo about the end of *December* the Ambaſſadour landed in *England*; and at *Hampton* Court gave His MAJESTY a full account of his Negotiation, in which he had ſpent full nine Months.

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ALTHOUGH the Author hath moſt exactly abbreviated the Progreſs of the Tumults in *Scotland*, which after produced a Rebellion, and which by a numberleſs concatenation of Cauſes gave a period to the Life of the late King, and conſequently unto Monarchical Government in His Dominions (until it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore it,) yet it will not be improper for the better underſtanding of the ſubſequent Actions, to obſerve

obſerve that the unhappy conjunction of time wherein the Service Book was ſent unto them, did more contribute to the beginning and progreſs of the Tumults, than the pretended Cauſes in the Book it ſelf; though the Book was the firſt Cauſe they durſt own for their Violence and Defection. In oppoſition to which, the factious Nobility (having ſo plauſible a Pretence as Preſervation of Religion) did foment the People in their Diſorders, the better to colour their more deep and traiterous Deſigns. For if we look back, it will appear that ſome of the factious Nobility were diſguſted with ſome Acts that paſs'd in Parliament at His MAJESTY's Coronation, which (though juſt in themſelves) yet hindred the Nobility from enſlaving the People. And at that time the Earl of *Rothes* and ſome others much oppoſed the Acts for confirmation of all former Acts, which (as the Author well obſerves formerly) was conceived by the more zealous Party to be a Deſign to maintain Epiſcopacy. To theſe may be added a Diſgrace the Earl of *Rothes* conceived the King intentionally put on him; which was, when His MAJESTY went into *Fife* after His Coronation, that Earl being hereditary Sheriff of that County, aſſembled all his Friends and Dependents in their beſt Equipage to receive Him; but His MAJESTY either by accident or on purpoſe went another Way and miſs'd him: This that Earl forgot not, but became one of the firſt and moſt active Inſtruments in the future Rebellion. Again, it is evident this People wanted but a fit Occaſion to pretend Juſtice for their rebellious Actions, by the venemous Libel againſt the King's Proceedings in Parliament, contrived by *Hagge* and fomented by the Lord *Balmerino*. And to heighten their daring Attempts, they no doubt at that time much undervalued the Courage of the *Engliſh* Nation; and having then many Commanders of their own lately returned with great Riches and Reputation from the *German* War, they concluded boldly to attempt to bring their Ends about, and (if a War enſued) both to obtain their Deſires and give Law unto us: Whereas if they let ſlip this Occaſion, a ſucceeding King (leſs affected to them than this was) would probably keep them under, and not admit them to participate of the Honours and Riches of *England*, as they then had done near forty Yeats. To add to this, the diſreſpect the Clergy (eſpecially the Biſhops) were then in, was not a little Cauſe; for many of them were of the Privy Council, and ſome of them had ſo affronted the Earl of *Argile* and others of the Nobility, who now laid hold of this fair Occaſion to revenge themſelves; and now, this Book being ſent amongſt them, under Colour to oppoſe the preten-

ded Innovations therein, they ſhadowed all their prereſolved traiterous Intentions. As for the Difference that was between that and the *Engliſh* Liturgy, it was only in the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament, where the words, *Take and eat this in remembrance of me*, &c. were omitted; whereas in the *Engliſh* Liturgy, thoſe and the precedent Sentence, to wit, *The Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. were both joined together; this Omiſſion being agreeable to the Service Book eſtabliſhed in the ſecond Year of King *Edward* VI. and other than this there was no material difference between the two Books. Which if it were a Fault, His MAJESTY had corrected it, ſo as by His Declaration in *September* 1638. to diſannul both that Book, the Book of Canons, and High Commiſſion Court; ſo as that People had not the leaſt ſeeming Pretence left for their future Violence and Rebellion, and yet they proceeded (as we have ſadly ſeen and felt.) Whence it is evident, that Book was but a Pretence, which had they wanted, in all probability they would have found another to have begun a Rebellion; but as it was, it had been to be wiſhed (not to derogate from the Integrity of His Commiſſioner) that His MAJESTY had in the beginning either perſonally oppoſed the Diſorders in *Scotland*, or given them timely Satisfaction, or had more countenanced the Loyal Party of that Nation in oppoſition to the Rebels. But His Abſence and the Diſcountenance of all the Loyal Party at Court, was ſuch as they were totally diſabled to ſerve the King or ſecure themſelves from Ruin. But yet in concluſion, whether that Naion hath not failed in the Succeſs of all their Hopes and Deſigns, and inſtead thereof are reduced under the Slavery of the meaneſt of the *Engliſh* People (whom they firſt deſpiſed, and then taught to rebel) I believe they now ſufficiently feel and confeſs.

Page 160, 161.

THE mutinous and inſolent Actions of the *Scotiſh* Covenanters proceeding from one degree of height to another, induced His MAJESTY at length to raiſe an Army to reduce them to Obedience, whereof He made the Earl of *Arundel* General; and my ſelf having the Honour to be Secretary at War in that Expedition, cannot but obſerve ſome Infelicities that attended His MAJESTY in the managing that Action. As firſt, whereas he had deſigned to have had only a General and a General of the Horſe, the Earl of *Holland* by the Mediation of the Queen was made General of the Horſe; and the Earl of *Eſſex*, who at firſt was reſolved on for that Charge,

was made Lieutenant General, an higher Title but leſs ſignificant, in the General's Preſence. Next, I fear it was a great Overſight in the King to go this Journey attended with a Court, and therein many that had no Diſpoſition either to War or the Quarrel; ſo that the more forward any were to do their Duties, the more they were hated and traduced by the factious Courtiers. By this means likewiſe the *Scots* about the King had the Opportunity daily to betray his Deſigns; whereas had the Generals been only intruſted with the Action, they would probably have given a better Account thereof. For I cannot believe that the Earl of *Eſſex*, had he been General of the Horſe, would have returned and not engaged with the *Scots* at *Kelſey*, as the Earl of *Holland* did ſome Days before the *Scots* petitioned for a Treaty. For I am ſure, at that time no Man was more forward in His MAJESTY's Service than the Earl of *Eſſex* was; and had His MAJESTY been pleaſed the ſucceeding Year to have made him General inſtead of the Earl of *Northumberland*, in probability the Succeſs of that Undertaking had been more fortunate, and that Earl not ſo much diſcontented as he was. For I remember very well that upon an occaſion (while the Army was forming under the Earl of *Northumberland*) the Earl of *Eſſex* ſaid to my ſelf, "It ſeems the "King lays by all thoſe that faithfully ſerved Him the laſt Year, "whom if He had pleaſed to imploy again, both would and "could have ſerved Him as well as thoſe He now truſts. Whence I infer that the Diſguſt of his not being imployed, and ſome other concomitant Actions, cauſed that Earl to fall into Faction and Diſcontent, and afterwards (being too far engaged to come of) to head the Rebellion as he did. Another Misfortune alſo attended the King, when as the Treaty was agreed upon, and the place appointed, which was the General's Tent (in the Camp near *Barwick*) and where the General as principal Commiſſioner with others of the Council (named by the Author) had met thoſe Delegates by the *Scots*; that His MAJESTY (contrary to expectation) came in amongſt them, whereupon the Mouths of the *Engliſh* were ſtopped, eſpecially the General's; for upon His MAJESTY's appearing (who after managed the whole Buſineſs Himſelf) none of the *Engliſh* interpoſed, (except the Earls of *Pembrook* and *Salisbury*, who highly courted the *Scots*) and ſo at length after five or ſix Days diſpute, the Pacification was agreed upon, and accordingly ſigned, which it had been happy for all Parts had it been inviolably obſerved. Though I believe had the King been abſent, there had been either a more exact Peace, or a beginning of a War

againſt theſe Rebels, with more Courage and Zeal than what the ſucceeding Year produced.

Page 166.

THE Author hath done the Memory of this great Counſellour much right in the Character he hath given him, to which only I ſhall add the ſaying of *Solon*, *Nemo fælix ante obitum*; for as it is evident he died in a happy Hour, ſo had he lived longer he muſt neceſſarily have fallen either into the Diſfavour of the King, or Hatred of the People, the time immediately following not admitting a Neutrality for Men of his high Place. And although the Author ſays excellently well, *No Man can be truly Loyal who is not a good Patriot, nor any Man a good Patriot who is not truly Loyal*; ſo ſome of the Premiſſes from whence he draws this Concluſion in relation to this great Man may be controverted. For it is the Fault of factious Malice to traduce Men in Authority, and the greater when it falls on thoſe of the Privy Council, the Reflection reſting on the King who chooſeth them. In which Truſt though this Lord faithfully ſerved his Maſter, yet it doth not appear that he was the more faithful becauſe he was againſt thoſe Counſels, that (as the Author ſays) did diſſerve the King: And he had done this great Man right to have particularly inſtanced thoſe Counſels, who probably was more wiſe and cautious than others, as knowing that he had a gentle Prince on the one ſide, and an inſolent, factious Party on the other ſide to deal with; and though *he might diſaffect ſuch as endeavoured to make the Perogative rather tall than great*, yet it is improperly ſaid that *ſuch Men loved the King better than* Charles Stuart. For He hath His politick Capacity in regard of His natural, and ſo they ought not to be disjoined; yet admit they may be ſo, there is certainly more Duty due to the King as He is ſo, than as He is a Man; for all His Subjects ought to love and obey Him as their King, though they never ſee Him perſonally, or receive any particular Favour from Him; however, in any Senſe it ſavours of Faction and Partiality. Likewiſe to ſay, *That although He had for His Maſter a Paſſion moſt intenſe, yet He had of Paſſion ſome Reſerve for the publick Welfare*, lays an Imputation on His MAJESTY's Juſtice; as if the King's Actions and Government had been repugnant to the general Good of His People. And although it be erroneous to hold the Intereſt of Court and Country to be incompatible and inconſiſtent, yet by the Author's favour this Opinion was not always held by either, but was firſt taken up in King *James* His Reign, and violently fomented

mented by factious Spirits, whoſe chiefeſt Artifice was to poiſon the People with this Traiterous Doctrine, that the Power of the King was inconſiſtent with the Liberty of the People, for whoſe Good and Preſervation God and Nature had placed Him over them. And I can never agree that the Court (which in this ſenſe muſt be concluded to be the King and His Council) were of that erroneous Judgment.

Page 181, 182.

I had thought that woful Experience had made all Men ſo wiſe, eſpecially Perſons of Learning and Judgment as the Author ſeems to be, as not to countenance in any kind ſuch ridiculous Informations as this here inſerted, (being only fit for the jealous ignorant time in which it was made,) ſeeing all the horrid Plots of the Papiſts blowing up the *Thames*, and keeping armed Men and Horſe under Ground, with many ſuch Bugbears are now laid aſide as uſeleſs; and yet it cannot be denied but that it is natural for all Men to affect Liberty in Religion and the Exerciſe thereof, and when under Reſtraint to deſire Toleration; likewiſe when ſuch have gotten Power, to force Obedience in others. And this Diſpoſition in all the Degrees thereof, no Queſtion the Jeſuits and Papiſts (as well as the Presbyterians) both then had, and ſtill have; but that all the principal Perſons of the *Engliſh* Nation named and ſo traduced in this Relation, had any Deſign to deſtroy the King, alter Religion, or agree with the Covenanting *Scots*, is both ridiculous and falſe. Thus much I have preſumed to ſay in general, (and yet am no Papiſt, and as little a Presbyterian) and in particular ſeeing the Author truly vindicated the Archbiſhop, I conceive my ſelf no leſs obliged to ſpeak in the defence of many noble Perſons named in this Libel, whoſe Integrity and Loyalty was equal to his. Though firſt, it will be neceſſary for clearing the Story, to ſay that ſome few Years before this time (and as I conceive agreeable to the Treaty of Marriage) the Queen both ſent unto and received a Meſſenger from the Pope; and the firſt that came was one Mr. *Conne* a *Scot* that had been School-maſter to Cardinal *Barbarino* the Pope's Nephew; whoſe Buſineſs being little but Complement, (and he being a crafty Perſon bred in *Italy*) no doubt quickly found the Diſpoſition of the *Engliſh* Papiſts; and ſo though he kept fair with the Queen, yet ſeeing the *French* Faction at Court were many of them Puritans, he induſtriouſly applied himſelf, or rather was courted by the *Spaniſh* Faction; amongſt whom he principally addreſſed himſelf to the Counteſs of *Arundel*, who

was

was a Perſon of great Civility, and might have Deſire enough to be thought to be the Patron of that Religion, though in truth ſhe was nothing leſs.

THUS much for *Conne* and his Buſineſs, who by the way was not in *England* under the publick Notions of Legate or Nuntio.

NEXT for the Informer, the reading of this Diſcourſe puts me generally in mind to have heard that ſuch a Perſon relating to *Conne* being detected of ſome infamous Crime, fled into *Holland*, and thence conveyed an Information about ſome Deſign of the Papiſts, which it ſeems is this here rendred, but how impertinent and falſe the enſuing Obſervation will evidence. As firſt, it is ridiculous to ſay there were more Jeſuits in *England* than in *Spain*, *France* and *Italy*, and above fifty *Scots* Jeſuits in *London*; whenas I am confident there are not above fifty Jeſuits of that Nation in all the World, and not five or ſix times that number of *Engliſh*; ſo that it were to be wiſhed for the Peace of the Chriſtian Church in general, that his Aſſertion had been true; for then the Number of that Order which I believe in *Europe* are many thouſands would have been under a thouſand Perſons. Next, for *Conne*'s tampering with the King it is falſe, His MAJESTY being too hard for him in Diſputes, and deſpiſing him as an ignorant Fellow; and though he uſed him civilly as his Countryman, yet gave him little Countenance; nor durſt *Conne* be ever ſo ſawcy as to interpoſe any Counſels. And although poſſibly he might deſire to inſinuate with the Archbiſhop, yet I am ſure the Earl of *Arundel* (though he uſed *Conne* civilly) cared not for him, nor would if he had deſired it interpoſe for him with the Archbiſhop, there being no perfect Kindneſs between the Earl and him.

AND could it with any reaſon poſſibly be thought that the Papiſts and Puritans could agree to revenge the puniſhing of Puritans at *Weſtminſter*?

OR that *Maxwell* Earl of *Niddiſdale* ſhould be ſent to raiſe Commotions in *Scotland*? Whenas that noble Perſon for his Loyalty was one of the firſt that had his Houſe demoliſhed, and himſelf and Family ruined by the rebellious Covenanters.

OR farther, that the Papiſts ſhould labour to make the King inferiour to the *Scots*? Whenas they were annoyed and puniſhed afterwards for largely contributing towards the raiſing of Forces againſt thoſe Rebels.

AND as it is falſe that the young Prince was educated in Advantage to the Romiſh Profeſſion, ſo it is ſtrangely contradictory that *Conne* ſhould then provide a Nut to poyſon him, as well

well as he had one for his Father, from whom they hoped nothing.

As for Cardinal *Richlieu's* Chaplain I can ſay nothing, and 'tis poſſible he and his Maſter were of the Plot with the Covenanters, and ſo might *Hamilton's* Chaplain be alſo, and even *Conne* himſelf. But that thoſe *Engliſh* were ſo, it may be as well concluded they were in Confederacy with the *Turks*; there not being in all reſpects greater Antipathy againſt the one than the other. And as for Sir *Toby Matthews*, 'tis true he was always whiſpering nothing in ſomebody's Ear, and a great Haunter of good Cheer; but far too weak for any ſuch Deſign as change of Religion, whatſoever he wiſhed. And for *Read* (who it ſeems only ſuffered for this Information) I remember to have heard that he was ſet on the Rack, but nothing was drawn from him, and what became of him after, 'tis no great matter.

Next for the Papiſts Contributions to *Conne*, there is no queſtion but he got much from them, and too much for one of his mean Condition; but yet it was given rather out of Vanity and Zeal than to foment Deſigns. And the Tale of the Widow that gave 40000*l.* (a ſmall petty Summ) is ridiculous, there being none ſuch Owner of the Houſes where Secretary *Windebank* lived, they being the Duke of *Richmond's*.

As for the Earl of *Arundel's* favouring the Papiſts pretended Deſigns, (for whoſe ſake I have principally undertaken this Vindication) I can poſitively ſay he was no Papiſt at that time; and I believe if it be examined dyed not one, but was ever faithful to his King, no Favourer of Jeſuits, an Enemy to the Covenanting *Scots*, and all kind of Innovations. And ſurely, if any thing of this Information could have been fixed on him, the Archbiſhop was not ſo much his Friend as not to queſtion him for it.

And no leſs Sir *John Wintour*, and Mr. *Porter*, whoſe Fidelity and Loyalty to the late King I muſt ever aſſert as moſt exemplar.

As for Secretary *Windebank*, 'tis true that long after that (being broken with Diſcontent) with much Perſuaſion he turned Papiſt, and ſo died in *France*; and ſurely had he been guilty as he is accuſed, his Offence would not have been ſo ſlightly paſſed over.

Next for Sir *Kenelm Digby* and Mr. *Mountague*, I believe they can juſtifie themſelves, and will laugh to find themſelves in ſo good Company, eſpecially of great Ladies, as the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham*, the Counteſs of *Arundel*, *Newport* and Mrs. *Porter*; all whom (not to derogate from their Honours) were

fitter

fitter for Courtſhip, Entertainments and good Company, than to advance ſo dangerous and knotty a Cauſe as introducing of Popery, or a Toleration of it. And I muſt needs affirm for Truth, that the Counteſs of *Arundel*'s (not the Earl's) maintaining poor Children to work at *Greenwich*, was not a Monaſtery of Nuns, they being moſt of them Proteſtants. And if the Informer had well known her Temper, he would have found her far from being a Champion for that Cauſe, when ſhe durſt not (neither in *England* nor abroad) truſt any Servant ſhe had with the Knowledge what Religion ſhe was of.

AGAIN, how ridiculous the ſaying is that Mr. *Gage* his Houſe was a Monaſtery, where forty Nuns were maintained, any Man's Knowledge of the Place ſufficiently confuteth. And ſo that *Queenſtreet* was bought by the Jeſuits and reduced into a College, except it were under Ground.

BUT yet I am moſt pleaſed to find Mr. *Porter*'s Son was to have had a Cardinal's Hat if the Plot had taken, for ſurely he would have proved a notable Pillar to ſupport the Cauſe.

BUT in earneſt, ſeeing this Information came over a Year or two before the beginning of the late horrid Parliament, and that many of the Parties therein traduced were afterwards employed in great Truſts by His MAJESTY; the Author had done their Memories and Reputations great wrong to inſert it without clearing the Honours of theſe noble Perſons whom it taxeth. And his ſaying that thoſe who ſhall conſider the Practices *of theſe pragmatical Spirits*, (meaning the Jeſuits) *will find cauſe enough to think there was ſomewhat more than Fiction in it*, doth caſt a greater Imputation on their Integrities, as if they had had a Deſign with the Jeſuits to effect the Ends therein pretended. And the Author's removing the Objection by clear the Archbiſhop, doth more cloſely fix it on them. And therefore for Truth's ſake, and in Juſtice to the Integrities and moſt undoubted Loyalties of the principal Perſons therein named, I have in this Diſcourſe ſo fully enlarged my ſelf.

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IT is true that the Parliament met according to their appointment the 13th of *April*; but that the Earl of *Strafford* was led into the Lords Houſe by two Noblemen to give an Account what Feats he had done in *Ireland*, &c. is an erroneous Miſtake, (though poſſibly when he was there, he did acquaint them with what he had done in that Kingdom for His MAJESTY's Service) for the true Cauſe why he was led into the Lord's Houſe was to ſettle him in his place as Earl, (as the Cuſtom is always)

to

to which Dignity from Viſcount *Wentworth*, he was raiſed in *January* before by His MAJESTY's Favour. And probably it had been happy for him if at that Promotion either out of vanity or to affront Sir *Henry Vane*, (then Treaſurer of the Houſhould and Secretary of State, who likewiſe was Owner of *Raby* Caſtle in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, formerly the Barony of *Nevils* Earls of *Weſtmerland*) he had not with his new Earldom joined the Title of that old Barony, to which, being deſcended as Heir general to the ſecond Son of *Ralph Nevill* firſt Earl of *Weſtmerland*, he had ſome colour of Pretence; though 'tis as true that the Deſcendents of that firſt Earl *Nevill* by his eldeſt Son, are all before him. But the Earl's greatneſs of Power at that time, and his Contempt of Sir *Henry Vane* was ſuch, that he thought it not poſſible the other could have contributed ſo much as he did after to his Ruin. But that Sir *Henry Vane* watched his time is evident by his Teſtimony (how falſe or impertinent ſoever) againſt that Earl at his Trial: And truly conſidering Sir *Henry Vane*'s Ingratitude to his Maſter, and his violent Proſecution of this Earl, it may not improperly be concluded that he laid a Foundation for both their Ruins at this time. When it was left to him to demand twelve Subſidies for the quitting of *Ship-money*, and if he could not induce the Houſe of Commons to embrace that, then to deſcend to ſix; (and rather than fail, and to ſatisfie the Commons, I have heard that it was the Earl of *Strafford*'s Advice ſolely to relinquiſh it:) But he contrary to his Truſt poſitively inſiſted on twelve Subſidies, with ſuch Expreſſions as irritated the Commons; and then repreſented to His MAJESTY the Common's Wilfulneſs and Oppoſition, whereby the Breach of that Parliament immediately enſued. Which Sir *Henry Vane* well knew would put the King into Streights, and then the Earl of *Strafford* being active to ſerve His MAJESTY would neceſſarily propoſe ſome Expedients for his Supply; out of which Counſels when Occaſion ſerved, he intended (as the ſequel made it evident) to draw ſomewhat that might contribute to the Earl's Ruin, and the ſatisfying of his private Revenge.

Page 183.

THE Diſcourſe and Obſervations hereafter made by the Author upon the Diſſolution of the Parliament are judicious and rational, looking forward to the fatal Effects that followed; and if it had ſate longer, we have but bare Conjectures that the Succeſs would have been other than of former Parliaments. For if the Repreſentation made by Sir *Henry Vane* and others were true, the Commons began to be as inſolent and impertinent as ever. However, the Breach thereof muſt ever lye at

Sir *Henry Vane*'s Door, and not at the Archbiſhop's and Earl of *Strafford*'s; who notwithſtanding unjuſtly ſuffered for, and under, that Imputation. And though I may agree (conſidering the depraved Condition of the times) it had been happier the Biſhops had been leſs active in civil Affairs; yet it is evident their Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſtick Power, did them more hurt than medling with the Civil; in which yet that Body hath in all times contributed to the Honour and Advantage of the Publick, as much as either Lords or Commons.

Page 183, 184, 185, 186.

CERTAINLY the Biſhops could not be ſo ignorant of the Legality of their Power to ſit in a Synod after the Diſſolution of this Parliament by a new Commiſſion from the King, had it not been warranted by Law and former Precedents. But factious People were ſo ſtreight laced then, as to conclude nothing juſt or lawful but what fell under ordinary Practice, or the Capacity of the next Juſtice of Peace, Pettifogger, or Puritan Miniſter. And if the framing the Oath and Canons were (as the Author ſays) to ſupport Epiſcopacy (which is a fundamental Conſtitution both in relation to the Eccleſiaſtick and Civil Government amongſt us) was it not both juſt and neceſſary at that time, the *Scots* having rebellioully made a Covenant to deſtroy it root and branch? As for the Exceptions to the Oath (but that any thing done by the Biſhops, how juſt ſoever, was controverted) they were not material, or ſuch as ought to have given any diſcreet Son of the Church of *England* juſt Offence. The firſt is *Et cætera*; which had only relation to Apparators and other meaner Officers, who being inferior in order, were not held fit to be named, but paſs'd under an *Et cætera*; though I believe had the Synod thought the Omiſſion would have been ſubject to captious Conſtruction, they would have particularly named them. Secondly, it can never be granted (admit the Government of the Church by Biſhops hath no colour of ſacred Right) that therefore it is arbitrary, and at the Diſcretion of the State to continue or abrogate them; for they are a diſtinct Body of themſelves, and the ancienteſt part of the fundamental Conſtitution of Government under the King, and ſo may more juſtly pretend to exclude both Lords and Commons, than both of theſe joined together to exclude them; wherefore in Conſcience that Oath was juſt, and (having the King's Approbation) no affront to the Fundamentals of Government. Thirdly, it was juſt as in all Oaths (that are obligatory) that the Juror ſhould declare that he took it willingly; for if he ſwore hypocritically, it was between God and himſelf; but if he refuſed

it,

it, it was fit he ſhould ſuffer the Puniſhment for ſo doing, and be put from the Memberſhip of that Church he would not defend; and for the Sence of that noble Lord, I ſhall only ſay it is ten to one he afterwards proved both inſtrumental in the Ruin of the Church, and Traytor to his King; and ſad Experience hath juſtified the Saying of King *James*, *No Biſhop no King*.

Next, their not naming the Socinian Tenents, might be to deter ſo much as any Books that aſſert them; and ſeeing that it is not the Work of a Council or Synod to controvert or confute Opinions in the drawing up of the Acts, but poſitively to aſſert or condemn them, they probably held it better in general to condemn them, than particularly to numerate them. But their greateſt Crime was the granting of the King a Benevolence on all the Clergy towards the maintenance of the War againſt the rebellious *Scots*; which the Author ſays *was beheld as an Act of very high Preſumption, and an Uſurpation upon the Preheminence of Parliament, no Convocation having any Power to grant any Subſidies or Aids without Confirmation of the Lay Senate.* To this it may be ſafely ſaid, that at that time it was queſtionleſs held an high Preſumption, in regard this Body ſhewed themſelves loyal and affectionate to His Majesty, the Commons having been ſo refractory. But whether a Synod hath Power to to grant Aids without the Aſſent of the Lay Senate, I cannot determine; only I cannot believe that theſe Biſhops and learned Men met at this time, would have ever done ſuch an Act (knowing how odious it would be) except they had both Law and Precedents to juſtifie the doing thereof, in ſuch manner as they did it then, even out of Parliament.

Page 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192.

It is but a ſad Reflection to conſider unto what a fatal Neceſſity the Defeat given His Majesty's Forces at *Newbourn* had reduced Him; and therefore if the Lord *Conway*, who commanded in chief did not what he ought or might, much muſt lye upon him; and that therefore His Majesty was forced to ſubmit either to what the diſcontented *Engliſh* or rebellious *Scots* would demand of Him, and that they were agreed to impoſe upon Him, is evident by the precedent Petition concluded on by the Lords that ſubſcribed it, that very Day the *Scots* paſſed the River *Tyne* at *Newbourn*; all of whom (except the Marqueſs of *Hartford* (who probably was drawn in by his Brother in Law *Eſſex*, yet ever after moſt honourably continued loyal and faithful to the King) and the Lord *Paget*, who at

length left them) were after active Inſtruments in the ſucceeding Rebellion. As for the Contents of the Petition, it was of the old Stamp, inſolent enough; but moſt of the Petitioners, as likewiſe the *Scots* who ſent another deſiring that a Parliament might be called, had gotten the Advantage and were reſolved to keep it; yet before the preſenting either Petition as an Expedient to oblige the Nobility, His MAJESTY convened the Lords in a great Council at *Rippon*; and there it was reſolved that a Parliament ſhould be aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* the third of *November* following. Which fatal Reſolution (more in reſpect of the place than any thing elſe) hath by ſad Experience appeared to be a leading Cauſe of the Calamities that enſued: For their meeting there abſolutely confirmed the Commons with Strength and Power to act as they after did, and utterly diſabled the King and all that were faithful to Him. Then likewiſe the Lords condeſcended to deſire a Treaty of the *Scots*, an Act not becoming Men of Honour, (the King having an Army in the Field able to oppoſe them;) but it ſeems, as it after appeared, ſome of them were in Confederacy with thoſe Rebels.

Page 199, 200, 201, 202.

IF we look back and conſider the Differences that happenned in former Parliaments between His MAJESTY and the Commons, it will be found that ſome leading Men of that Houſe ſeduced the reſt, and ſo that Body only oppoſed the King's juſt and neceſſary Deſires; but in this Parliament many of the Lords drawn in and outwitted by the factious Part of the Commons joined with them, and many even of His MAJESTY's own Council, either betrayed or forſook Him. So as He was in a manner left alone, having only the Affections of many of either Houſe; but theſe had little Power or Intereſt to oppoſe the Torrent that now broke in upon them. And yet if many of either Body had not ſo violently gone with the Tide at firſt as they did, and thereby countenanced the inſolent Proceedings (although they after fell from them) or had been as diligent and active in waiting Opportunities as the factious Spirits were, poſſibly the Miſeries many of them after felt might have been prevented. But it ſeems the Cup of our Iniquities was full, and Providence would that every one in his Station ſhould help to pour it out to his own Deſtruction; elſe it had been impoſſible that a Government ſo juſt and well formed as that of *England* under ſo gracious a King, ſhould have been ſo miſerably deſtroyed, and that only by thoſe who enjoyed the Happineſs

pineſs of it. For if we look back and conſider the Actions of the firſt three Months of this Parliament, which were many and of ſtrange Natures, it will be found (as of all their Actions as long as that Parliament ſate) that not one of them was voted or paſt, though poſſibly juſt, becauſe it was meerly ſo; but either out of Malice to the King or His Conſellors, or to ingratiate themſelves with the giddy Multitude. For what was more horrid and unjuſt than their countenancing that Affront to publick Juſtice, in the bringing in, in triumph, thoſe ſeditious Libellers *Burton*, *Prinn* and *Baſtwick*, in fomenting all factious Petitious againſt the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Government, and boldly accuſing the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Strafford* of Treaſon, when juſtly no ſuch Crimes could be objected to them? And at that time likewiſe, though there was a Neceſſity of paying the two Armys in the North, yet nothing was more deſtructive to His MAJESTY's Intereſt than his giving Power to the Houſe of Commons to diſtribute the Money; whereby they drew the Dependence and Reſpect of the Army to themſelves. But His MAJESTY at that time could not well avoid it, (the Intereſt of the Commons borrowing Money of the City) and having likewiſe freely put Himſelf on the Love and Affections of His *Engliſh* Subjects, and therefore the Sin of thoſe of that Nation is the greater, who then and ever after ſo ingratefully betrayed and deſtroyed Him.

Page 209, 210, 211, 212.

THESE Articles of Agreement with the rebellious *Scots* would for ever have lain as infamous upon the *Engliſh* Nation (and muſt do ſtill upon thoſe who actively contributed to the making of them) had not God's Providence ſo brought it about, that the baſeſt of the People of *England* whom they taught to rebel, have upon their own Account, (which is the greater Judgment) and not the King's, reduced that Nation to an abſolute Submiſſion and Subjection to all kind of Slavery the *Engliſh* pleaſe to impoſe upon them.

Page 218.

I have with an unbiaſſed Curioſity read over the whole enſuing Proceſs of the Earl of *Strafford's* Tryal, whereof I muſt give this Teſtimony, that if the Author had no fuller Information than what he hath rendred, yet the Anſwers of that Earl as he hath delivered them, are ſufficient to clear him from the leaſt Imputation of Treaſon, Diſloyalty, or ſubverting the Laws. Though when I compare what is hereafter delivered with

with an exact Narrative of that Tryal printed 1649. (which likewiſe refreſheth my Memory, I having the Opportunity to be preſent the whole Tryal, where I took Notes, which I unhappily loſt) I muſt be excuſed if I ſay that all the Anſwers are not ſo fully rendred as they might have been, (admitting this to be but a brief Extract) many material Arguments of that Earl in his Anſwer being omitted. Beſides, there is no ſmall Miſtake in the Narrative, where the Earl's Anſwer to the 23d Article is made to ariſe out of a ſupplemental Evidence upon the Paper found in Sir *Henry Vane*'s Cabinet; for his Anſwer to that Evidence was made eight or ten Days before that time, when Sir *Henry Vane* teſtified that the words, *you have an Army in* Ireland *that you may employ to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience or the like*, (an excellent Teſtimony) had been ſpoken by the Earl of *Strafford* in Council, that Day His MAJESTY diſſolved the former Parliament. And here it is not unworthy Obſervation that the King ſuffered His Council to be examined in this Cauſe, where the Product muſt be to reveal what Counſel they had given Him; an Act derogatory both from the MAJESTY and Juſtice of the King, and dangerous for any that ſhall be Counſellours.

BUT it is true that at this time mentioned by the Author, the Earl made a ſummary Repetition of the Charge, and of his former Defence; and becauſe Sir *Henry Vane*'s Teſtimony ſeemed moſt preſſing againſt him, he added for the nullifying thereof the five Reaſons which are inſerted by the Author to have been in anſwer to the 23d Article, and then proceeded to make his Defence in general againſt the conſtructive Treaſon objected againſt him, and concluded what he had to ſay in his own juſtification: Whereof it is alſo true that the Author hath rendred ſome general Heads, but far ſhort of what was ſpoken by the Earl, both in relation to Law, Policy, or his own juſt Vindication. And therefore ſeeing the Proceeding againſt this great Man was drawn out at length, and Obſervations thereon cannot be comprehended in leſs than many Sheets of Paper, I have only ſaid thus much in general, referring the reſt to the brief and perfect relation of that Tryal printed 1649. which I do poſitively and knowingly affirm to be a moſt exact Account of all Paſſages in that long and violent Proceeding in the Tryal of that Earl; where likewiſe the Speech that Earl made on the Scaffold is truly inſerted, this here being not ſo full and perfect.

Page 256.

I conceive the Author is mistaken in the Sum 650000*l.* offered to be procured if His MAJESTY would give way that the Parliament might not be adjourned, prorogued or dissolved without the Consent of both Houses. For though I was not of the House, yet I know that one Mr. *Harrison*, Son of Sir *John Harrison* of the Custome-House, and I conceive Burgess of *Lancaster*, proposed the procuring 50 or 60000*l.* until the Subsidies could be levied, but of the other Conditions I heard not. And I have been told that Mr. *Waller* was the first that started that Bill, in discourse with some of the leading factious Party; for they found that the triennial Parliament would be rather for their Disadvantage and the King's Advantage, so as if they did not bring their Ends about in this, they must never expect to compass them. Hereupon they instantly drew it up, inserting the plausible Pretence of raising Money for disbanding the Army, as the Inducement. Hereupon the Commons had a Conference with the Lords (where my self was present) the Earl of *Manchester*, then Lord Privy Seal, managing it for the Peers, and the Solicitour *St. Johns* for the Commons; where the only Difference was about the Indefiniteness of the time; the Lord Privy Seal offering to them to state it to three, five or seven Years. Hereupon, *St. Johns* hypocritically answered. "God forbid that we should be forced to "sit one Year; for as soon as the Armies are disbanded, the "Necessity we hope will be at an end, and so there will be "no need afterwards to insist on the Act; but on the con-"trary, if it be not pass'd for an indefinite time, we shall not "have Credit and Interest to raise Money to disband the Ar-"my, and satisfie the Debts we are in; whereas the Act be-"ing pass'd, we shall quickly dispatch both. To this purpose I well remember *St. Johns* discoursed, and by this false Colour got the Lords to concur therewith, and so it was speedily drawn up and pass'd both Houses. And in point of time cunningly contrived, the Thoughts and Minds of all Men being intent on the Earl of *Strafford*'s Business and the Success thereof; and by this means this most fatal Act (like a Thief in the Night) stole upon us to the Ruin of the King and Kingdom.

Page 258.

IT is most true this *Sunday* was no Day of rest to the King, for neither His Bishops nor Judges gave Him Satisfaction in point of Conscience. The Bishops were the Archbishop of *York*, the

Bishops

Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſme*, and the Primate of *Armagh*; which laſt, common Fame reported to have made this Diſtinction, That the King in His private Capacity as a Man could not condemn the Earl, but in His politick as a King that He might; though for that learned Man's Vindication, I muſt ſay that afterwards at *Oxford* I took the Confidence to tell the King, that I heard that the Primate ſhould then have made that Diſtinction; but the King replied no, I can aſſure you it was not he: Whence I infer it was either *York* or *Durham*, for at the ſame time the King fully juſtified the Biſhop of *London* for his ſtout Opinion againſt it. However, (the Earl having by his Letter ſet His MAJESTY's Conſcience at liberty) His MAJESTY with much Regret gave Commiſſion to the paſſing the Bill for the Earl's Condemnation, and at the ſame time the other Bill againſt diſſolving the Parliament without Conſent of both Houſes was paſs'd likewiſe. Of the firſt of which Bills the Author after ſays excellent well, *That no Affronts or Complyance with Subjects ought to perſuade Kings to Conceſſions repugnant to their own Conſcience*; inſtancing thereupon the Misfortune of the firſt King of *Iſrael*; and although our good and pious King was as unfortunate as that, yet God forbid it ſhould be aſcribed to the doing of this ſingle Act againſt His Conſcience, but rather that for our univerſal Puniſhment God Almighty hath permitted the wickedeſt of Rebels to deſtroy Him, and as yet to deprive His Poſterity of His Kingdoms.

A SHORT

A SHORT REVIEW OF THE LIFE and ACTIONS Of the Late King CHARLES.

THE Diſpoſitions and Inclinations of all Men (and more eſpecially of Princes) can no way be ſo well diſcovered and underſtood as by the Obſervation of their Actions and Undertakings; for ſuch declare them either to be endued with Courage, Juſtice, Bounty, Mercy, and the like, or brand them with Vices that are contrary. And becauſe the fatal End that the wickedeſt of Rebels brought the King unto, hath given them the Impudence to impute unto Him Tyranny in the Government of His Subjects; it will not be impertinent (but a Juſtice to His Memory, and undoubted Virtues both private and publick) briefly to examine by His Life and Actions, if any the leaſt Symptoms of that horrid Imputation can be laid to His Charge; and whether or no that the Factious Part of His traiterous Subjects that deſtroyed Him and His Government, have not been the principal Cauſers of that King's Misfortune, and the only Tyrants and Uſurpers, that for a long time, and ſtill do oppreſs the People. And to clear this, it will be proper in the firſt place to define Tyranny; which (according to modern acceptation) is held to be an Arbitrary diſpoſing of Subjects Lives without legal Tryal, and an unequal Diſtribution of Juſtice, and Impoſitions by the Sovereign Power; for even that part of the uſurped Government which at preſent is uſed in *England* by equal Impoſitions on the People, cannot be termed Tyranny, but high Oppreſſion to ſupport a wicked and unjuſt Uſurpation. Which being ſo, it will be neceſſary for the King's juſt Vindication, to look back to the Commencement, and conſequently to the Progreſs of this King's Reign, and he will be found

no ſooner in Poſſeſſion of His Kingdoms than invironed with great Difficulties. For he found many factious Spirits hard to pleaſe; empty Coffers, and yet a War with *Spain* begun in His Father's Time, at the Deſire of the Commons in Parliament, in order to the recovery of the Palatinate, (which ſurely none of the Adviſers would ſay was unjuſt) nor did the King impoſe on His People to ſupport it, contenting Himſelf with the Supply of two Subſidies His firſt Parliament gave Him; but on the contrary (as an Allay) obſerve what the factious Commons in the firſt Seſſion of this Parliament did, for they only paſſed the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage, limitting it to a Year, whereas all His MAJESTY's Predeceſſors had it granted them for their Lives. And was not this a moſt undutiful malicious Act, and a tyrannical Oppreſſion of their King, who at this time had done nothing to diſpleaſe them? Yet ſhortly after at their meeting again at *Oxford*, did not that King graciouſly and moſt ſatisfactorily anſwer their Petition about Religion?

AND on the contrary, did not the Commons diſpute the Deſign then on foot, (as if the Management of it had been their proper Buſineſs and not the King's) and inſtead of affording Supplies did inſolently deſign a Remonſtrance why they would not give, and therein fell heavily on the Duke of *Buckingham*; which was the more ſtrange in regard he had done nothing to diſpleaſe thoſe very Men (in relation to the Publick) that not a Year before thought him worthy to have a Statue erected to his Memory? Was it Tyranny or Injuſtice in the King then to diſſolve them, growing both wilful and impertinent? Thus paſs'd this firſt Year of the King's Reign, wherein it is true His Fleet and Army was unfortunate, returning from *Cadiz re infecta*.

A ſecond Parliament being called, His MAJESTY repreſented to them the Neceſſities of His Fleet and Army, and that He had another Fleet ready, wanting only Money to ſupply them for a new Deſign; both which were juſt Propoſitions, the War being undertaken at their Deſire.

ON the contrary (let the Neceſſity be never ſo great of Fleet or Army) the Commons reſort to their old hypocritical Trick, pretended Care of Religion; in order to which, they aſperſe the King by ſearching the Signet Office, countenancing inſolent Speeches in their Houſe, and by a ſawcy Remonſtrance juſtifying their inſolent Actions, and at length accuſe the Duke of *Buckingham* in the Lord's Houſe; and becauſe he gave a modeſt and ſatisfactory Anſwer, their Fury was increaſed; whereupon they drew up a Declaration of the miſerable State

of

of the Kingdom, what then could the King do leſs this ſecond time than to diſſolve them as He did?

SHORTLY after a Breach happened between the King and His Brother of *France*, and thereupon the Aſſiſtance of *Rochel*, then in Rebellion againſt the *French* King, was held juſt for His MAJESTY to undertake, (and ſurely none of the zealous Party could think but this was fit for the King to do;) and now to purſue this, in regard the Commons had been ſo obſtinate and perverſe in the two former Parliaments, His MAJESTY reſorted to a Means uſed by ſome of His Predeceſſors, which was to raiſe Moneys by a Loan; which (though ſo plauſible a Cauſe) many refuſe, and are thereupon impriſoned. This is the firſt pretended illegal Act can be laid to this King's Charge; and yet examine it, and it will be found that He had Precedents, Neceſſity, and the Cauſe, to juſtifie it. However, in the next Parliament, by granting the Petition of Right, He totally freed the People from the future Apprehenſion of any ſuch Impoſition, and ever after obſerved it.

ON the contrary, the Obſtinacy of the factious Commons induced Him to take this Courſe to preſerve His Honour, and aſſiſt thoſe of the Religion; whom if the King had not at the leaſt endeavoured to preſerve, they would have been the firſt that would have traduced Him as a Papiſt and Betrayer of theſe ſuffering People; and yet though He did as much as He could on that occaſion, they imputed their Loſs unto Him.

THE third Year of this King's Reign produced the Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee*, in order to the Relief of *Rochel*; where all the Money got by the Loan was ſpent, and the Journy unproſperous. But yet how illegal ſoever this Loan was pretended to be, it was not ſpent in Riot or Luxury, but for a Cauſe none thought more juſtifiable than the Refuſers, and ſo they leaſt of all ought to charge His MAJESTY with Oppreſſion or Injuſtice, in the levying it to that end. Nor could the billeting of Souldiers at that time be in any kind termed illegal, but by ſuch as would admit the King to have no Latitude by His Sovereign Power to diſpoſe His Army for a time, until He could imploy them for His Honour and Advantage. Likewiſe, the Intention of ſending the *German* Horſe (if any ſuch were) was queſtionleſs to ſtrengthen the Army for a future Undertaking for *Rochel*; ſo as neither of theſe Actions would admit of a Conſtruction of Tyranny or Oppreſſion by the King, the preſent Neceſſity of His Affairs requiring the firſt to be done, and the laſt to be deſigned. But how far from a Thought this good King was to be a Tyrant, is by nothing more evi-

dent than that immediately after (seeing the Loan disgusted by some of His Subjects) He sold 20000*l.* yearly of His own Lands to the City of *London* for 100000*l.* and borrowed more Money by Privy Seals; and all this was imployed by Him in endeavouring to assist those ingrateful *Rochellers*; though not one of all that Faction in Religion in His own Dominions, but afterwards proved an active Rebel, and all of them abroad fomented and assisted them against Him. Yet the better to assist them in this third Year of His Reign, this King called His third Parliament; which at the first seemed of a better Temper than the two precedent had been, the Commons granting Him five Subsidies; whereupon the King graciously assured them, *He would deny them nothing of the Liberties any of His Predecessors had granted them.* And shortly after He passed the Petition of Right, and cancelled the Commission of Loan; and what more could a gracious Prince do to satisfie His Subjects? Yet on the contrary, the Commons most undutifully and insolently shortly after; make a Remonstrance of the pretended Grievances of the Kingdom; when if any such were, they were past help, or secured by the Petition of Right; and because the King was offended at it, and fully answered it, they fell on Him, remonstrating against His taking of Tonnage and Poundage, which they had not touched upon in the precedent Parliaments. Whereby it is evident their Design at first of passing it only for a Year in their House (for the Lords rejected it) was still to have a Pretence whenever the King offended them, to traduce Him to His People as an Oppressor of them: Hereupon His MAJESTY prorogued them for some few Months.

IN the fourth Year of His Reign, the Parliament met again, and then His MAJESTY to close with them, and to take away all Occasions of future Differences, presseth the Commons to pass the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, as they had promised Him, *both to clear His by-past Actions and future Proceedings*, (a condescending, and far from tyrannical Expression.) But instead thereof the Commons insolently dispute His MAJESTY's Right or Pretence thereunto, though they could not deny but that it had been given all His Predecessors; question the Farmers for receiving it, and refuse to pass it except His MAJESTY would positively set forth His no Right unto it, and at length most insolently remonstrate against the Payment of it, and make a Protestation in their House; both which were as full of Malice to His MAJESTY and Imputation to His Justice and Government as could possibly be framed. Whereupon the King dissolved them; which their Insolence and Perverse-

neſs forced Him to do, by their denying to grant it Him as His Predeceſſors enjoyed it, ſeeing it was impoſſible for Him to guard the Seas and protect the Trade without it.

THUS far this King only ſtruggled to preſerve His Royal Authority, and the Commons to invade and uſurp upon it; and if there were any Acts of ſeeming Oppreſſion or Uſurpation done in that time, they muſt be aſcribed to the Commons either doing or forcing ſuch to be done.

HENCEFORWARDS for ſome Years we muſt look upon this King governing without Comptrollers; and then examine if during that time there were any illegal or oppreſſive Acts done by Him, or whether His Subjects ever enjoyed ſuch Plenty or Happineſs before or ſince that time. For the Year following, being the fifth Year of His Reign, He concluded a Peace with the Crown of *France*; and, as a Teſtimony of His Juſtice, would not pardon *Stamford*, though He was much importuned to ſave Him. And if thoſe factious Gentlemen committed at the Diſſolution of the Parliament were fined by the Judges of the King's Bench for their inſolent Demeanour in Parliament, thoſe that gave the Judgment did it according to Law and former Precedents; which was ſo far from Tyranny as it was exemplar Juſtice.

IN His ſixth Year this King alſo made Peace with *Spain*, the Benefit whereof accrued to His Subjects by a general Freedom of Commerce.

AND if Mr. *Leighton* was ſtigmatized for His ſeditious Books, it was an Effect of Mercy that he was not hanged; and it was but Juſtice in the King to make uſe of the Power He had left Himſelf in raiſing Money by Default, from ſuch as appeared not at the Coronation as they are obliged by their Tenures.

THE ſeventh and eighth Years of this King's Reign, were full of Peace and Plenty, and in them not the leaſt Act or Pretence of Oppreſſion or Injuſtice can be imputed to the King, except the exemplar Puniſhment of a Nobleman for an infamous Crime can be ſtiled either.

IN His ninth Year this King received the Crown of *Scotland* at *Edenborough*; where the miſinterpretation of His Acts of Grace, for the general good of that People, begat ſeeming Pretences for the Diſorders that followed in that Kingdom.

IN His tenth Year no Imputation can be fixed on Government, except it were Tyranny to free His People from the greateſt Tyranny imaginable, Impoſition upon ſilly Conſciences by ſeditious Puritan Miniſters, which the Declaration of

Sports

Sports after divine Service on Sundays in the Afternoon did. But this was cried down by thoſe People, whoſe hypocritical obſerving that Day (experience teacheth us) they think ſufficient to expiate for Treaſon, Murther, Rapine and Rebellion; which they have not ſince ſtuck at, laying this for one of their falſe Pretences.

In His eleventh Year this King perceiving that His Neighbours invaded His Sovereignty at Sea, both by Writing and Action, did according to Precedents lay a moderate Tax on the Kingdom towards the Maintenance of a Fleet of Ships, which He effectively ſet forth to guard the Seas. Likewiſe as an Effect of His Mercy, not of His Juſtice, He pardoned the Lord *Balmerino*, who was condemned for abetting a ſcandalous Libel againſt His Actions in *Scotland*.

In the twelfth Year He continued the Tax of Ship Money, and ſet forth a Fleet, which produced honourable Effects for the King and Kingdom, the *Dutch* then acknowledging the Sovereignty of the Seas to be His. How then could this Tax be held illegal, being warranted by ancient Practice, and ſo honourable and neceſſary in it ſelf? And yet that King's Tenderneſs was ſuch, as Payment being denied by ſome, eſpecially Mr. *Hampden* (who afterwards proved a Ringleader in Rebellion, and juſtly fell therein) he ſtated his Caſe to all the Judges; who poſitively returned for Anſwer, that the King might in caſe of imminent Danger, and when the Good and Safety of the Kingdom is concerned, iſſue Writs, commanding His Subjects to furniſh Ships with Men, *&c.* and that by Law the King might compell the doing thereof in caſe of Refuſal, and that in ſuch caſe the King is ſole Judge of the Danger, *&c.* What could be more formal and legal than this Anſwer of theirs? For it is evident that in all Caſes the Eſtates and Properties of the People depend on, and are determined by the Judges Interpretation of the Law; and to confirm this, when Mr. *Hampden* afterwards demurred to the Legality of the Writs, which was argued before all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, ten of the twelve Judges gave their Opinion for the Writs againſt Mr. *Hampden*. Can then this Proceeding of the King in this Buſineſs be in any kind judged tyrannical, or the King a Tyrant or Oppreſſor of His People by impoſing it. And if about this time ſome ſeditious Miniſters were ſilenced by the Biſhops or deprived, can that lay an Imputation on the King? And it was moſt evident, that all their Puniſhments were juſtified for obſtinate Diſobedience to known Eccleſiaſtick Laws, and the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church.

In

In this King's thirteenth Year, Juſtice was ſparingly executed on three traiterous Libellers, *Burton*, *Prinn* and *Baſtwick*; wherein if the King were a Tyrant, it was to Himſelf in not directing them (as by Law He might) to be indicted and executed for Treaſon, and then probably this merciful King had not ſuffered ſo much afterwards under their Malice, and that of their wicked Favourers.

In this Year likewiſe began the violent Diſorders in *Scotland*, which by Degrees and His Majesty's Lenity in ſtill yielding to their Demands, produced both in that and the ſucceeding Year, no better Effects than an abſolute Neceſſity to raiſe an Army to reduce them to Obedience; which was accordingly ready, and on the Borders of *Scotland* the beginnning of the fifteenth Year of this King's Reign. And that this Army did not actively proceed to reduce thoſe Rebels, was not out of any tyrannous Diſpoſition, but the two much Indulgence of that King to His native People, and the Treachery and Ingratitude of many of both Kingdoms; who envying the Happineſs of that King's Government, were glad of any Occaſion to imbroil it. Hereupon, the *Scots* treacherouſly broke the Pacification made at this time. The Conſequence whereof, both they and the ſeditious *Engliſh* (their underhand Complices) knew muſt induce the King at length to call a Parliament, wherein they intended once more to attempt the Uſurpation of the Government.

Accordingly in this King's ſixteenth Year a Parliament was called to demand Aſſiſtance againſt thoſe rebellious *Scots*, then intending to invade *England*, another Army being raiſed to oppoſe them. But this Parliament anſwered not His Majesty's Expectation, in ſpeedy Supplies, or Inclination to oppoſe thoſe Rebels, and was thereupon unhappily diſſolved (becauſe ſome conclude had they ſate longer they would have been more tractable.) Howſoever, although the King's Neceſſities were great, (all His Treaſure being ſpent in levying and maintaining Armies that and the precedent Year) yet He was far from doing any Act of Tyranny or Oppreſſion, to raiſe Money for His neceſſary Supply, contenting Himſelf with what the free Benevolence of His Servants and faithful Subjects afforded Him. And yet in this Conjuncture, had He been of a violent and ſtirring Diſpoſition, neither of which are Tyrannical, He might (and juſtly enough, Neceſſity requiring it) have taken other courſes for His Supply, having then two Armys in *England* and *Ireland* at His Devotion, (which ſufficiently confutes that falſe Teſtimony given by Sir *Henry Vane* againſt the Earl of

Strafford

Strafford about bringing over the *Iriſh* Army) yet afterwards His Army in *England* being towards the end of that Summer forced by the *Scots* at the Paſſage of the River of *Tyne* to a diſorderly Retreat, abſolute Neceſſity joined with impudent Importunity both of *Engliſh* and *Scots*, cauſed the King to aſſemble His laſt fatal Parliament to meet at as fatal a place (*Weſtminſter*) the third of *November* following. After which this good King was in a Snare, and ſo far from acting as a Tyrant or Oppreſſor (had He ever been one) as He was abſolutely in the Power of His People; whom yet He was ſo confident of, as He put Himſelf freely on the Love of His *Engliſh* Subjects, and truſted in their Hands the Managery of all His Affairs both of Peace and War. So that henceforward we muſt look on the Parliament as King, and the good King as their Subject and Patient. Yet afterwards, when they had by His gracious Conceſſions near diveſted Him of all Royal Authority, they forced and began a War upon Him to deprive Him of all the reſt; wherein had not the King's Armys too much deſpiſed theirs (His being at firſt victorious) and afterwards became factious and careleſs, it is probable that good King might have had it in His Power to have puniſhed His Parliament for all their Diſloyalty. But it ſeems God Almighty having diſpoſed this King ſo much to Mercy, would not truſt Him with the diſpenſing of Juſtice on ſo great Offenders, but reſerved that for Himſelf and for another time.

THUS much I have thought proper to ſay, by way of review as naturally ariſing out of the Hiſtory, thereby to clear the late King from any the leaſt Diſpoſition to Tyranny or Oppreſſion of His Subjects. For during the ſixteen Years He had the Power to rule as King, it doth evidently appear that no Man ſuffered Death, but for tranſgreſſing ſome known Law, (nor was the number of Offenders many) no Man was illegally outed of his Poſſeſſions, or deprived of His Goods; no Impoſition was laid, but was warranted by ancient Precedents, Practice, Law, and abſolute Neceſſity; the Product of all which being imployed for the juſt Deſigns of this King, in order to the Honour and Defence of the Kingdom, (after the firſt four Years that Parliaments interpoſed) never came to one Million of Money. Which Sum if we compare with what the beſt of this King's Predeceſſors levied in that Space of time, will be found inconſiderable; but if with what the uſurping Parliamnet and Army have in the like ſpace of time extorted and received to maintain their unjuſt Uſurpation, it will not be found to amount to the hundredth part, (to ſuch an height of Bon-

dage

dage and oppreſſion hath the longing vanity for Parliaments brought the People.) But then add to this the Sea of Blood that theſe Men have ſwom through to gain their Ends, it will be found that in the three Kingdoms above 300000 Men have loſt their Lives by the Sword, and other Accidents of this Rebellion; ſome thouſands have been put to death, by the pretended Hand of Juſtice, for aſſerting their Loyalty; and more then all, this good and gracious King hath been ignominiouſly brought to ſuffer on a Scaffold, and the Monarchical Government excluded, moſt of the Nobility and ancient Gentry of the three Kingdoms have been ruined and outed of all Authority, the old Fundamental Laws have been ſubverted, and Religion (by theſe eſtabliſhed) deſtroyed. And if we examine who have acted theſe horrid and unparalled Crimes and Changes, it will be found, that the Commons whileſt they ſate, and now the Army and Protector, are ſo far from denying them, as they glory to have been the Inſtruments thereof. Who therefore muſt be juſtly termed the ſole Cauſers of this King's Misfortunes, and the Tyrants and Uſurpers that both have long and ſtill do oppreſs the unhappy People of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. From whoſe Bondage God in his good time deliver us all.

Amſterdam, 10. *October* 1655.

Edw. Walker, Garter.

FINIS.

PAge 118. *l.* 6 *from the bottom, r.* Rupert. p. 228. *l.* 32. *r. to be done.* p. 294. *l.* 7. *r.* Clinton. p. 313. *l.* 22. *for to, r. by.*

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Of all the

VOTES, LETTERS,

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Relating unto, and that paſſed in the

TREATY

Held at

Newport in the *Iſle of Wight*,

In the

Months of *September*, *October* and *November*, 1648.

Between His late MAJESTY

King CHARLES the Firſt

Of ever Bleſſed Memory,

AND A

COMMITTEE

Of the

Lords and Commons of Parliament.

Entred by His Majeſty's eſpecial Command.

By Sir *EDWARD WALKER*, Knight, Garter Principal KING of ARMS, and the firſt CLERK ſent for, and imployed by His MAJESTY to ſerve Him during that TREATY.

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LATE TREATY

Negotiated in the Ille of Wight,

In the

Months of September, October, and November 1648,

Between His late Majesty

King CHARLES the III.

Of ever Blessed Memory,

AND

COMMISSIONERS

Of the

Lords and Commons of Parliament.

Printed by the Authority of both Houses.

By Sir EDWARD WALKER, Knight, Clerk of the Parliaments, and the first CLERK to the Council of State.

His MAJESTY to leave Him, during that TREATY.

LONDON:

Printed by E. G. for R. Royston at the Angel in Ivie-lane, 1649.

Perfect COPIES *of all the* VOTES, LETTERS, PROPOSALS *and* ANSWERS, *relating unto, and that paſſed in the Treaty held at* Newport *in the* Iſle of Wight, *in the Months of* September, October *and* November, 1648. *between His late Majeſty King* CHARLES the Firſt *of ever Bleſſed Memory, and a Committee of the* Lords *and* Commons *of* Parliament.

Votes to be preſented to His Majeſty at Carisbrooke-Caſtle, *from both Houſes of Parliament, concerning a Perſonal Treaty.*

Die Jovis 3°. Auguſti 1648.

REſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That a Committee of both Houſes be ſent to His Majeſty, to acquaint him with their Reſolutions to treat Perſonally with His Majeſty by a Committee of both Houſes, in ſuch Place as His Majeſty ſhall make choice of in the *Iſle of Wight*, upon the Propoſitions preſented at *Hampton-Court*, and the taking away of Wards and Liveries for the ſettling of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace: Which Treaty is reſolved by the Two Houſes, to be tranſacted with Honour, Freedom, and Safety to His Majeſty in the *Iſle of Wight*, and with Freedom and Safety to ſuch Committees as ſhall be appointed by both Houſes of Parliament to treat with His Majeſty.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That the Committee intended to be ſent unto His Majeſty to treat with Him, ſhall have power to treat with His Majeſty in the *Iſle of Wight*, upon ſuch Propoſitions as ſhall be offered by Him: And that the Committees that ſhall be appointed to go to His Majeſty, have power to treat with His Majeſty upon ſuch other Propoſitions as ſhall be propounded, either by His Majeſty or both Houſes of Parliament.

Ex. *Jo. Browne, Cler' Parliamentor.* *H. Elſynge, Cler' Parl. D. Com.*

His Majeſty's Anſwer to both Houſes of Parliament.

Carisbrooke, 10 *Aug.* 1648.

IF the Peace of my Dominions were not much dearer to me than any particular Intereſt whatſoever, I had too much reaſon to take notice of the ſeveral Votes which paſſed againſt me, and the ſad Condition I have been in now above theſe ſeven Months; but ſince You, my Two Houſes of Parliament, have opened (as it ſeems to me) a fair Beginning to a happy Peace, I ſhall heartily apply my ſelf thereunto: And to that end, I will, as clearly and ſhortly as I may, ſet you down thoſe things which I conceive neceſſary to this Bleſſed Work; ſo, that We together, may remove all Impediments that may hinder a happy Concluſion of this Treaty, which, with all cheerfulneſs, I embrace.

And to this wiſhed End, your ſelves have laid moſt excellent Grounds: For, what can I reaſonably expect more, than to treat with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, upon ſuch Propoſitions as you have, or ſhall preſent unto me, and ſuch as I ſhall

I ſhall make to you? But withal remember, that it is the Definition, not Names of Things, which makes them rightly known; and that without Means to perform, no Propoſition can take effect. And truly, my preſent Condition is ſuch, that I can no more Treat, than a Blind Man can judge of Colours, or, one run a Race who hath both his Feet faſt tied together: Wherefore my firſt neceſſary Demand is,

That ye would recall all ſuch Votes and Orders, by which People are frighted from Coming, Writing, or Speaking freely to me: Next, That ſuch Men of all Profeſſions, whom I ſhall ſend for, as of neceſſary uſe to me in this Treaty, may be admitted to wait upon me. In a word, That I may be in the ſame ſtate of Freedom I was in, when I was laſt at *Hampton-Court*; and indeed, leſs cannot, in any reaſonable meaſure, make good thoſe Offers which you have made me by your Votes: For, how can I Treat with Honour, ſo long as People are terrified by Votes and Orders, to Come, Speak, or Write to me? And am I honourably Treated, ſo long as there are none about me (except a Barber, who now came with the Commiſſioners) that ever I named, to wait upon me, or with Freedom, until I may call ſuch unto me, of whoſe Services I ſhall have uſe in ſo great and difficult a Work? And for Safety, (I ſpeak not of my Perſon, having no apprehenſion that way) how can I judge to make a ſafe, well-grounded Peace, until I may know (without diſguiſe) the true preſent ſtate of all my Dominions, and particularly, of all thoſe whoſe Intereſts are neceſſarily concerned in the Peace of theſe Kingdoms? Which leads me naturally to the laſt neceſſary Demand I ſhall make, for the bringing of this Treaty to a happy End; which is,

That I alone, or you and I jointly, do invite the *Scots* to ſend ſome Perſons authorized by them, to treat upon ſuch Propoſitions as they ſhall make: For certainly, the publick and neceſſary Intereſt they have in this great Settlement, is ſo clearly plain to all the World, that, I believe, no body will deny the neceſſity of their concurrence in this Treaty, in order to a durable Peace: Wherefore I will only ſay, That as I am King of both Nations, ſo I will yield to none in either Kingdom, for being truly and zealouſly affected for the Good and Honour of both; my Reſolution being never to be partial for either, to the Prejudice of the other.

Now as to the place, (becauſe I conceive it to be rather a Circumſtantial than real Part of this Treaty, I ſhall not ſo much inſiſt upon it) I name *Newport* in this Iſle; yet, the fervent Zeal I have, that a ſpeedy End be put to theſe unhappy Diſtractions, does force me earneſtly to deſire you to conſider, what a great loſs of time it will be to treat ſo far from the Body of my Two Houſes, when every ſmall Debate (of which, doubtleſs there will be many) muſt be tranſmitted to *Weſtminſter*, before it be concluded: And really, I think (though to ſome it may ſeem a Paradox) that Peoples Minds will be much more apt to ſettle, ſeeing me treat in or near *London*, than in this Iſle; becauſe, ſo long as I am here, it will never be believed by many, that I really am ſo free, as, before this Treaty begin, I expect to be: And ſo I leave and recommend this Point to your ſerious Conſideration.

And thus I have not only fully accepted of the Treaty, which you have propoſed to me, by your Votes of the Third of this Month, but alſo given it all the furtherance that lies in me, by demanding the neceſſary Means for the effectual performance thereof; all which are ſo neceſſarily implied by, though not particularly mentioned in your Votes, as I can no ways doubt of your ready compliance with me herein. I have no more to ſay, but to conjure you by all that is dear to Chriſtians, honeſt Men, or good Patriots, that ye will make all the expedition poſſible to begin this happy Work, by haſting down your Commiſſioners fully authoriſed and well inſtructed; and, by enabling me (as I have ſhewed you) to treat; praying the God of Peace ſo to bleſs Our Endeavours, that all my Dominions may ſpeedily enjoy a ſafe well-grounded Peace.

For the Speaker of the Lords Houſe pro tempore, *to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of* England *at* Weſtminſter.

Die

Die Jovis 24° *Aug.* 1648.

Instructions for Collonel Robert Hammond, *Governour of the* Isle of Wight.

Resolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled,

1. THat the Place for the Treaty shall be the Town of *Newport* in the *Isle of Wight*, where His Majesty shall be in the same State and Freedom as He was in when He was last at *Hampton-Court*, according to the ensuing Instructions.

Resolved,

2. That no Person excepted by the Two Houses of Parliament, from Pardon, or under Restraint, or in actual War against the Parliament by Sea or by Land, or in such Numbers as may draw any just cause of Suspicion, shall be permitted to come or remain in the said *Isle* during the King's Residence there.

Resolved,

3. That no Person who hath been in Arms, or assisted in this unnatural War against the Parliament, shall be permitted to come into any Fort or Castle in the said *Isle* during the King's Residence there, although he be an Inhabitant, and hath compounded with the Parliament.

Resolved,

4. That no Stranger, or Person of a Foreign Nation, shall be permitted to come into the King's Presence without the Order of both Houses of Parliament. And that if the King shall please to send for any of the *Scotish* Nation, to advise with him concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Scotland* only, the Governour shall permit them (having safe Conduct from both Houses) to come to His Majesty.

Resolved,

5. That Collonel *Hammond* take care that there be a sufficient Guard for the Safety of the *Isle of Wight*, and to hinder the taking away the King's Person from thence.

Resolved,

6. That His Majesty be desired to pass His Royal Word, to make His constant Residence in the *Isle of Wight*, from the time of His assenting to Treat until Twenty Days after the Treaty ended, unless it be otherwise desired by both Houses of Parliament. And that after His Royal Word so passed, and His Assent given to Treat as aforesaid, from thenceforth the former Instructions of 16th *Novemb.* 1647, be vacated, and these observed: And that Collonel *Hammond* be authorized to receive His Majesty's Royal Word passed to the Two Houses of Parliament, for His Residence in the *Isle of Wight*, according as is formerly expressed; and shall certifie the same to both Houses.

Jo. Browne, Cleric' Parliamentor'

A Letter from the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament to His Majesty, with Votes enclosed in order to a Personal Treaty.

May it please Your Majesty,

WE are commanded by Your Majesty's Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, to present unto Your Majesty these Resolutions enclosed, which are the Results of the said Lords and Commons upon Your Majesty's Letter of the Tenth of *August* instant.

Westminster, 25 *Aug.* 1648.

Your Majesty's most Loyal, and most Humble Subjects and Servants,

Manchester, *Speaker of the House of Peers* pro tempore;
William Lenthall, *Speaker of the House of Commons.*

Votes

Votes of the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, in order to a Perſonal Treaty.

Die Jovis 24° *Auguſti* 1648.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion, by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

THat for opening a Way towards a Treaty with His Majeſty for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, theſe Four Votes following are hereby revoked and taken off.

1. *Viz. Reſolved, &c.* That the Lords and Commons do declare, that they will make no further Addreſſes or Application to the King.

2. *Reſolved by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament*, That no Application or Addreſſes be made to the King by any Perſon whatſoever, without the leave of both Houſes.

3. *Reſolved by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament*, That the Perſon or Perſons that ſhall make breach of this Order, ſhall incur the Penalties of High Treaſon.

4. *Reſolved*, That the Lords and Commons do declare, that they will receive no more any Meſſage from the King; and do enjoin, that no Perſon whatſoever do preſume to receive or bring any Meſſage from the King, to both, or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or to any other Perſon.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, That His Majeſty be deſired to ſend to the Houſes the Names of ſuch Perſons as He ſhall conceive to be of neceſſary uſe to be about him during this Treaty, they not being Perſons excepted by the Houſes from Pardon, or under Reſtraint, or in actual War againſt the Parliament by Sea or Land, or in ſuch Numbers as may draw any juſt cauſe of Suſpicion: And that His Majeſty ſhall be in the *Iſle of Wight* in the ſame ſtate and freedom as He was in when He was laſt at *Hampton-Court*.

Reſolved, &c.

That the Houſes do agree, That ſuch Domeſtick Servants, not being in the former Limitations, as His Majeſty ſhall appoint to come to attend upon His Majeſty's Perſon, ſhall be ſent unto Him.

Reſolved, &c.

That the Town of *Newport* in the *Iſle of Wight*, named by the King, ſhall be the place for this Treaty with His Majeſty.

Reſolved, &c.

That if the King ſhall think fit to ſend for any of the *Scotiſh* Nation to adviſe with Him concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Scotland* only, the Houſes will give them a ſafe Conduct, they not being Perſons under reſtraint in this Kingdom, or in actual War againſt the Parliament by Sea or Land, or in ſuch Numbers as may draw any juſt cauſe of Suſpicion.

Reſolved, &c.

That Five Lords and Ten Members of the Houſe of Commons be Commiſſioners to treat with the King.

Reſolved, &c.

That the time of beginning the Treaty be within Ten Days after the King's aſſent to treat, as is agreed, and to continue Forty Days after the beginning thereof.

Jo: Browne, Cleric' Parliamentor' — *H. Elſynge, Cler' Parl' Dom. Com.*

Reſolved,

That His Majeſty be deſired to paſs His Royal Word, to make His conſtant Reſidence in the *Iſle of Wight*, from the time of His aſſenting to treat until Twenty Days

Days after the Treaty ended, unleſs it. be otherwiſe deſired by both Houſes of Parliament: And that after His Royal Word ſo paſſed, and His Aſſent given to treat as aforeſaid, from thenceforth the former Inſtructions of 16 *Novemb.* 1647, be vacated, and theſe obſerved: And that Collonel *Hammond* be authorized to receive His Majeſty's Royal Word paſſed to the Two Houſes of Parliament for His Reſidence in the *Iſle of Wight*, according as is formerly expreſſed; and ſhall certifie the ſame to both Houſes.

Jo. Browne, Cleric' Parliamentor' — *H. Elſynge, Cler' Parl' Dom. Com.*

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Letter of the Speakers of both Houſes of Parliament of the 25th *of* Aug. 1648.

Carisbrooke, Monday 28th *Aug.* 1648.

MY Lord, and Mr. Speaker, I have received your Letter of the 25th of this Month, with the Votes that you ſent me; which though they are not ſo full as I could have wiſhed for the perfecting of a Treaty, yet becauſe I conceive by what you have done, that I am in ſome meaſure fit to begin one, (ſuch is my unceſſant and earneſt Deſire, to give a Peace to theſe my now diſtracted Dominions, as) I accept the Treaty: And therefore deſire that ſuch Five Lords and Ten Commoners, as my Two Houſes ſhall appoint, be ſpeedily ſent, fully authorized and inſtructed, to treat with me; not doubting, but what is now wanting will (at Our Meeting, upon debate) be fully ſupplied, not only to the furtherance of this Treaty, but alſo to the conſummating of a ſafe and well-ground Peace.
So I reſt *Your good Friend*, C. R.

Here incloſed, I have ſent you the Liſt that ye have deſired.

I deſire, in order to one of your Votes, that ye would ſend me a free Paſs for *Parſons*, one of the Grooms of my Preſence-Chamber, to go into *Scotland*; and that ye would immediately ſend him to me, to receive his diſpatch thither.

A Letter from the Speakers of both Houſes of Parliament to His Majeſty, 2 Septemb. 1648, *naming the Commiſſioners for the Treaty.*

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

YOur Two Houſes of Parliament have commanded us to acquaint Your Majeſty, That they have appointed the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Pembrooke*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Middleſex*, and the Lord Viſcount *Say* and *Seal*, Members of the Houſe of Peers; and *Thomas* Lord *Wenman*, Mr. *Denzell Holles*, Mr. *William Pierrepont*, Sir *Henry Vane, jun.* Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Mr. *Samuel Browne*, Mr. *John Crewe*, Mr. Recorder of the City of *London*, Sir *John Potts*, Mr. *John Bulkley*, Members of the Houſe of Commons; to treat with Your Majeſty at *Newport* in the *Iſle of Wight*: And although they cannot come within the time before appointed, yet they ſhall give their Attendance with all convenient ſpeed.

2 *Septemb.* 1648. *Your Majeſty's moſt loyal and humble Servants,*

Hunſdon, *Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore.
William Lenthall, *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.*

Votes of both Houſes of Parliament, concerning the Admiſſion of His Majeſty's Servants to attend Him during the time of the Treaty.

Die Sabbati 2° Septemb. 1648.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

THat according to the King's deſire in His Letter, *Parſons* ſhall have a Paſs to go to the King, and into *Scotland.*

Reſolved, &c.

That the Duke of *Richmond*, Marquis *Hertford*, Earl of *Lyndſey*, and Earl of *Southampton*, have liberty to go to the King to attend him during the time of the Treaty.

Reſolved, &c.

That *George Kirke*, *James Levingſton*, *Henry Murray*, have liberty to go to the King to attend Him during the time of the Treaty.

Reſolved, &c.

That *Thomas Davies*, *Hugh Henn*, *Humphrey Rogers*, *William Levitt*, *John Rives*, Sir *Edward Sydenham*, *Robert Tirwhitt*, *John Houſton*, Mrs. *Wheeler* with ſuch Maids as ſhe will chuſe, Sir *Fulke Grevill*, Captain *Titus*, Captain *Burroughes*, Mr. *Creſſet*, Mr. *Anſtie*, Mr. *Fierbraſs*, have liberty to go to the King to attend Him during the time of the Treaty.

Reſolved, &c.

That *Abraham Dowcett* be not permitted to go to the King, being under reſtraint.

Reſolved, &c.

That Dr. *Juxon*, Dr. *Duppa*, ſhall have liberty to go to the King to attend Him during the time of the Treaty.

Reſolved, &c.

That Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Oldſworth*, be not permitted to go to the King, they being under reſtraint.

Reſolved, &c.

That Dr. *Saunderſon*, Dr. *Turner*, and Dr. *Heywood*, have leave to go to the King to attend Him during the time of the Treaty.

Reſolved, &c.

That Sir *Thomas Gardner*, *Orlando Bridgeman*, Eſq; now called by the Name of Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Mr. *Jeoffery Palmer*, Mr. *Thomas Cooke*, Mr. *John Vaughan*, have liberty to go to the King to attend Him during the time of the Treaty.

Reſolved, &c.

That Sir *Edward Sydenham*, Mr. *Robert Tirwhitt*, Mr. *John Houſton*, ſhall have liberty to appoint four or ſix of the King's Foot-men to attend the King during the time of the Treaty, as they find fitteſt to wait.

Reſolved, &c.

That *Edward Walker*, Eſq; now called by the Name of Sir *Edward Walker*, Mr. *Philip Warwicke*, Mr. *Nicholas Oudart*, Mr. *Charles Whitakers*, ſhall have liberty to go to the King to attend Him during the time of the Treaty.

Reſolved, &c.

That Mr. *Peter Newton*, and Mr. *Clem. Kinnerſley*, have liberty to go the King to attend him during the time of the Treaty.

Reſolved, &c.

That Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, and Mr. *William Legg*, be not admitted to go to the King to attend him during the time of this Treaty; Mr. *John Aſhburnham* ſtanding in the firſt Exception from Pardon, and Mr. *William Legg* being under reſtraint.

Jo. Browne, Cleric' Parliamentor' *H. Elſynge, Cler' Parl' Dom. Com.*

His Majesty's Answer to the Letter from the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament of the 2d *of* Septemb. 1648.

5*th* Septemb. 1648.

MY Lord, and Mr. Speaker, I have received your Letter of the Second of this Month, containing the Names of those who are to treat with me; and though they do not come at the time appointed, I shall not wonder, at first judging it so short, in respect of my Two Houses, not of my self, that I did not imagine it could be kept, (as I then commanded Sir *Peter Killigrew* to tell by word of Mouth) and therefore it shall be far from me to take Exceptions for their having elapsed the appointed time; for God forbid, that either my Two Houses or I should carp at Circumstances, to give the least impediment to this Treaty, much less to hinder the happy finishing of it; I say this the rather, because I know not how it is possible (in this I shall wish to be deceived) that in 40 Days Treaty the many Distractions of these Kingdoms can be settled; and if so, it were more then strange, that time enough should not be given for the perfecting of this most great and good Work; which as I will not believe can be stuck on by my Two Houses, so I am sure it shall never be by

Your good Friend, C. R.

I think fit to tell you, because I believe that in this Treaty there will be use of Civil Lawyers, I have sent for my Advocate *Rives* and Dr. *Ducke*.

His Majesty's Letter to the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to both Houses for safe Conducts for such Persons as shall be appointed by the Committee of the Parliament in* Scotland, *to advise with His Majesty concerning the Affairs of that Kingdom.*

WHereas, amongst many other Votes in order to a Treaty between Us and Our Two Houses of Parliament, it is resolved, That if we shall think fit to send for any of the *Scotish* Nation to advise with Us concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Scotland* only, the Houses will give them a safe Conduct, they not being Persons under restraint in this Kingdom, or in actual War against the Parliament by Sea or Land, or in such Numbers as may draw any just cause of Exception. In order to which, We have dispatched this Bearer, Our trusty Servant *Richard Parsons*, with Letters unto the Committee of Parliament of that Our Kingdom of *Scotland*, authorizing them to elect a convenient Number of fit Persons amongst them, not exceeding the Number of Five, and their Servants speedily to attend Us here. We do therefore pray you to give your Pass to the said *Parsons* freely to go thither, and to return hither again, and likewise to send by him safe Conducts, with Blanks for the Persons and their Servants, who shall be chosen by the Committee in *Scotland* to attend Us here. So praying you to give him a speedy dispatch, We bid you farewel.

From Our Court at Newport *in the* Isle of Wight *this Eighth of* September, 1648.

For the particular Names of the Persons to be imployed to Us, We could not insert them, being altogether ignorant of the State of that Kingdom; and therefore We have referred it to the Committee there, to chuse whom they shall think fit.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of* England *at* Westminster.

The Answer of the Speakers of both Houſes to His Majeſty's Letter of the Eighth of September, 1648.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

THE Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, upon conſideration had of Your Majeſty's Letter of the Eighth of this Month, have commanded us to let Your Majeſty know, That both Houſes have already, *viz.* upon the Second of this Month, ordered a Paſs to *Richard Parſons* to go to *Scotland*, and to return: But as concerning the ſafe Conducts with Blanks, deſired by Your Majeſty to be ſent by him to *Scotland*, they conceive it a way ſubject to ſo many Inconveniences, that they cannot conſent thereunto, but humbly leave it to Your Majeſty as formerly; which being all we have in command, we remain,

Weſtminſt. Sept. 13. 1648.

Your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects, and moſt humble Servants,

Hunſdon, *Speaker of the Houſe of Peers* pro tempore;
William Lenthall, *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.*

His Majeſty's Letter to both Houſes, for ſafe Conducts for the Lord Carnegy, *Sir* Alexander Gibſon, *Knt. Lord Clerk Regiſter, and Sir* James Carmichell.

WHereas, by Our Letters to you of the Eighth preſent, We deſired ſafe Conducts with Blanks for ſuch Perſons as by the Committee of Parliament of Our Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould be made choice of to attend Us here, by whom We might have underſtood the preſent ſtate and condition of Our Affairs in that Our Kingdom; We have by yours of the 13th received in anſwer, That Our Two Houſes conceive that way ſubject to many Inconveniences, and that they cannot conſent thereunto: Wherefore, to avoid any Diſputes about it, and that the Perſons We ſhall name may ſpeedily attend Us, We deſire that ſafe Conducts may be paſſed and granted for the Lord *Carnegy*, Sir *Alexander Gibſon*, Knt. Lord Clerk Regiſter, and Sir *James Carmichell*, Knt. Treaſurer depute, and for their Servants and Neceſſaries freely to come, and return; and that they be delivered to *Richard Parſons*, Our Servant, by him to be conveyed unto them. So praying your diſpatch, We bid you farewel.

From Our Court at Newport *in the* Iſle of Wight, *this* 15*th of* Septemb. 1648.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of* England *at* Weſtminſter.

Upon *Monday* the 18th of *September* 1648, His Majeſty and the Commiſſioners named in the enſuing Commiſſion, began to treat.

The firſt Paper delivered in by the Commiſſioners, being their Commiſſion from both Houſes of Parliament.

Die Mercurii 6° Septemb. 1648.

BE it ordained by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembrooke* and *Montgomery*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *James* Earl of *Middleſex*, and *William* Viſcount *Say* and

and Seal, Members of the Houſe of Peers; *Thomas* Viſcount *Wenman*, *Denzill Holles*, and *William Pierrepont*, Eſquires; Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, and Sir *John Potts*, Baronets; Sir *Henry Vane*, *jun.* Knight, *John Crewe*, *Samuel Browne*, *John Glynne* and *John Bulkeley*, Eſquires; Members of the Houſe of Commons, or any Eight or more of them; whereof Two to be Members of the Houſe of Peers, ſhall have power and authority, and are hereby fully authorized to treat with the King's Majeſty perſonally, upon the Propoſitions preſented formerly unto His Majeſty at *Hampton-Court*, concerning the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and for taking away of Wards and Liveries: And ſhall hereby likewiſe have full power and authority to treat with His Majeſty as aforeſaid, upon ſuch other Propoſitions as ſhall be offered either by His Majeſty or both Houſes of Parliament, according to ſuch Inſtructions as have been given them, or as from time to time they ſhall receive from both Houſes of Parliament.

Jo. Browne, Cleric' Parliamentor' *H. Elſynge, Cler' Dom. Com.*

Preſently after the reading this Commiſſion, the Commiſſioners delivered in the enſuing Paper, being the Method they are to proceed in according to their Inſtructions.

The Commiſſioners Second Paper of the 18*th of* September, 1648.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

WE having now made known unto Your Majeſty our Commiſſion, by which we were authorized to treat with You perſonally upon the Propoſitions formerly preſented at *Hampton-Court*, as they concern the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* only, and ſuch other Propoſitions as are therein mentioned, do crave leave humbly to declare, That we are directed, by our Inſtructions, to treat upon them with Your Majeſty for the ſpace of Forty Days, beginning this preſent Day. And to proceed, in the firſt place, upon theſe Propoſitions following in order, *viz.* That for recalling and annulling all Oaths, Declarations, Proclamations, and other Proceedings againſt both or either Houſes of Parliament, or againſt any for adhering unto them; thoſe concerning the Church, the Militia, and *Ireland*; and then upon the reſt in the ſame order they are now placed, and to receive Your Majeſty's Anſwer in Writing to each of them: Being likewiſe enjoined to deliver all our Demands, and to receive Your Majeſty's Anſwers in Writing. Wherefore, we humbly pray, that nothing may be underſtood to be binding of either ſide, but what ſhall be ſet ſo down in Writing; and accordingly, we are ready to preſent unto Your Majeſty a Paper concerning that firſt Propoſition for recalling of Declarations.

18 *Septemb.* 1648.

Northumberland,
Salisbury,
W. Say and *Seale*,
Tho. Wenman,
Har. Grimſton,
J. Potts,
Jo. Crewe,
Pembrooke and *Mount.*
Middleſex,
Denzill Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
H. Vane,
Jo. Bulkley,
Sam. Browne.

His Majeſty's Firſt Paper delivered in to the Commiſſioners, 18 Sept. 1648.

WHereas the Commiſſion read, refers to Propoſitions and Inſtructions thereupon, His Majeſty deſires to have thoſe Propoſitions to be delivered unto Him, and Copies of the Inſtructions.

The

The Commiſſioners Anſwer to His Majeſty's Firſt Paper of the 18*th of* September 1648.

Newport, 18° *Sept.* 1648.

WHereas Your Majeſty is pleaſed in Your Firſt Paper of this 18th of *September*, to deſire a Copy of the Propoſitions, and our Inſtructions thereupon; we humbly anſwer, That the Propoſitions themſelves were formerly preſented unto Your Majeſty at *Hampton-Court*, and are (as we conceive) ſtill in Your own Hands; (excepting that for the Court of *Wards*, which hath been delivered unto You here in the *Iſle of Wight.*) And as to what concerns our Inſtructions, we do humbly ſay, That we have no Warrant from the Houſes of Parliament to deliver out any Copy of them.

Northumberland,
Salisbury,
W. Say and *Seale*,
Denzell Holles,
J. Pots,
Har. Grimſton,
Sam. Browne,
Pembrooke and *Mountg.*
Middleſex,
Tho. Wenman,
Will. Pierrepont,
H. Vane,
Jo. Crewe,
Jo. Bulkley.

His Majeſty's Second Paper delivered in to the Commiſſioners, 18*th* Septemb. 1648.

HIS Majeſty declares, That according to your deſire, nothing ſhall be underſtood to be binding of either ſide, but what ſhall be ſet down in Writing: And alſo further declares, That no Agreement put in Writing, concerning any Propoſition, be binding, until the concluſion of the whole Treaty, unleſs that it be otherwiſe eſpecially agreed.

The Commiſſioners Anſwer to His Majeſty's Second Paper of the 18*th* Septemb. 1648.

Newport, the 8*th of* Septemb. 1648.

AS to the latter Part of the Second Paper delivered unto us this 18th inſtant, we ſhall acquaint the Houſes of Parliament, That Your Majeſty hath declared, that no Agreement put in Writing concerning any Propoſition, or part of a Propoſition, be binding until the concluſion of the whole Treaty, unleſs it ſhall be otherwiſe eſpecially agreed.

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

The ſame Day the Commiſſioners delivered in the enſuing Paper, being the Propoſition to revoke Declarations, Oaths, &c.

WE humbly deſire of Your Majeſty, to give Your Royal Aſſent to this Propoſition enſuing; That whereas both Houſes of Parliament have been neceſſitated to undertake a War in their juſt and lawful Defence; and that the Kingdom of *England* hath entred into a ſolemn League and Covenant to proſecute the ſame, an Act of Parliament may paſs, whereby all Oaths, Declarations,

and

and Proclamations, heretofore had, or hereafter to be had, againſt both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or againſt any for adhering unto them, or for doing or executing any Office, Place, or Charge, by any Authority derived from them; and all Judgments, Indictments, Outlawries, and Inquiſitions in any the ſaid Cauſes, and all Grants thereupon made or had, or to be made or had, be declared null, ſuppreſſed and forbidden: And that this be publickly intimated in all Pariſh Churches, and other Places needful within Your Majeſty's Dominions of *England* and *Ireland*.

Newport, 18*th Septemb.* 1648.

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Commiſſioners Paper of the 18*th* Sept. *concerning the recalling of Oaths, Declarations,* &c. *delivered in to the Commiſſioners the* 19*th* Septemb. 1648.

IN Anſwer to your Paper of the 18th of *Septemb.* concerning the recalling of Oaths, Declarations, *&c.* His Majeſty will conſent to an Act of Parliament, whereby all Oaths, Declarations, and Proclamations, heretofore had, or to be had, againſt both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or againſt any for adhering unto them, or for doing or executing any Office, Place, or Charge, by any Authority derived from them: And all Judgments, Indictments, Utlaries and Inquiſitions, in any the ſaid Cauſes, and all Grants thereupon made or had, or to be made or had, be declared null, ſuppreſſed and forbidden: And that this be publickly intimated in all Pariſh Churches, and other Places needful within His Majeſty's Dominions of *England* and *Ireland*.

His Majeſty's Third Paper, delivered in to the Commiſſioners 18 Sept. 1648.

Newport, 18*th Septemb.* 1648.

HIS Majeſty conceives the Anſwer to His Demand for a Copy of your Propoſitions not ſatisfactory, becauſe you refer Him to the Propoſitions formerly preſented to Him at *Hampton-Court*; which He having peruſed, finds moſt of thoſe Propoſitions involves *Scotland*, as well as *England* and *Ireland*; and yet your Commiſſion expreſſeth, you are to treat in reference to *England* and *Ireland*.

Therefore He conceives it requiſite, That before the Propoſitions, or any of them be treated upon, He may ſee the Propoſitions entirely, and all together as they are to be treated on at this time, that thereby He may be the better able to give ſatisfaction in the following Treaty.

The Commiſſioners Anſwer to His Majeſty's Third Paper of the 18*th* Sept. 1648.

Newport, the 19*th of Septemb.* 1648.

AS for Your Majeſty's Demand of ſeeing the Propoſitions entirely and all together, as they are to be treated on at this time, before they or either of them be treated upon; we do humbly anſwer, That we find not our ſelves warranted by our Inſtructions to preſent unto Your Majeſty our Deſires concerning

all

all the Propoſitions at once, or in any ſort to treat upon them, but in order one after another; yet ſince we have prepared for our own uſe, and the better expediting of this Treaty, a Draught of the Propoſitions ſeparated from what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and relating only to the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, according to our Commiſſion and Inſtructions, by which we are authorized for this Service; to the end no Prejudice may befall it by reaſon of any delay, we do herewith tender unto Your Majeſty a Copy of the Propoſitions ſo diſtinguiſhed, but with this Declaration of our Intention therein, that it is not by way of Treaty, but out of an humble and earneſt deſire of giving Your Majeſty ſatisfaction in the view of thoſe Propoſitions now, which are afterwards in their order and ſeveral places to be treated on, upon ſuch Papers as we ſhall deliver in concerning each of them; we being expreſly prohibited by our Inſtructions to treat upon, or receive anſwer unto any ſubſequent Propoſition, before there be a concluſion of that which went before: In obſervance whereof, we now humbly deſire Your Majeſty's Anſwer to our Paper delivered yeſterday, concerning the Propoſition for recalling all Declarations and other Proceedings againſt the Parliament, or thoſe who have acted by their Authority.

Northumberland, *Pembrooke* and *Mount*.
Middleſex, *Salisbury*,
W. Say and *Seale*.
Tho. Wenman, *Denzell Holles*,
W. Pierrepont, *J. Potts*,
H. Vane, *Har. Grimſton*,
Jo. Crewe, *Sam. Browne*,
Jo. Bulkley.

The Propoſitions for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, preſented to His Majeſty at Hampton-Court, *the 7th of* September 1647, *diſtinguiſhed as they ſolely concern the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *in purſuance of the Commiſſion and Inſtructions of the Committee of Lords and Commons appointed perſonally to treat with His Majeſty at* Newport *in the* Iſle of Wight, *for the uſe of the ſaid Committee.*

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

WE the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of *England*, in the name and on the behalf of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, do humbly preſent unto Your Majeſty the humble Deſires and Propoſitions for a ſafe and well-grounded Peace agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament, unto which we do pray Your Majeſty's aſſent; and that they, and all ſuch Bills as ſhall be tendered to Your Majeſty in purſuance of them, or any of them, may be eſtabliſhed and enacted for Statutes and Acts of Parliament by Your Majeſty's Royal Aſſent in Parliament.

Whereas both Houſes of Parliament have been neceſſitated to undertake a War in their juſt and lawful defence, and afterwards the Kingdom of *England* entered into a ſolemn League and Covenant to proſecute the ſame, that an Act of Parliament may paſs, whereby all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations, heretofore had, or hereafter to be had, againſt both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or againſt any for adhering unto them, or for doing or executing any Office, Place or Charge, by any Authority derived from them; and all Judgments, Indictments, Outlawries, Attainders and Inquiſitions in any the ſaid Cauſes; and all Grants thereupon made or had, or to be made or had, be declared null, ſuppreſſed and forbidden: And that this be publickly intimated in all Pariſh Churches, and other Places needful within His Majeſty's Dominions of *England* and *Ireland*.

That

That His Majesty may be pleased to swear and sign the late solemn League and Covenant; and that Acts of Parliament be passed for enjoining the taking thereof by all the Subjects of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Ordinances concerning the manner of taking the same, in both the said Kingdoms, be confirmed by Acts of Parliament, with such Penalties as shall be agreed upon by both Houses.

That a Bill be passed for the utter abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans and Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Canons and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters, Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-Treasurers, Succentors and Sacrists, and all Vicars Choral, and Choristers, old Vicars and new Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and all other their Under-Officers out of the Church of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and out of the Church of *Ireland*.

That the Ordinances concerning the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That Reformation of Religion, according to the Covenant, be settled by Act of Parliament, in such manner as both Houses have agreed, or shall agree upon, after consultation had with the Assembly of Divines.

That for the more effectual disabling Jesuits, Priests, Papists, and Popish Recusants, from disturbing the State, and deluding the Laws, and for the better discovering and speedy Conviction of Popish Recusants, an Oath be established by Act of Parliament to be administred unto them, wherein they shall abjure and renounce the Pope's Supremacy, the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, *Purgatory*, Worshipping of the *Consecrated Host*, *Crucifixes* and *Images*, and all other Popish Superstitions and Errors; and refusing the said Oath, being tendered in such manner as shall be appointed by the said Act, to be a sufficient Conviction of Popish Recusancy.

An Act or Acts of Parliament for Education of the Children of Papists by Protestants, in the Protestant Religion.

An Act or Acts for the true levy of the Penalties against them, which Penalties to be levied and disposed in such manner as both Houses shall agree on, wherein to be provided that His Majesty shall have no loss.

That an Act or Acts be passed in Parliament, whereby the Practices of Papists against the State may be prevented, and the Laws against them duly executed: And a stricter course taken to prevent the saying or hearing of *Mass* in the Court, or any other part of this Kingdom, or the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

That the King do give His Royal Assent to an Act for the due observation of the Lord's Day.

And to the Bill for the suppression of Innovations in Churches and Chapels, in and about the Worship of God.

And for the better advancement of the preaching of God's holy Word in all Parts of this Kingdom.

And to the Bill against the enjoying the Pluralities of Benefices by spiritual Persons, and Non-Residency.

And to an Act to be framed and agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament, for the reforming and regulating of both Universities, of the Colleges of *Westminster*, *Winchester* and *Eaton*.

And to such Act or Acts for raising of Monies for the payment and satisfying of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom, and other publick Uses, as shall hereafter be agreed on by both Houses of Parliament: And that if the King do not give His Assent thereunto, then it being done by both Houses of Parliament, the same shall be as valid to all intents and purposes as if the Royal Assent had been given thereunto.

That the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* assembled, shall, during the space of Twenty Years from the First of *July* 1646, arm, train, and discipline, or cause to be armed, trained, and disciplined, all the Forces of the

Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, already raiſed both for Sea and Land Service; and ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty Years, raiſe, levy, arm, train, and diſcipline, or cauſe to be raiſed, levied, armed, trained, and diſciplined, any other Forces for Land or Sea Service, in the Kingdoms, Dominions and Places aforeſaid, as in their Judgments they ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty Years, think fit, and appoint. And that neither the King, His Heirs, or Succeſſors, nor any other, but ſuch as ſhall act by the Authority or Approbation of the ſaid Lords and Commons, ſhall, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty Years, exerciſe any of the Powers aforeſaid.

That Monies be raiſed and levied for the maintainance and uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land Service, and of the Navy, and of Forces for Sea Service, in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch ways and means as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall from time to time appoint, and not otherwiſe. That all the ſaid Forces both for Land and Sea Service, ſo raiſed or levied, or to be raiſed or levied; and alſo the Admiralty and Navy ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty Years, be imployed, managed, ordered, and diſpoſed by the ſaid Lords and Commons, in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch ways and means as they ſhall think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe. And the ſaid Lords and Commons, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty Years, ſhall have power,

1. To ſuppreſs all Forces raiſed, or to be raiſed, without Authority and conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

2. To ſuppreſs any foreign Forces, who ſhall invade, or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them: And that after the expiration of the ſaid Twenty Years, neither the King, His Heirs, or Succeſſors, or any Perſon or Perſons, by colour or pretence of any Commiſſion, Power, Deputation, or Authority to be derived from the King, His Heirs, or Succeſſors, or any of them, ſhall raiſe, arm, train, diſcipline, imploy, order, manage, disband, or diſpoſe any of the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; nor exerciſe any of the ſaid Powers or Authorities in the precedent Article, mentioned and expreſſed to be during the ſpace of Twenty Years in the ſaid Lords and Commons; nor do any Act or Thing concerning the execution of the ſaid Powers or Authorities, or any of them, without the conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons firſt had and obtained. That after the expiration of the ſaid Twenty Years, in all caſes wherein the Lords and Commons ſhall declare the ſafety of the Kingdom to be concerned, and ſhall thereupon paſs any Bill, or Bills, for the raiſing, arming, training, diſciplining, imploying, managing, ordering, or diſpoſing of the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or of any part of the ſaid Forces, or concerning the Admiralty and Navy, or concerning the levying of Monies, for the raiſing, maintainance, or uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land Service, or for the Navy and Forces for Sea Service, or of any part of them: And if that the Royal Aſſent to ſuch Bill or Bills ſhall not be given in the Houſe of Peers within ſuch time after the paſſing thereof by both Houſes of Parliament, as the ſaid Houſes ſhall judge fit and convenient, that then ſuch Bill or Bills ſo paſſed by the ſaid Lords and Commons, as aforeſaid, and to which the Royal Aſſent ſhall not be given, as is herein before expreſſed, ſhall, nevertheleſs, after Declaration of the ſaid Lords and Commons made in that behalf, have the Force and Strength of an Act or Acts of Parliament, and ſhall be as valid to all intents and purpoſes as if the Royal Aſſent had been given thereunto.

Provided

Provided that nothing herein before contained, ſhall extend to the taking away of the ordinary legal Power of Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Coroners, Conſtables, Headboroughs, or other Officers of Juſtice, not being Military Officers, concerning the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, ſo as neither the ſaid Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Coroners, Conſtables, Headboroughs, and other Officers, nor any of them, do levy, conduct, imploy, or command any Forces whatſoever, by colour or pretence of any Commiſſion of Array, or extraordinary Command from His Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſors, without the conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons.

And if any Perſons ſhall be gathered and aſſembled together in Warlike manner, or otherwiſe, to the number of Thirty Perſons, and ſhall not forthwith diſband themſelves, being required thereto by the ſaid Lords and Commons, or Command from them, or any by them eſpecially authorized for that purpoſe, then ſuch Perſon or Perſons not ſo disbanding themſelves, ſhall be guilty, and incur the Pains of High Treaſon, being firſt declared guilty of ſuch Offence by the ſaid Lords and Commons, any Commiſſion under the Great Seal, or other Warrant to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And he or they that ſhall offend herein, to be incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſors, and their Eſtates ſhall be diſpoſed as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall think fit, and not otherwiſe.

Provided that the City of *London* ſhall have and enjoy all their Rights, Liberties and Franchiſes, Cuſtoms and Uſages, in the raiſing and imploying the Forces of that City for the defence thereof, in as full and ample manner, to all intents and purpoſes as they have, or might have uſed or enjoyed the ſame, at any time before the making of the ſaid Act or Propoſition; to the end that City may be fully aſſured, it is not the intention of the Parliament to take from them any Privileges or Immunities in raiſing or diſpoſing of their Forces which they have, or might have uſed or enjoyed heretofore.

That by Act of Parliament, all Peers made ſince the Day that *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, deſerted the Parliament; and that the ſaid Great Seal was ſurreptitiouſly conveyed away from the Parliament, being the One and twentieth Day of *May*, 1642; and who ſhall be hereafter made, ſhall not ſit, or vote in the Parliament of *England*, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. And that all Honour and Title conferred on any, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, ſince the Twentieth Day of *May* 1642, being the Day that both Houſes declared, That the King, ſeduced by evil Counſel, intended to raiſe War againſt the Parliament, be declared null and void.

That an Act be paſſed concerning Delinquents as followeth:

Firſt Branch.

That the Perſons who ſhall expect no Pardon, be only theſe following:

Rupert and *Maurice* } Count *Palatines* of *Rhine*.
James Earl of *Darby*,
John Earl of *Briſtol*,
William Earl of *Newcaſtle*,
Francis Lord *Cottington*,
George Lord *Digby*,
Matthew Wren, Biſhop of *Ely*,
Sir *Robert Heath*, Knt.
Dr. *Bramball*, Biſhop of *Derry*,
Sir *William Widdrington*,
Collonel *George Goring*,
Henry Jermin, Eſqs
Sir *Ralph Hopton*,
Sir *John Biron*,
Sir *Francis Doddington*,
Sir *John Strangewayes*,
Mr. *Endimion Porter*,
Sir *George Radcliffe*,
Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*,
Henry Vaughan, Eſqs now called Sir *Henry Vaughan*,
Sir *Francis Windebanke*,
Mr. *Edward Hide*, now called Sir *Edward Hide*,
Sir *Richard Greenvile*,
Sir *John Marley*,

Sir *Nicholas Cole*,
Sir *Thomas Riddle, jun.*
Sir *John Culpeper*,
Mr. *Richard Lloyd*, now called Sir *Richard Lloyd*,
Mr. *David Jenkins*,
Sir *George Strode*,
George Carteret, Esq; now called Sir *George Carteret*,
Sir *Charles Dallison*, Knt.
Richard Lane, Esq; now called Sir *Richard Lane*,
Sir *Edward Nicholas*,
John Ashburnham, Esq;
Sir *Edward Herbert*, Knt. His Majesty's Attorney General. And,

All Papists, and Popish Recusants, who have been, now are, or shall be actually in Arms, or voluntarily assisting against the Parliament of *England*; and by Name,

The Marquess of *Winton*,
Edward Earl of *Worcester*,
Lord *Brudenell*,
Carell Molineux, Esq;
Lord *Arundell* of *Warder*,
Sir *Francis Howard*,
Sir *John Winter*,
Sir *Charles Smith*,
Sir *John Preston*,
Sir *Bazill Brooke*,
Lord *Audley*, Earl of *Castel Haven* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*,
William Shelden of *Beely*, Esq;
Sir *Henry Beddingfield*. And,

All Persons who have had any hand, in the plotting, designing, or assisting the Rebellion of *Ireland*, except such Persons who having only assisted the said Rebellion, have rendered themselves, or come in to the Parliament of *England*.

Second Branch.

That *Humphrey Bennett*, Esq;
Sir *Edward Ford*,
Sir *John Penruddocke*,
Sir *George Vaughan*,
Sir *John Weld*,
Sir *Robert Lee*,
Sir *John Pate*,
John Akland,
Edmond Windham, Esq;
Sir *John Fitzherbert*,
Sir *Edward Lawrence*,
Sir *Ralph Dutton*,
Henry Lyngen, Esq;
Sir *Henry Fletcher*,
Sir *Richard Minshall*,
Laurence Halstead,
John Denham, Esq;
Sir *Edmond Fortescue*,
Peter Sainthill, Esq;
Sir *Thomas Tildesley*,
Sir *Henry Griffith*,
Michael Wharton, Esq;
Sir *Henry Spiller*,
Mr. *George Benyon*, now called Sir *George Benyon*,
Sir *Edward Walgrave*,
Sir *Edward Bishop*,
Sir *William Russel* of *Worcestershire*,
Thomas Lee of *Adlington*, Esq;
Sir *John Girlington*,
Sir *Paul Neale*,
Sir *William Thorold*,
Sir *Edward Hussey*,
Sir *Thomas Lyddell, sen.*
Sir *Philip Musgrave*,
Sir *John Digby* of *Nottinghamshire*,
Sir *Robert Owseley*,
Sir *John Many*,
Lord *Cholmely*,
Sir *Thomas Aston*,
Sir *Lewis Dives*,
Sir *Peter Osborne*,
Samuel Thornton, Esq;
Sir *John Lucas*,
John Blaney, Esq;
Sir *Thomas Chedle*,
Sir *Nicholas Kemish*,
Hugh Lloyd, Esq;
Sir *Nicholas Crispe*,
Sir *Peter Ricaut*,

Be removed from His Majesty's Councils, and be restrained from coming within the verge of the Court; and that they may not, without the advice and consent of both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, bear any Office, or have any Imployment concerning the State or Commonwealth: And in case any of them shall

ſhall offend therein, to be guilty of High Treaſon, and incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty, and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed of as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſhall think fit; and that one full Third Part, upon full value of the Eſtates of the Perſons aforeſaid, made incapable of Imployment as aforeſaid, be employed for the payment of publick Debts and Damages.

And that the late Members, or any who pretended themſelves late Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who have not only deſerted the Parliament, but have alſo ſat in the unlawful Aſſembly at *Oxford*, called or pretended by ſome to be a Parliament, and voted the Kingdom of *England* Traytors, and have not voluntarily rendered themſelves before the laſt of *October* 1644, be removed from His Majeſty's Council, and be reſtrained from coming within the verge of the Court; and that they may not, without advice and conſent of the Kingdom of *England*, bear any Office, or have any Imployment concerning the State or Commonwealth; and in caſe any of them ſhall offend therein, to be guilty of High Treaſon, and incapable of any Pardon by His Majeſty, and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed as both Houſes of Parliament in *England* ſhall think fit.

And that the late Members, or any who pretended themſelves Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who have ſat in the unlawful Aſſembly at *Oxford*, called or pretended by ſome to be a Parliament, and have not voluntarily rendered themſelves before the laſt of *October* 1644, be removed from His Majeſty's Council, and reſtrained from coming within the verge of the Court; and that they may not, without the advice and conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, bear any Office, or have any Imployment concerning the State or Commonwealth. And in caſe any of them ſhall offend therein, to be guilty of High Treaſon, and incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty, and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſhall think fit.

And that the late Members, or any who pretended themſelves Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who have deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and have not rendered themſelves before the laſt of *October* 1644, be removed from His Majeſty's Councils, and be reſtrained from coming within the verge of the Court; and that they may not, without the advice and conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, bear any Office, or have any Imployment concerning the State or Commonwealth. And in caſe any of them ſhall offend therein, to be guilty of High Treaſon, and incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty; and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed as both Houſes of Parliament in *England* ſhall think fit.

And that all Judges and Officers towards the Law, Common or Civil, who have deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, be incapable of any Place of Judicature, or Office towards the Law, Common or Civil: And that all Serjeants, Counſellors and Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates, and Proctors of the Law, Common or Civil, who have deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, be incapable of any Practice in the Law, Common or Civil, either in publick or private; and ſhall not be capable of any Preferment or Imployment in the Commonwealth, without the advice and conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. And that no Biſhop or Clergy-man, no Maſter or Fellow of any College or Hall, in either of the Univerſities, or elſewhere, or any Maſter of School or Hoſpital, or any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, who hath deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, ſhall hold or enjoy, or be capable of any Preferment or Imployment in Church or Commonwealth: But all their ſaid ſeveral Preferments, Places, and Promotions, ſhall be utterly void, as if they were naturally dead; nor ſhall they otherwiſe uſe their Function of the Miniſtry, without advice and conſent of both Houſes of Parliament: Provided, that no Lapſe ſhall incur by ſuch Vacancy until Six Months paſt, after notice thereof.

Third Branch.

That all Perſons who have been actually in Arms againſt the Parliament, or have counſelled, or voluntarily aſſiſted the Enemies thereof, are diſabled to be Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, or other Head-Officers in any City or Corporation, Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, or to ſit or ſerve as Members or Aſſiſtants in either of the Houſes of Parliament, or to have any Military Imployment in this Kingdom without the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.

Fourth Branch.

The Perſons of all others to be free of all Perſonal Cenſure, notwithſtanding any Act or Thing done, in, or concerning this War, they taking the Covenant.

Fifth Branch.

The Eſtates of thoſe Perſons excepted in the Firſt Branch, and the Eſtates of *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, and of *William Land*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to pay publick Debts and Damages.

Sixth Branch.

That Two full Parts in Three to be divided of all the Eſtates of the Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who have not only deſerted the Parliament, but have alſo voted the Kingdom of *England* Traytors, and have not rendered themſelves before the Firſt of *December* 1645, ſhall be taken and imployed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom. And,

That Two full Parts in Three to be divided of the Eſtates of ſuch late Members of either Houſe of Parliament as ſat in the unlawful Aſſembly at *Oxford*, and ſhall not have rendered themſelves before the Firſt of *December* 1645, ſhall be taken and imployed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom. And,

That One full Moiety of the Eſtates of ſuch Perſons, late Members of either of the Houſes of Parliament, who have deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and ſhall not have rendered themſelves before the Firſt of *Decemb.* 1645, ſhall be taken and imployed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

And that a full Third Part of the value of the Eſtates of all Judges and Officers, towards the Law Common or Civil, and of all Serjeants, Counſellors and Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates, and Proctors of the Law Common or Civil, and of all Biſhops, Clergy-men, Maſters and Fellows of any College or Hall, in either of the Univerſities, or elſewhere, and of all Maſters of Schools, or Hoſpitals, and of all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons who have deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and have not rendered themſelves to the Parliament before the Firſt of *December* 1645, ſhall be taken and imployed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom. And,

That a full Sixth Part on the full value of the Eſtates of the Perſons excepted in the Third Branch, concerning ſuch as have been actually in Arms againſt the Parliament, or have counſelled, or voluntarily aſſiſted the Enemies thereof, and are diſabled according to the ſaid Branch, be taken and imployed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

Seventh Branch.

That the Perſons and Eſtates of all common Soldiers, and others in the Kingdom of *England*, who in Lands or Goods be not worth Two hundred Pounds Sterling, be at liberty and diſcharged.

Eighth Branch.

That the First of *May* last, is now the Day limitted for the Persons to come in that are compriſed in the former Branches: Provided, that all and every the Delinquents, which by, or according to the ſeveral and reſpective Ordinances, or Orders made by both, or either of the Houſes of Parliament, on or before the Four and twentieth Day of *April* 1647, are admitted to make their Fines and Compoſitions under the Rates and Proportions of the Branches aforeſaid, ſhall, according to the ſaid Ordinances and Orders, reſpectively be thereunto admitted: And farther alſo, that no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever (except ſuch Papiſts as having been in Arms, or voluntarily aſſiſted againſt the Parliament, have, by concealing their Quality, procured their admiſſion to Compoſition) which have already compounded, or ſhall hereafter compound, and be thereunto admitted by both Houſes of Parliament, at any of the Rates and Proportions aforeſaid, or under reſpectively, ſhall be put to pay any other Fine than that they have, or ſhall reſpectively ſo compound for (except for ſuch Eſtates, or ſuch of their Eſtates, and for ſuch Values thereof reſpectively as have been, or ſhall be concealed or omitted in the Particulars whereupon they compound;) and that all and every of them ſhall have thereupon their Pardons, in ſuch manner and form as is agreed by both Houſes of Parliament.

That an Act be paſſed, whereby the Debts of the Kingdom, and the Perſons of Delinquents, and the value of their Eſtates may be known; and which Act ſhall appoint, in what manner the Confiſcations and Proportions before-mentioned, may be levied and applied to the diſcharge of the ſaid Engagements.

That an Act of Parliament may be paſſed, to declare and make void the Ceſſation of *Ireland*, and all Treaties and Concluſions of Peace, or any Articles thereupon with the Rebels, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, and to ſettle the Proſecution of the War of *Ireland* in both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* to be managed by them, and the King to aſſiſt, and to do no Act to diſcountenance or moleſt them therein.

That Reformation of Religion, according to the Govenant, be ſettled in the Kingdom of *Ireland* by Act of Parliament, in ſuch manner as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* have agreed, or ſhall agree upon after conſultation had with the Aſſembly of Divines here.

That the Deputy, or chief Governour, or other Governours of *Ireland*, and the Preſidents of the ſeveral Provinces of that Kingdom, be nominated by both the Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, or in the intervals of Parliament, by ſuch Committees of both Houſes of Parliament as they ſhall nominate and appoint for that purpoſe. And that the Chancellor or Lord Keeper, Lord Treaſurer, Commiſſioners of the Great Seal or Treaſury, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Maſter of the Rolls, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Vice-Treaſurer, and Treaſurers at War of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, be nominated by both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to continue *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*, and in the intervals of Parliament by the aforementioned Committees, to be approved or diſallowed by both Houſes at their next ſitting.

That the *Militia* of the City of *London*, and Liberties thereof, may be in the Ordering and Government of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons in Common Council aſſembled, or ſuch as they ſhall from time to time appoint, (whereof the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, for the time being, to be Three) to be imployed and directed from time to time in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed on and appointed by both Houſes of Parliament.

That no Citizen of the City of *London*, nor any of the Forces of the ſaid City, ſhall be drawn forth, or compelled to go out of the ſaid City, or Liberties thereof, for Military Service, without their own free conſent.

That

That an Act be paſſed, for the granting and confirming of the Charters, Cuſtoms, Liberties, and Franchiſes of the City of *London*, notwithſtanding any non-uſer, miſuſer or abuſer.

That the Tower of *London* may be in the Government of the City of *London*, and the chief Officer and Governour thereof, from time to time be nominated, and removable by the Common Council. And for prevention of Inconveniences which may happen by the long intermiſſion of Common Councils, it is deſired, That there may be an Act that all By-Laws and Ordinances already made, or hereafter to be made, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons, in Common Council aſſembled, touching the calling, continuing, directing and regulating the ſame Common Councils, ſhall be as effectual in Law to all intents and purpoſes, as if the ſame were particularly enacted by the Authority of Parliament: And that the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons, in Common Council, may add to, or repeal the ſaid Ordinances from time to time, as they ſhall ſee cauſe.

That ſuch other Propoſitions as ſhall be made for the City, for their farther Safety, Welfare, and Government, and ſhall be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament, may be granted and confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That all Grants, Commiſſions, Preſentations, Writs, Proceſs, Proceedings, and other things paſſed under the Great Seal of *England*, in the cuſtody of the Lords, and others, Commiſſioners appointed by both Houſes of Parliament for the cuſtody thereof, be, and by Act of Parliament, with the Royal Aſſent, ſhall be declared and enacted to be of like full force and effect to all intents and purpoſes, as the ſame or like Grants, Commiſſions, Preſentations, Writs, Proceſs, Proceedings, and other things under any Great Seal of *England*, in any time heretofore were, or have been: And that for time to come, the ſaid Great Seal now remaining in cuſtody of the ſaid Commiſſioners, continue, and be uſed for the Great Seal of *England*. And that all Grants, Commiſſions, Preſentations, Writs, Proceſs, Proceedings, and other things whatſoever, paſſed under, or by any Authority of any other Great Seal, ſince the 22d of *May*, *Anno Dom.* 1642, or hereafter to be paſſed, be invalid, and of no effect to all intents and purpoſes, except ſuch Writs, Proceſs, and Commiſſions, as being paſſed under any other Great Seal than the ſaid Great Seal in the cuſtody of the Commiſſioners aforeſaid, on, or after the 22d Day of *May*, and before the 28th Day of *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1643, were afterward proceeded upon, returned into, or put in ure in any the King's Courts at *Weſtminſter*. And except the Grant to Mr. Juſtice *Bacon* to be one of the Juſtices of the *King's Bench*; and except all Acts and Proceedings, by virtue of any ſuch Commiſſions of Goal-Delivery, Aſſize, and *Niſi prius*, or *Oyer* and *Terminer*, paſſed under any other Great Seal than the Seal aforeſaid, in cuſtody of the ſaid Commiſſioners before the Firſt of *October* 1642.

And that all Grants of Offices, Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, made or paſſed under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, unto any Perſon or Perſons, Body Politick or Corporate, ſince the Ceſſation made in *Ireland* the 15th Day of *September* 1643, ſhall be null and void, and that all Honours and Titles conferred upon any Perſon or Perſons in the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, ſince the ſaid Ceſſation, ſhall be null and void.

That the ſeveral Ordinances, the one intituled, *An Ordinance of Parliament for aboliſhing of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, within the Kingdom of* England *and Dominion of* Wales, *and for ſettling of their Lands and Poſſeſſions upon Truſtees, for the uſe of the Commonwealth:* The other intituled, *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, for appointing the Sale of Biſhops Lands for the uſe of the Commonwealth*, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

His

His Majeſty's Fifth Paper delivered in to the Commiſſioners; 20*th* Septemb. 1648.

HIS Majeſty deſires to know, whether you have any power to conſent to any Omiſſions or Alterations, if in the matter of this, or any other Debate, He ſhall give ſuch Reaſons as ſhall ſatisfie you for any ſuch Omiſſion or Alteration.

The Commiſſioners Anſwer to His Majeſty's Paper of the 20*th of* Septemb. 1648.

WE are ready to debate, by ſhew how reaſonable our Deſires are, and that there will be no reaſon that we ſhould alter or recede from them: But if in the matter of this, or any other Debate, Your Majeſty give ſuch Reaſons as ſhall ſatisfie us for any Omiſſions or Alterations in the Papers we preſent to Your Majeſty, we ſhall then do therein as we are warranted by our Inſtructions, which we have not power to make known, as we have declared in a former Paper of the 18th of this inſtant, delivered to Your Majeſty.

Northumberland, *Pembrooke* and *Mount*
Salisbury, *Middleſex*,
W. Say and *Seale*.
Tho. Wenman, *Denzell Holles*,
W. Pierrepont, *Jo. Potts*,
H. Vane, *Har. Grimſton*,
Jo. Crewe, *Sam. Browne*,
Jo. Bulkley, *J. Glynne*.

The Commiſſioners Reply to His Majeſty's Paper of the 19*th of* September 1648, *concerning recalling Oaths, Declarations*, &c.

Newport, the 20*th of Septemb.* 1648.

HAving conſidered of Your Majeſty's Paper of the 19th of this preſent *September*, to ours of the 18th, concerning the recalling Oaths, Declarations, *&c.* we find that Your Majeſty hath not yet given Your Anſwer to an eſſential Part of the Propoſition contained in our Paper; being the ground upon which the ſaid Oaths, Declarations, *&c.* are deſired to be recalled, and expreſſed in theſe words, *viz.* Whereas both Houſes of Parliament have been neceſſitated to undertake a War in their juſt and lawful defence, and that the Kingdom of *England* hath entred into a ſolemn League and Covenant to proſecute the ſame: We do therefore crave leave to inſiſt upon this Part of our former Demand, having endeavoured by this Day's Debate with Your Majeſty, to ſhew how neceſſary a Foundation Your conſent herein will be to a firm and durable Peace, and how great an Expectation both Houſes and the Kingdom have thereof; and do humbly pray, That Your Majeſty will pleaſe to conſent, that thoſe words before recited, be a part of the Act of Parliament for the recalling Oaths, Declarations, *&c.*

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

His Majeſty's Sixth Paper, in Anſwer to the Commiſſioners Reply of the 20th of Septemb. 1648.

Newport, 21ſt Septemb. 1648.

ALbeit, His Majeſty did ſhew a different Opinion from you the Commiſſioners in the Debate yeſterday, yet He believes He made His Deſire of a through and conſtant Peace, very apparent to you; for the end of all His Arguments were, how that all his Subjects might remain upon the concluſion of this Treaty, not only ſecure in their Lives and Eſtates by Law, but alſo that all cauſe of future Fears and Jealouſies might be taken away from them: And becauſe His Majeſty finds very great Difficulties to ſettle the Minds of all ſorts of People, He conceives that you cannot think it ſtrange, though He does not give a very preſent Anſwer to this your laſt Paper of yeſterday's Date, received this Morning, aſſuring you, that He will loſe no time in the uſing His utmoſt Endeavours for the ſecuring of all His Subjects, there being nothing more in His Thoughts than how to give a ſpeedy and happy concluſion to this Treaty.

His Majeſty's Second Paper, declaring nothing to be binding, prejudicial, &c. *unleſs eſpecially agreed.*

HIS Majeſty, by His Paper of the 18th of this inſtant *September*, declared, That no Agreement put in Writing concerning any Propoſition, or part of a Propoſition, be binding until the concluſion of the whole Treaty, unleſs it ſhall be otherwiſe eſpecially agreed. His Majeſty doth now farther declare, That nothing that ſhall be put in Writing, concerning any Propoſition, or part of a Propoſition, ſhall be binding, prejudicial, or in any manner made uſe of, if the Treaty break off upon any other Propoſitions, or part of any Propoſitions, unleſs it ſhall be otherwiſe eſpecially agreed.

Newport, 25th Septemb. 1648.

His Majeſty's Second Anſwer to the Firſt Propoſition, being His Eighth Paper.

Newport, 25th Septemb. 1648.

IN Anſwer to the Firſt Propoſition given to His Majeſty *Monday* the 18th of this inſtant *September*, His Majeſty doth conſent thereto as is deſired.

The Commiſſioners Anſwer to the Two precedent Papers.

Newport, 25th Septemb. 1648.

HAving received Two Papers from Your Majeſty, dated the 25th inſtant: In the Firſt of which, Your Majeſty declares, That nothing that ſhall be put in Writing, concerning any Propoſition, or part of a Propoſition, ſhall be binding, prejudicial, or in any manner made uſe of, if the Treaty break off upon any other Propoſition, or part of any Propoſition, unleſs it ſhall be otherwiſe eſpecially agreed. And in the Second, in Anſwer to the Firſt Propoſition given to Your Majeſty on *Monday* the 18th of this inſtant *September*, Your Majeſty doth conſent thereto, as is deſired. We ſhall tranſmit theſe Papers, with the other Proceedings paſs'd in Writing on the Firſt Propoſition, to both Houſes of Parliament, and ſpeedily go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

A Letter

A Letter from the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament to His Majesty, 21. Septemb. 1648.

May it please Your Majesty,

WE are commanded by Your Majesty's Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, to present unto Your Majesty these Resolutions enclosed, which are the Results of the said Lords and Commons upon Your Majesty's Letter of the 15th *September* instant.

Sept. 21. 1648. *Your Majesty's most loyal and most humble Subjects and Servants,*

Manchester, *Speaker of the House of Peers* pro tempore.
William Lenthall, *Speaker of the House of Commons.*

Die Jovis 21° *Sept.* 1648.

Resolved by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament,

THat no safe Conduct be granted unto the Lord *Carnegy* to come out of *Scotland* to the King, and to return again into *Scotland*, he being a Prisoner under restraint in this Kingdom.

Resolved by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament,

That Sir *James Carmichell* shall have a safe Conduct to come out of *Scotland* to the King, and to return.

Resolved by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament,

That no safe Conduct be granted unto Sir *Alexander Gibson* to come out of *Scotland* to the King, and to return again into *Scotland*, he being in actual Arms against the Parliament of this Kingdom.

Jo. Browne, Cleric' Parliamentor'. *H. Elsynge, Cler' Parl' Dom. Com.*

His Majesty's Answer to the Speakers Letter of the 21st Septemb. 1648.

WE have, by your last of the 21st present, and the Votes enclosed, been fully informed of the Reasons, why you have not granted any safe Conducts for the Lord *Carnegy* and Sir *Alexander Gibson* to come out of *Scotland* to attend Us here, which, until we received those Votes, we were utterly ignorant of; yet, seeing you have thereby granted a safe Conduct for Sir *James Carmichell*, we have again sent Our Servant *Richard Parsons* to attend you, to receive and carry it with him into *Scotland*; for whom, likewise, We desire a Pass for his going and returning: And if the Committee of Our Parliament of *Scotland* shall desire safe Conducts from you, for Two or Three other Persons to attend Us likewise, that may not be liable to Exception; We are assured that you will not deny them, that so We may the more fully understand the condition of Our Affairs in that Kingdom. So We bid you farewel.

From Our Court at Newport *in the* Isle of Wight *this* 25*th of* Septemb. 1648.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore,
to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of England *at* Westminster.

Newport, the 25th of Septemb. 1648.

WE humbly desire Your Majesty to give Your Royal Assent to the Propositions, Bills and Ordinances ensuing, concerning the Church.

First, That a Bill be passed for the utter abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans and Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, Canons and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters, Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-Treasurers, Succentors and Sacrists, and all Vicars Choral and Choristers, old Vicars and new Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and all other their Under-Officers out of the Church of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and out of the Church of *Ireland*. And, that the several Ordinances herewith delivered, the One entituled, *An Ordinance of Parliament for abolishing of Archbishops and Bishops within the Kingdom of* England *and Dominion of* Wales, *and for settling their Lands and Possessions upon Trustees for the use of the Commonwealth:* The other entituled, *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for appointing the Sale of Bishops Lands for the use of the Commonwealth*, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That the Ordinances herewith delivered, concerning the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That Reformation of Religion, according to the Covenant, be settled by Act of Parliament, within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, in such manner as both Houses of Parliament have agreed, or shall agree upon, after consultation had with the Assembly of Divines. And particularly,

That Your Majesty will confirm by Act of Parliament, the Directory herewith presented for the publick Worship of God, in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales:* Together with the several Ordinances herewith also delivered of the Third of *January* 1644, and of the 23d of *August* 1645, concerning the taking away of the Book of *Common Prayer*, and establishing and putting in execution of the said Directory.

That Your Majesty will likewise confirm by Act of Parliament, the Form of Church Government herewith presented, to be used in the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and also the Articles of Christian Religion herewith delivered; and the Ordinance herewith presented, for the better Observation of the *Lord's Day*.

That Your Majesty may be pleased to swear and sign the Solemn League and Covenant herewith presented; and, that Acts of Parliament be passed for enjoining the taking thereof by all the Subjects of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*; and that the Ordinances herewith delivered, concerning the manner of taking the same in both the said Kingdoms, be confirmed by Acts of Parliament, with such Penalties as shall be agreed upon by both Houses.

That Your Majesty will give Your Royal Assent to the Bill, for suppressing Innovations in Churches and Chapels in and about the Worship of God, and for the better advancement of the Preaching of God's holy Word in all Parts of this Kingdom; and to the Bill against enjoying Pluralities of Benefices by Spiritual Persons and Non-Residence, which have been formerly delivered to Your Majesty: And to an Act to be framed and agreed upon in both Houses of Parliament, for the regulating and reforming both Universities, and of the Colleges of *Westminster*, *Winchester* and *Eaton*.

And that for the more effectual disabling Jesuits, Priests, Papists, and Popish Recusants, from disturbing the State, and deluding the Laws; and for the discovering, and speedy Conviction of Popish Recusants, an Oath be established by Act of Parliament to be administred to them, wherein they shall abjure and renounce the Pope's *Supremacy*, the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, *Purgatory*, Worshipping of the *Consecrated Host*, *Crucifixes*, *Images*, and all other Popish Superstitions and Errors; and refusing the said Oath, being tendered in such manner as shall be appointed by the said Act, to be a sufficient Conviction of Popish Recusancy.

That

That Your Majesty will consent to an Act or Acts of Parliament, for the Education of Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion; and to an Act or Acts for the true levy of the Penalties against them, which Penalties to be levied and disposed in such manner as both Houses shall agree on, wherein to be provided that Your Majesty shall have no loss.

And to an Act or Acts, whereby the Practices of Papists against the State may be prevented, and the Laws against them duly executed, and a stricter course taken to prevent the saying or hearing of *Mass* in the Court, or any other part of this Kingdom, or the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Subscribed by all the Commissioners.

A Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland *and* Ireland.

WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts, in the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by the Providence of God, being under One King, and being of One Reformed Religion, having before our Eyes the Glory of God, and the Advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Honour and Happiness of the King's Majesty and His Posterity, and the true publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every one's private Condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conspiracies, Attempts and Practices of the Enemies of God, against the true Religion and Professors thereof, in all places, especially in these Three Kingdoms, ever since the Reformation of Religion; and how much their Rage, Power and Presumption, are of late, and at this time encreased and exercised, whereof the deplorable Estate of the Church and Kingdom of *Ireland*, the distressed Estate of the Church and Kingdom of *England*, and the dangerous Estate of the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland* are present and publick Testimonies: We have now at last (after other means of Supplication, Remonstrance, Protestations and Sufferings) for the preservation of our selves, and our Religion, from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable Practice of these Kingdoms in former times, and the Example of God's People in other Nations (after mature deliberation) resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our Hands lifted up to the most High God, do swear,

1. That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our several Places and Callings, the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, against our common Enemies; the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches, and shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the Three Kingdoms, to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship and Catechizing, that we, and our Posterity after us, may, as Brethren, live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. That we shall in like manner, without respect of Persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is, Church Government, by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Heresie, Schism, Profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the Power of Godliness, lest we partake in other Mens Sins, and

and thereby be endangered to receive of their Plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the Three Kingdoms.

3. We ſhall with the ſame ſincerity, reality and conſtancy in our ſeveral Vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates and Lives mutually to preſerve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preſerve and defend the King's Majeſty's Perſon and Authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms; that the World may bear witneſs with our Conſciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminiſh His Majeſty's juſt Power and Greatneſs.

4. We ſhall alſo, with all faithfulneſs, endeavour the diſcovery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants or evil Inſtruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from His People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, making any Faction or Parties amongſt the People contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condign Puniſhment, as the degree of their Offences ſhall require or deſerve, or the ſupreme Judicatories of both Kingdoms reſpectively, or others, having power from them for that Effect, ſhall judge convenient.

5. And whereas the happineſs of a bleſſed Peace between theſe Kingdoms, denied in former times to our Progenitors, is, by the good Providence of God, granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and ſettled by both Parliaments, we ſhall each one of us, according to our place and intereſt, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all Poſterity, and that Juſtice may be done upon the wilful Oppoſers thereof, in manner expreſſed in the precedent Articles.

6. We ſhall alſo, according to our Place and Callings in this common Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and purſuing thereof, and ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves directly or indirectly, by whatſoever Combination, Perſwaſion, or Terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary Part, or to give our ſelves to a deteſtable Indifferency or Neutrality in this Cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and the Honour of the King, but ſhall all the Days of our Lives zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein againſt all Oppoſition, and promote the ſame, according to our power, againſt all Letts and Impediments whatſoever; and what we are not able our ſelves to ſuppreſs and overcome, we ſhall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed. All which we ſhall do as in the ſight of God.

And becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins and Provocations againſt God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent Diſtreſſes and Dangers, the Fruits thereof, we profeſs and declare before God and all the World, our unfeigned deſire to be humbled for our own Sins, and for the Sins of theſe Kingdoms; eſpecially, that we have not, as we ought, valued the ineſtimable Benefit of the Goſpel, that we have not laboured for the Purity and Power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Chriſt in our Hearts, nor to walk worthy of Him in our Lives, which are the Cauſes of other Sins and Tranſgreſſions ſo much abounding amongſt us, and our true and unfeigned purpoſe, deſire and endeavour, for our ſelves, and all others under our power and charge, both in publick and in private, in all Duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our Lives, and each one to go before another in the Example of a real Reformation, that the Lord may turn away His Wrath and heavy Indignation, and eſtabliſh theſe Churches and Kingdoms in Truth and Peace: And this Covenant we make in the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearcher of all Hearts, with a true intention to perform the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer at that Great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts ſhall be diſcloſed; moſt humbly beſeeching the Lord, to ſtrengthen us by His Holy Spirit for this End, and to bleſs our Deſires and Proceedings with ſuch Succeſs, as may be Deliverance and Safety to His People, and

Encourage-

Encouragement to other Chriſtian Churches, groaning under, or in danger of the Yoak of Antichriſtian Tyranny, to join in the ſame, or the like Aſſociation and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Peace and Tranquillity of Chriſtian Kingdoms and Commonwealths.

His Majeſty's Propoſitions delivered in to the Commiſſioners the 28*th.* September 1648, *in the Morning.*

C. R.

HIS Majeſty did uſe many endeavours for a perſonal Treaty, which He hoped might have been obtained at *Weſtminſter* between Him and His Two Houſes of Parliament immediately; yet they having made choice of this way, by you their Commiſſioners, His Majeſty did gladly and chearfully accept thereof in this Place, as a fit Means to begin a Treaty for Peace, which might put an end to His own ſad Condition, and the Miſeries of His Kingdoms. For an entrance whereunto His Majeſty hath already expreſſed His Conſent to the firſt Propoſition. But finding that your are limited by Inſtructions, which you have no Warrant to communicate to Him; and having Cauſe by your Paper of the 20th. of this preſent to believe, that you have no Power to omit or alter any thing, though He ſhall give you ſuch Reaſons as may ſatisfie you ſo to do, without tranſmitting the Papers to the Two Houſes at far Diſtance, where His Majeſty's Reaſons, Expreſſions, and Offers, upon debate cannot be fully repreſented, and from whence your Anſwers cannot be returned without much waſt of the Time allotted for the Treaty here. And having lately received another Paper concerning the Church, containing in itſelf ſeveral Particulars of great Importance, and referring to divers Ordinances, Articles of Religion, and other Things (eleven or twelve in number) of great length, and ſome of them very new, and never before preſented to His Majeſty; the due Conſideration of many whereof will take up much time, and require His Majeſty's Preſence with His Two Houſes before a full Reſolution can well be had in Matters of ſo high a Conſequence. To the end therefore that the good Work now in hand, may (by God's Bleſſing) proceed more ſpeedily and effectually to a happy Concluſion, and that His Two Houſes of Parliament may at preſent have farther Security, and an Earneſt of future Satisfaction, His Majeſty upon Conſideration had of yours, makes theſe Propoſitions following.

Concerning the Church, His Majeſty will conſent, that the calling and ſitting of the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter* be confirmed for three Years by Act of Parliament.

And will by Act of Parliament confirm for three Years the Directory for the publick Worſhip of God in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* and Dominion of *Wales*.

And will likewiſe confirm for three Years by Act of Parliament the Form of Church Government, which you have preſented to Him to be uſed for the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, provided that His Majeſty and thoſe of His Judgment, or any others who cannot in Conſcience ſubmit thereunto, be not in the mean time obliged to comply with the ſaid Government or Form of Worſhip, but have free Practice of their own Profeſſion. And that a free Conſultation and Debate be had with the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter* (twenty of His Majeſty's Nomination being added to them) whereby it may be determined by His Majeſty and His Two Houſes of Parliament, how the ſaid Church Government and Form of publick Worſhip after the ſaid time may be ſettled, or ſooner, if Differences may be agreed. And how alſo Reformation and Religion may be ſettled within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominion of *Wales*, and the Articles of Chriſtian Religion now delivered to

Him, may in like manner be then conſidered of, and determined, and Care taken for the eaſe of tender Conſciences.

And concerning the Biſhops Lands and Revenues, His Majeſty conſidering that during theſe troubleſome Times, divers of his Subjects have made Contracts and Purchaſes, and divers others have disburſed great Sums of Money upon Security and Engagement of thoſe Lands; His Majeſty for your Satisfaction will conſent to an Act or Acts of Parliament, whereby legal Eſtates for Lives, or for Years, at their choice, not exceeding ninety nine Years ſhall be made of thoſe Lands towards the Satisfaction of the ſaid Purchaſers, Contractors, and others to whom they are engaged, at the old Rents, or ſome other moderate Rents, whereby they may receive Satisfaction.

And in caſe ſuch Leaſes ſhall not ſuffice, His Majeſty will propound and conſent to ſome other way for their farther Satisfaction.

Provided that the Propriety and Inheritance of thoſe Lands may ſtill remain and continue to the Church and Churchmen reſpectively, according to the pious Intentions of the Donors, and Founders thereof, and the Rents that ſhall be reſerved to be for their Maintenance.

His Majeſty will give His Royal Aſſent to an Act for the better Obſervation of the Lord's Day, for ſuppreſſing of Innovations in Churches and Chapels, in and about the Worſhip of God, and for the better Advancement of the preaching of God's holy Word in all Parts of this Kingdom; and to an Act againſt enjoying Pluralities of Benefices by ſpiritual Perſons, and Non-Reſidencies; and to an Act for regulating and reforming both the Univerſities, and Colleges of *Weſtminſter*, *Winchester*, and *Eaton*.

His Majeſty will conſent to an Act for the better diſcovery, and ſpeedy Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants as is deſired in the Propoſitions.

And alſo an Act for the education of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion.

As alſo to an Act for the true levying of the Penalties againſt Papiſts, to be levyed and diſpoſed in ſuch manner as both Houſes ſhall agree on, and as is propoſed on His Majeſty's behalf.

As alſo to an Act to prevent the Practices of Papiſts againſt the State, and for putting the Laws in execution, and for a ſtricter Courſe to prevent hearing or ſaying of Maſs.

But as to the Covenant, His Majeſty is not yet therein ſatisfied, that he can either ſign, or ſwear it, or conſent to impoſe it on the Conſciences of others, nor does conceive it proper or uſeful at this time to be inſiſted on.

Touching the Militia, His Majeſty conceives that your Propoſition demands a far larger Power over the Perſons and Eſtates of His Subjects, then hath ever hitherto been warranted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; yet conſidering the preſent Diſtractions require more, and truſting in His Two Houſes of Parliament, that they will make no farther uſe of the Powers therein mentioned, after the preſent Diſtempers ſettled, than ſhall be agreeable to the legal Exerciſe thereof in times paſt, or juſt Neceſſity ſhall require.

His Majeſty will conſent to an Act of Parliament, that the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* now aſſembled, or hereafter to be aſſembled, or ſuch as they ſhall appoint during the Space of ten Years ſhall arm, train, and diſcipline, or cauſe to be armed, trained and diſciplined all the Forces of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Gernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweede*, already raiſed both for Sea and Land Service, and ſhall from time to time during the ſaid Space of ten Years, raiſe, levy, arm, train, diſcipline, or cauſe to be raiſed, levied, armed, trained and diſciplined any other Forces for Land and Sea Service in the Kingdoms Dominion, and Places aforeſaid, as in their Judgment they ſhall from time to time during the ſaid Space of ten Years think fit and appoint; and that neither the King, His Heirs, or Succeſſors, nor any other, but ſuch as ſhall act by the Authority

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or Approbation of the ſaid Lords and Commons, ſhall during the ſaid Space of ten Years, exerciſe any of the Powers aforeſaid.

That Moneys be raiſed and levied for the Maintenance and Uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land Service, and of the Navy and Forces for Sea Service; in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch Ways and Means as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall from time to time, during the Space of ten Years, think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe.

And the ſaid Lords and Commons, or ſuch as they ſhall appoint, during the ſaid Space of ten Years ſhall have Power,

1. To ſuppreſs all Forces raiſed or to be raiſed without Authority and Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

2. To ſuppreſs any foreign Forces who ſhall invade, or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

And that after the Expiration of the ſaid ten Years, neither the King, His Heirs, or Succeſſors, or any Perſon or Perſons by Colour or Pretence of any Commiſſion, Power, Deputation, or Authority to be derived from the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any of them, ſhall without the Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons raiſe, arm, train, diſcipline, imploy, order, manage, disband, or diſpoſe any of the Forces by Sea or Land of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, nor exerciſe any of the ſaid Powers or Authorities herein before mention'd and expreſſed to be during the ſaid ſpace of ten Years in the ſaid Lords and Commons, nor do any Act or Thing concerning the Execution of the ſaid Powers and Authorities, or any of them, without the Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons firſt had and obtained.

And with a Proviſo for ſaving the ordinary legal Power of Officers of Juſtice, not being military Officers as is ſet down in your Propoſitions.

And with a Declaration, that if any Perſons ſhall be gathered and aſſembled together in warlike manner, or therwiſe to the Number of thirty Perſons, and ſhall not forthwith diſperſe themſelves, being required thereto by the ſaid Lords and Commons, or Command from them, or any by them eſpecially authorized to that purpoſe; then ſuch Perſon or Perſons not ſo diſperſing themſelves ſhall be guilty, and incur the Pains of High Treaſon; being firſt declared guilty of ſuch Offence by the ſaid Lords and Commons, any Commiſſion under the Great Seal, or other Warrant to the contrary notwithſtanding; and he, or they, that ſhall ſo offend herein, to be uncapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſors.

And likewiſe that it be provided, that the City of *London* ſhall have and enjoy all their Rights, Liberties, *&c.* in raiſing and imploying the Forces of that City in ſuch ſort as is mentioned in the ſaid Propoſitions.

With theſe Proviſions following to be inſerted in the ſaid Act:

1. That none be compelled to ſerve in the War againſt their Wills, but in caſe of coming in of ſtrange Enemies.

2. And that the Powers above mentioned as concerning the Land Forces (other than for keeping up and Maintenance of Forts and Garriſons, and for the keeping up, maintaining and pay of this preſent Army, ſo long as it ſhall be thought fit by both Houſes of Parliament) be exerciſed to no other purpoſes than for ſuppreſſing of Forces raiſed or to be raiſed without Anthority and Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons as aforeſaid, or for ſuppreſſing of any foreign Forces which ſhall invade or endeavour to invade, the Kingdoms, Dominion and Places aforeſaid.

3. And that the Moneys be raiſed by general equal Taxtations; ſaving that Tunnage and Poundage, and ſuch Impoſts as have been applied to the Navy, may be raiſed as hath been uſual.

4. And that all Patents, Commiſſions, and other Acts concerning the Premiſſes be made and acted in His Majeſty's Name, by Warrant ſignified by the Lords and Commons, or ſuch others as they ſhall authoriſe for that purpoſe.

If it ſhall be more ſatisfactory to His Two Houſes to have the Militia and Powers thereupon depending, during the whole time of His Majeſty's Reign, rather than for the ſpace of ten Years, His Majeſty therein gives them the Election.

Touching *Ireland*, His Majeſty having in the Two preceding Propoſitions given his Conſent concerning the Church, and the Militia there in all things as in *England*; as to all other Matters relating to that Kingdom, after Advice with His Two Houſes, he will leave it to their Determination, and give His Conſent accordingly as is herein after expreſſed.

Touching publick Debts, His Majeſty will give His Conſent to ſuch an Act for raiſing of Moneys (by general and equal Taxations) for the payment and ſatisfying of the Arrears of the Army, and publick Debts and Engagements of the Kingdom, as ſhall be agreed on by both Houſes of Parliament, and ſhall be audited, and aſſertained by them, or ſuch Perſons as they ſhall appoint, within the the ſpace of twelve Months after the paſſing of an Act for the ſame.

His Majeſty will conſent to an Act that during the ſaid ſpace of ten Years the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper, Commiſſioners of the great Seal or Treaſury, Lord Warden of the *Cinque* Ports, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Maſter of the Rolls, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer of the Kingdom of *England* be nominated by both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to continue *quam diu ſe benè geſſerint*; and in the Intervals of Parliament, by ſuch others as they ſhall authoriſe for that purpoſe.

His Majeſty wil conſent that the Militia of the City of *London*, and Liberties thereof, during the ſpace of ten Years, may be in the Ordering and Government of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in the Common Council aſſembled, or ſuch as they ſhall from time to time appoint (whereof the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being to be three) to be imployed and directed from time to time during the ſaid ſpace of ten Years, in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed on and appointed by both Houſes of Parliament; and that no Citizen of the City of *London*, nor any Forces of the ſaid City ſhall be drawn forth, or compelled to go out of the ſaid City or Liberties thereof for Military Service without their own free Conſent.

That an Act be paſſed for granting and confirming the Charters, Cuſtoms, Liberties and Franchiſes of the City of *London*, notwithſtanding any Non-uſer, Miſuſer or Abuſer; and that during the ſaid ten Years, the Tower of *London* may be in the Government of the City of *London*, and the chief Officer and Governour thereof, from time to time during the ſaid ſpace, be nominated and removable by the Common Council, as are deſired in your Propoſitions.

His Majeſty having thus far expreſſed His Conſent for the preſent Satisfaction and the Security of His Two Houſes of Parliament, and that have adhered unto them, touching your four firſt Propoſitions, and other the Particulars before ſpecified, as to all the reſt of your Propoſitions delivered to Him at *Hampton Court* (not referring to thoſe Heads) and to that of the Court of Wards ſince delivered, as alſo to the remaining Propoſitions concerning *Ireland*, His Majeſty deſires only when he ſhall come to *Weſtminſter* perſonally to adviſe with His Two Houſes, and to deliver His Opinion, and the Reaſons of it; which being done, He will leave the whole matter of thoſe remaining Propoſitions to the Determination of His Two Houſes, which ſhall prevail with Him for His Conſent accordingly.

And His Majeſty doth for His own particular only propoſe, That He may have Liberty to repair forthwith to *Weſtminſter*, and be reſtored to a Condition of abſolute Freedom and Safety (a thing which He ſhall never deny to any of His Subjects) and to the Poſſeſſion of His Lands and Revenues; and that an Act of

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Oblivion and Indempnity may paſs, to extend to all Perſons for all Matters relating to the late unhappy Differences; which being agreed by His Two Houſes Parliament, His Majeſty will be ready to make theſe His Conceſſions binding, by giving them the Force of Laws by His Royal Aſſent.

Newport, the 28th of Septemb. 1648.

His Majeſty's firſt Paper in Juſtification of His Propoſition not received by the Commiſſioners.

Charles R.

HIS Majeſty did receive the Votes of both Houſes of Parliament of the Third of *Auguſt* laſt, whereby they reſolved to treat perſonally with Him, by Commiſſioners, upon the Propoſitions preſented at *Hampton-Court, &c.* and upon ſuch Propoſitions as ſhould be offered by His Majeſty, and upon ſuch other Propoſitions as ſhould be propounded either by His Majeſty or both Houſes of Parliament: Which liberty for His Majeſty to make Propoſitions, was, amongſt others, a chief Motive that induced Him to accept the Treaty in this place, and in this manner, as appears by His Majeſty's Anſwer to thoſe Votes dated the 10th of *Auguſt.*

And by your Commiſſion which you delivered to Him in the beginning of the Treaty, you are authorized to treat upon thoſe Propoſitions formerly preſented, and ſuch other Propoſitions as ſhall be offered either by His Majeſty or both Houſes of Parliament; whereby it clearly appears to His Majeſty, you are both warranted and enjoined to receive ſuch Propoſitions as ſhall at any time be tendered by Him. Whereupon His Majeſty yeſterday did put in a Propoſition, which was read and delivered to you, concerning His coming to *Weſtminſter*, containing ſeveral Motives to induce His Two Houſes to conſent thereunto.

And although you are directed by your Inſtructions, as to the Order of the Treaty upon your Propoſitions, yet thoſe Inſtructions cannot be contrary to the Votes which were ſent to His Majeſty, or to your Commiſſion, which were the Grounds and Foundation of this Treaty, nor can take from Him the liberty of making His Propoſitions at any time; which as it is eſſential to all free Treaties to make mutual Propoſitions, ſo particularly, is well warranted by the ſaid Votes and Commiſſion. And although His Majeſty's Paper contain in it divers Conſents and Agreements, for the ſatisfaction and ſecurity of His Two Houſes, applicable to the Four Propoſitions, which you are by your Inſtructions directed firſt to treat upon, and to other Particulars of your Propoſitions, yet are not thoſe Conſents and Agreements inſerted to any other End, than as neceſſary Grounds and Inducements to His Two Houſes to conſent to that Propoſition for His Majeſty's coming to *Weſtminſter*; which of it ſelf, is but one entire Propoſition, and induced and ſupported by thoſe preceding Motives and Conſents, without which, neither His Majeſty, nor any other reaſonable Man, could expect that a bare Propoſition could be acceptable to His Two Houſes, or produce that Effect as is deſired. And His Majeſty cannot imagine, what Inducements or Motives were poſſible for Him to offer to His Two Houſes, for the Grounds of any Propoſition, but that they muſt in ſome ſort neceſſarily contain or relate to the Matter of the Houſes Propoſitions.

His Majeſty therefore deſires, that you would ſpeedily and effectually tranſmit the ſaid Propoſition, read and delivered yeſterday, to His Two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, whom His Majeſty is confident will be fully ſatisfied therewith. And if you ſhall doubt of any the Matters contained in His Majeſty's Paper, and deſire any thing to be explained by Treaty and Debate, His Majeſty is willing thereunto. As likewiſe, if you ſhall deſire any farther Security than the Conſents already given by His Majeſty for the performance thereof, His Majeſty

is willing, and will be ready to treat and debate thereupon, and to give you full ſatisfaction here for ſuch Performance on His Part, at His repair to *Weſtminſter*.

Newport, the 29th of September 1648.

His Majeſty's Second Paper not received by the Commiſſioners.

Charles R.

ACcording to the Votes of the Two Houſes, and your own Commiſſion, one of the Eſſential Parts of the Treaty is for His Majeſty to deliver in Propoſitions of His own; and accordingly, he delivered one to you yeſterday. And therefore He requires you, either to treat upon the ſame, or to tranſmit it to the Two Houſes of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; the doing of which, ſhall be ſo far from giving interruption to the Treaty here, (which was never intended by His Majeſty) as His Majeſty is very willing (you accepting and treating upon, or tranſmitting the ſaid Propoſition to the Two Houſes) to proceed in your own Order, to treat upon ſuch Propoſitions as you have or ſhall preſent unto Him.

Newport, the 29th September 1648.

Newport, the 29th of Septemb. 1648.

WE humbly deſire Your Majeſty's Anſwer to our Paper concerning the Church, delivered in to Your Majeſty the 25th of this inſtant *September*.

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

His Majeſty's Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of* England *at* Weſtminſter.

WHereas both our Houſes of Parliament by their Votes of the 3d. of *Auguſt* laſt reſolved to treat perſonally with Us upon the Propoſitions preſented at *Hampton Court*, and upon ſuch Propoſitions as We ſhould offer; and the Commiſſioners upon the opening of this Treaty acquainted Us with their Commiſſion from both Houſes, which authoris'd them accordingly: Whereupon We fram'd this encloſed Propoſition, and yeſterday being the 28th of this Inſtant, delivered the ſame to your Commiſſioners here; wherein We have inſerted divers Conceſſions and Agreements, thereby the better to induce Our Two Houſes of Parliament to agree to this Our Propoſition; but finding the Commiſſioners of both Houſes here, upon ſeveral Debates to alledge that they are reſtrained by their Inſtructions to tranſmit the ſame to Our Two Houſes of Parliament, We acquainted them, that We would take notice to you of how great a Prejudice it was to Us, that their Inſtructions were ſo limitted. And therefore We have thought fit to ſend up to you a Tranſcript of that Propoſition, deſiring the ſame may be communicated to Our Two Houſes of Parliament, hoping that the largeneſs of theſe Conceſſions will prevail with them to lay hold on this way, which to Us ſeems the moſt ſpeedy Courſe of ſettling the Diſtractions of theſe Kingdoms, that ſo upon theſe Conditions We may repair to Our Two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, where We intend to perform and make good all We have conſented unto.

Newport, the 29th of Septemb. 1648.

The

The Commissioners Answer to His Majesty's Paper of the 25*th of* Septemb. 1648.

Newport the 30*th. of* Septemb. 1648.

WE do humbly certifie Your Majesty that we have received from the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, their Declaration, that nothing that shall be put in Writing concerning any Proposition, or part of a Proposition, shall be binding, prejudicial, or in any manner made use of, if the Treaty break off upon any other Proposition, or part of any Proposition, unless it shall be otherwise especially agreed.

Subscribed by all the Commissioners.

His Majesty's Answer to the Second Proposition concerning the Church, &c. *delivered the* 30*th of* September 1648. *in the Morning.*

IN answer to your Paper of the 25th of *September* 1648. wherein you desire His Majesty's Royal Assent to the Propositions, Bills, and Ordinances therein mentioned concerning the Church.

His Majesty will consent that the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster* be confirmed for three Years by Act of Parliament.

And will by Act of Parliament confirm for three Years the Directory for the publick Worship of God in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

And will likewise confirm for three Years, by Act of Parliament, the Form of Church Government which you have presented to Him, to be used in the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

Provided that His Majesty, and those of His Judgment, or any others who cannot in conscience submit thereunto, be not in the mean time obliged to comply with the said Government or Form of Worship, but have free Practice of their own Profession; and that a free Consultation and Debate be had with the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster* in the mean time (twenty of His Majesty's Nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by His Majesty and His Two Houses of Parliament, how the said Church Government, and Form of publick Worship after the said time may be settled, or sooner (if Differences may be agreed;) and how also Reformation of Religion may be settled within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, and the Articles of Christian Religion now delivered unto Him, may in like manner be then considered of, and determined, and care taken for the ease of tender Consciences.

And concerning the Bishops Lands and Revenues, His Majesty considering that during these troublesome Times divers of His Subjects have made Contracts and Purchases, and divers others have disbursed great Sums of Money upon Security and Engagement of those Lands; His Majesty for their Satisfaction will consent to an Act or Acts of Parliament, whereby legal Estates for Lives, or for Years (at their Choice) not exceeding ninety nine Years shall be made of those Lands towards the satisfaction of the said Purchasers, Contractors, and others to whom they are engaged, at the old Rents, or some other moderate Rents whereby they may receive satisfaction.

And in case such Leases shall not suffice, His Majesty will propound and consent to some other way for their farther Satisfaction.

Provided that the Propriety and Inheritance of those Lands may still remain and continue to the Church and Churchmen respectively, according to the pious

Intentions

Intentions of the Donors, and Founders thereof, and the Rents that ſhall be reſerved to be for their Maintenance.

His Majeſty will give His Royal Aſſent to an Act for the better Obſervation of the Lord's Day, for ſuppreſſing of Innovations in Churches and Chapels, in and about the Worſhip of God, and for the better Advancement of the preaching of God's holy Word in all Parts of this Kingdom; and to an Act againſt enjoying Pluralities of Benefices by ſpiritual Perſons, and Non-Reſidency; and to an Act for regulating and reforming both the Univerſities, and Colleges of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter*, and *Eaton*.

His Majeſty will conſent to an Act for the better diſcovery, and ſpeedy Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants as is deſired in the Propoſitions.

And alſo to an Act for the Education of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Religion.

And alſo to an Act for the true levying of the Penalties againſt Papiſts, to be levyed and diſpoſed in ſuch manner as both Houſes ſhall agree on, and as is propoſed on His Majeſty's behalf.

And alſo to an Act to prevent the Practices of Papiſts againſt the State, and for putting the Laws in execution, and for a ſtricter Courſe to prevent hearing or ſaying of Maſs.

But as to the Covenant, His Majeſty is not yet therein ſatisfied, that he can either ſign, or ſwear it, or conſent to impoſe it on the Conſciences of others, nor does conceive it proper or uſeful at this time to be inſiſted on.

Newport, the 30th of Septemb. 1648.

The Commiſſioners Reply to His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Second Propoſition, concerning the Church.

Newport, the 30th of September 1648.

WE have conſidered of Your Majeſty's Paper given in to us this Morning, in anſwer to ours of the 25th inſtant, preſented unto You concerning the Church, and do find in it many Omiſſions, Alterations, and ſome denial of ſeveral Particulars which we there have humbly deſired, as namely theſe.

Firſt, Your Majeſty ſaith nothing of conſenting to a Bill for the utter aboliſhing and taking away of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* out of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

Secondly, You expreſs not Your Conſent according as it is deſired that the Ordinance for aboliſhing of Archbiſhops and Biſhops within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and ſettling their Lands and Poſſeſſions upon Truſtees for the uſe of the Commonwealth, and the other Ordinance for the appointing the Sale of their Lands to the ſame uſe, be confirmed by Act of Parliament. But You are pleaſed only to offer, that by Act of Parliament Eſtates be granted for Lives or Years at the old Rents, or ſome other moderate Rents; or that You will propound and conſent to ſome other way for the Satisfaction of Purchaſers, or others that have lent Money on thoſe Lands, provided that the Propriety and Inheritance may ſtill remain to the Church and Churchmen, and the Rents be reſerved for their Maintenance, which Your Majeſty will give us leave to ſay, is not an Anſwer unto our Propoſition.

Thirdly, Whereas it is deſired Your Majeſty will confirm by Act of Parliament, the Ordinance for the calling and ſitting of the Aſſembly of Divines, by which they were to meet, and did meet the Firſt of *July* 1643, and are to be diſſolved in ſuch manner as by both Houſes of Parliament ſhould be directed; Your Majeſty is pleaſed to grant the confirmation of it but for Three Years, they having ſat above Five Years already.

Fourthly, Whereas we pray, that Reformation of Religion, according to the Covenant, be ſettled in *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, in ſuch manner as both Houſes

Houſes have agreed, or ſhall agree upon, after conſultation had with the Aſſembly of Divines; particularly,

That the Directory be confirmed by Act of Parliament, together with the Ordinances of the 3d of *January* 1644, and the 23d of *Auguſt* 1645, concerning the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer, and putting the Directory in execution; Your Majeſty doth not ſay you will confirm thoſe Ordinances, which is our humble deſire; only that the Directory ſhall be confirmed for Three Years: And for ought appears, the Book of Common Prayer is ſtill to be continued. Beſides, we make it our humble Propoſition, that the Form of Church Government, the Articles of Religion, and the Ordinances for the better obſervation of the Lord's Day, be confirmed by Act of Parliament; Your Majeſty only offers to confirm the Church Government for Three Years, with a Proviſo, that Your Majeſty, and all of Your Judgment, and all others who cannot in Conſcience ſubmit thereunto, ſhall not be obliged to comply either with the Government or Form of Worſhip, but to practiſe Your, and their own Profeſſion. And that a Conſultation in the mean time may be had with the Aſſembly of Divines, Twenty being added of Your Majeſty's nomination, for the determining how Church Government and the Form of Worſhip, may be agreed after the ſaid time, or ſooner; and how Reformation of Religion may be ſettled: And that then the Articles of Religion may be conſidered and determined, and care taken for tender Conſciences. All which, we humbly crave leave to ſay, is very differing from what we have deſired. And whereas Your Majeſty ſaith, That You will give Your Royal Aſſent to an Act for the better obſervation of the Lord's Day, we deſire to know if Your Majeſty intends the confirming of the Ordinances then preſented, which is our humble deſire.

Fifthly, Whereas it is deſired, that Your Majeſty will give Your Royal Aſſent to the Bill for ſuppreſſing Innovations in Churches, *&c.* and the Bill againſt Pluralities, *&c.* Your Majeſty ſaying, you will aſſent unto an Act for the one, and for the other, we likewiſe deſire to know, if you mean the paſſing of thoſe Bills already preſented unto You.

Sixthly, We humbly deſire, that in the Act to prevent the Practices of Papiſts, *&c.* there may be a ſtricter courſe taken to prevent the ſaying or hearing of Maſs in the Court, or any other part of this Kingdom, or the Kingdom of *Ireland*. But in this Your Majeſty hath not fully expreſs'd Your ſelf, and therefore we humbly crave Your farther Anſwer to it.

Seventhly, Whereas we beſeech Your Majeſty to ſign and ſwear the Covenant, and to paſs Acts for enjoining the taking thereof by all the Subjects of *England* and *Ireland*, and that the Ordinances for the manner of taking the ſame, with ſuch Penalties as ſhall be agreed upon by both Houſes, may be confirmed by Act of Parliament; Your Majeſty is pleaſed to ſay, You are not yet therein ſatisfied, nor can either ſign or ſwear it Your ſelf, or conſent to impoſe it upon others; and that You conceive it not proper to be inſiſted on at this time: Which (we beg Your pardon to ſay) is directly contrary to the humble Deſires of Your Two Houſes of Parliament.

All theſe Things conſidered, and what other Defects may be in Your Majeſty's Anſwer to our Paper formerly mentioned and preſented unto You, makes us now humbly pray Your Majeſty to reſume the Conſideration of thoſe our Deſires, and graciouſly to afford us Your more full and ſatisfactory Anſwer.

Northumberland,
Pembrooke,
Salisbury,
Middleſex,

W. Say and *Seale*.

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
Jo. Potts,
H. Vane,
Jo. Crewe,
Sam. Browne,
J. Glynne,
Jo. Bulkley.

His

His Majeſty's Paper of the Second of* October, *delivered to the Divines attending the Commiſſioners, being His Scruples why He cannot abſolutely conſent to the Propoſition concerning the Church: Which, with their Anſwer, and His Majeſty's Reply, are (though here inſerted) no part of the Treaty.

Acts 14. 23.
Acts 6. 6.
1 *Cor.* 16. 1.
1 *Cor.* 14.
1 *Cor.* 5. 3.
Third Epiſtle St. *John* 9. 10.
1 *Tim.* 5. 22.
Tit. 1. 5.
Rev. 2d and 3d Chap.
1 *Tim.* 5. 19.
Tit. 3. 10.

I Conceive, that Epiſcopal Government is moſt conſonant to the Word of God, and of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, as it appears by the Scripture to have been practiſed by the Apoſtles themſelves, and by them committed and derived to particular Perſons, as their Subſtitutes or Succeſſors therein, (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving Rules concerning Chriſtian Diſcipline, and exerciſing Cenſures over Presbyters, and others) and hath ever ſince, till theſe laſt Times, been exerciſed by Biſhops in all the Churches of Chriſt; and therefore I cannot in Conſcience conſent to aboliſh the ſaid Government.

Notwithſtanding this my Perſuaſion, I ſhall be glad to be informed, if our Saviour and the Apoſtles did ſo leave the Church at liberty as they might totally alter or change the Church Government at their pleaſure, which, if you can make appear to me, then I will confeſs, that one of my great Scruples is clean taken away; and then there only remains,

That being by my Coronation Oath obliged to maintain Epiſcopal Government as I found it ſettled to my Hands, whether I may conſent to the aboliſhing thereof, until the ſame ſhall be evidenced to me to be contrary to the Word of God?

***The Anſwer of the Divines attending the Commiſſioners, to His Majeſty's Paper of the Second of* October.**

***An humble Anſwer return'd to Your Majeſty's Paper, deliver'd to Us* October *the* 2d, 1648.**

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

1. WE do fully agree, without heſitation, That theſe Scriptures cited in the Margin of Your Papers, *Acts* 14. 23. *Acts* 6. 6. 1 *Cor.* 16. 1. 1 *Cor.* 14. 1 *Cor.* 5. 3. 3 *John* 9. 10. do prove, that the Apoſtles did ordain Presbyters and Deacons, give Rules concerning Chriſtian Diſcipline, and had power of exerciſing Cenſures over Presbyters, and others; and that theſe places of Scripture, 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. *Tit.* 1. 5. 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. *Titus* 3. 10. do prove, That *Timothy* and *Titus* had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and to exerciſe Cenſures over Presbyters, and others: And that the Second and Third Chapters of the *Revelation* do prove, that the Angels of the Churches had power of governing of the Churches and exerciſing Cenſures.

2. But that either the Apoſtles, or *Timothy* and *Titus*, or the Angels of the Churches, were Biſhops, as Biſhops are diſtinct from Presbyters, exerciſing Epiſcopal Government in that ſenſe, or that the Apoſtles did commit and derive to any particular Perſons, as their Subſtitutes and Succeſſors, any ſuch Epiſcopal Government, or that this is proved in the leaſt meaſure by the Scriptures alledged, we do as fully deny: And therefore do humbly deny alſo, That Epiſcopal Government is therefore moſt conſonant to the Word of God, and of the Apoſtolical Inſtitution, or proved ſo to be by theſe Scriptures. None of theſe were Biſhops, or practiſed Epiſcopal Government, as Biſhops are diſtinct from Presbyters; neither is ſuch an Officer of the Church as a Biſhop diſtinct from a Presbyter, to be found

found in the New Testament, (by which we humbly conceive, that our Faith and Conscience, touching these Points, ought to be concluded:) The Name, Office and Work of a Bishop and Presbyter, being one and the same in all things, and never in the least distinguish'd, as is clearly evident, *Titus* 1. 5, 7. *For this Cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Presbyters in every City, as I have appointed thee; for a Bishop must be blameless.* In which place, the Apostle's Reasoning were altogether invalid and inconsequent, if Presbyter and Bishop were not the same Office as well as they have the same Name.

3. The same is manifest, *Acts* 20. 17, 28. *And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called the Presbyters of the Church,* to whom he gave this charge, *ver.* 28. *Take heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the Flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops to feed and govern the Church of God.* Where we observe, That the Apostle being to leave the Presbyters, and never to see their Faces more, *ver.* 38. doth charge them with the feeding and governing the Church, as being Bishops of the Holy Ghost's making; but that the Holy Ghost did make any superiour or higher kind of Bishops than those common Presbyters, is not to be found in that, or any other Text.

4. And that, under the Mouth of two or three Witnesses, this Assertion of ours may stand, we add to what we have already said, That in 1 *Pet.* 5. 1, 2. *The Presbyters which are among you, I exhort, who am also a Presbyter; feed the Flock of God which is among you,* ἐπισκοποῦντες, performing the Office of Bishops; where it appears plain to us, that under the words ποιμαίνειν and ἐπισκοπεῖν, used in this place, is express'd whatsoever Work the Presbyters are to do; neither can Bishops so called, as above Presbyters, do more for the Government and good of the Church, otherwise than is there expresly enjoined unto Presbyters. By all which that hath been said, the Point is rendered most clear to the Judgment of most Men, both ancient and of later Times. That there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament, as Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; neither doth the Scripture afford us the least notice of any Qualification required in a Bishop that is not required in a Presbyter; nor any Ordination to the Office of a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; nor any Work or Duty charged upon a Bishop, which Presbyters are not enjoined to do; nor any greater Honour or Dignity put upon them. For that double Honour which the Apostle speaks of, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. as due to Presbyters that rule well, is with a Note especially affixed to that Act or Work of labouring in the Work of Doctrine, which is not that Act wherein Bishops have challenged a Singularity or peculiar Eminency above the Presbyters.

5. To that which Your Majesty doth conceive, That Episcopal Government was practised by the Apostles themselves, we humbly answer, That the Apostles, as they were the highest Officers of the Church of Christ, so they were extraordinary, in respect of their Commission, Gifts and Offices, and distinguished from all other Officers, 1 *Cor.* 12. 28. *God hath set some in the Church; First, Apostles, Secondly, Prophets; Thirdly, Teachers:* Ephes. 4. 11. *Christ gave some, Apostles; and some, Prophets; and some, Evangelists; and some, Pastors and Teachers:* Where the Apostles are distinguished from Pastors and Teachers, who are the ordinary Officers of the Church for preaching the Word and Government: That they had power and authority to ordain Church Officers, and to exercise Censures in all Churches, we affirm: And withal, that no other Persons or Officers of the Church, may challenge or assume to themselves such Power in that respect alone, because the Apostles practised it, except such Power belong unto them in common, as well as to the Apostles by Warrant of the Scriptures; for that Government which they practised was Apostolical, according to that peculiar Commission and Authority which they had, and no otherwise to be called Episcopal than as their Office was so comprehensive as they had power to do the Work of any, or all other Church Officers, in which respect they call them *Presbyteri*

Diaconi, (but never *Epiſcopi* in diſtinct Sence;) we humbly crave leave to ſay, that to argue the Apoſtles to have practiſed Epiſcopal Government, becauſe they ordained other Officers, and exerciſed Cenſures, is as if we ſhould argue a Juſtice of Peace to be a Conſtable, becauſe he doth that which a Conſtable doth in ſome Particulars. It is manifeſt that the Office of Biſhops and Presbyters were not diſtinct in the Apoſtles, they did not act as Biſhops in ſome Acts, and as Preſbyters in other Acts, the Diſtinction of Presbyters and Biſhops being made by Men in after-times.

6. And whereas Your Majeſty doth conceive that the Epiſcopal Government was by the Apoſtles committed and delivered to particular Perſons as their Subſtitutes or Succeſſors therein (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving Rules concerning Chriſtian Diſcipline, and exerciſing Cenſures over Presbyters and others) ſeeming by the alledged Places of Scripture to inſtance in *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches, we humbly anſwer: And firſt, to that of *Timothy* and *Titus*.

7. We grant that *Timothy* and *Titus* had Authority and Power of ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, and of exerciſing Cenſures over Presbyters and others, though we cannot ſay they had this Power as the Apoſtles Subſtitutes or Succeſſors in Epiſcopal Government; nor that they exerciſed the Power they had as being Biſhops in the Sence of Your Majeſty, but as extraordinary Officers or Evangeliſts; which Evangeliſts were an Office in the Church diſtinct from Paſtors and Teachers, *Eph.* 4. 11. And that they were Evangeliſts it appears by their being ſent up and down by the Apoſtles, or taken along with them in Company of ſeveral Churches, as the Neceſſity and Occaſion of the Churches did require. The one of them expreſly called an Evangeliſt, 2 *Tim.* 4. 5. And neither of them being any where in Scripture called Biſhop; neither were they fixed to *Epheſus* and *Crete*, as Biſhops in the Churches committed to them, but removed from thence to other Places, and never, (for ought appears in Scripture) returned to them again. And it ſeems clear to us, that neither their Abode at *Epheſus* and *Crete* was for any long time, nor ſo intended by the Apoſtle; for he imployed them there upon occaſionary Buſineſs, and expreſſeth himſelf in ſuch manner (*I beſought thee to abide ſtill at Epheſus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mighteſt charge ſome that they teach no other Doctrine*, 1 Tim. 1. 3. *For this cauſe left I thee in Crete*, Titus 1. 5.) as doth not carry the fixing or conſtituting of a Biſhop in a place as a perpetual Governour. And it is as manifeſt that they were both of them called away from thoſe Places, 2 *Tim.* 4. 9. *Do thy Diligence to come to me ſhortly.* Titus 3. 12. *Be diligent to come to me to Nicopolis.* So that they may as well be called Biſhops of other Cities and Churches where they had any conſiderable Abode, as they are pretended to have been of *Epheſus* and *Crete*, as they are called by the Poſtſcripts of theſe Epiſtles; the Credit of which Poſtſcripts we cannot build upon in this point.

8. *Secondly*, To that of the Angels of the Churches.

The Miniſters of the Churches are called Stars and Angels, which Denominations are metaphorical, and in a Myſtery. *Revel.* 1. 20. *The myſtery of the ſeven Stars*; Angels in reſpect of their Miſſion or ſending, Stars in reſpect of their Station and ſhining. And it ſeems ſtrange to us, that to ſo many expreſs Teſtimonies of Scriptures an allegorical Denomination or Myſtery ſhould be oppoſed, theſe Angels being no where called Biſhops in vulgar Acceptation, nor the word Biſhop uſed in any of St. *John*'s Writings, who yet calls himſelf Presbyter, nor any mention of any Superiority of one Presbyter to another, but in *Diotrephe*'s affecting it. And as to that which may be ſaid that the Epiſtles are directed to one, we anſwer, that a number of Perſons are in the myſterious and prophetick Writings expreſs'd in ſingulars; and we humbly conceive, that being written in an Epiſtolary Style (for they are as Letters or Epiſtles to the Churches) theſe Writings are directed as Letters to collective or repreſentative Bodies uſe to be; that is to one, but intended and meant to the Body in meeting aſſembled; which, that they were ſo intended

ded is clear to us, both becauſe there were in *Epheſus* Biſhops and Presbyters one and the ſame, to whom the Apoſtle at his farewell commended the Government of the Church, and alſo by divers Expreſſions in theſe Epiſtles, as *Revel.* 2. 24. *To you and to the reſt in Thyatyra*; by which Diſtinction of you and the reſt, we conceive the Church Officers (which were more than one) and the People to be ſignified; and ſo we cannot conſent that any ſingular Perſon is here proved to have majority over the reſt, or ſole Power of exerciſing Church Cenſures, or Government ſpoken of in theſe Chapters.

9. Having thus (as we humbly conceive) prov'd by pregnant Places of Scripture compared together, that the Apoſtles themſelves did not inſtitute or practiſe Epiſcopal Government, nor commit and derive it to ſome ſingular Perſons as their Subſtitutes or Succeſſors therein; we have in farther Diſcharge of our Duty to, and for the more full and clear Satisfaction of Your Majeſty in this Point briefly declared, into what Officers Hands the ordinary and ſtanding Offices of the Church were tranſmitted and derived by and from the Apoſtles. The Apoſtles had no Succeſſors *in eundem gradum*, the Apoſtolical Office was not derived by Succeſſion, being inſtituted by Chriſt by extraordinary and ſpecial Commiſſion; but for the Ordinary and ſtanding uſe of the Church there were ordained only two Orders of Offices, *viz.* Biſhops and Deacons, which the Apoſtle expreſſeth *Philip.* 1. 1. *To all the Saints in Chriſt Jeſus, which are at Philippi, with the Biſhops and Deacons*, and only of them doth the Apoſtle give the due Characters of Officers, 1 *Tim.* 3. 8. From both which Places of Scripture we conclude, with ancient Expoſitors of Scripture both Greek and Latin, that Biſhops are the ſame with Presbyters, and beſide Presbyters there is no mention of any other Order, but that of Deacons; of both which Orders in the Apoſtles Days, there were in one City more than one, as in *Philippi* and *Epheſus*. And we humbly offer to Your Majeſty, as obſervable, that though one Order might be ſuperior to another Order; yet in the ſame Order of Officers, there was not any one ſuperior to others of the ſame Order; no Apoſtle was above an Apoſtle, no Evangeliſt above an Evangeliſt, no Presbyter above a Presbyter, no Deacon above a Deacon. And ſo we conclude this Part, that ſince Church Officers are inſtituted and ſet in the Church by God, or Chriſt Jeſus, and that Ordination by, or in which the Office is conveyed, is unto no other Office but that of Presbyters and Deacons: Therefore there are no other Orders of ordinary and ſtanding Officers in the Church of Chriſt.

10. And for the Ages immediately ſucceeding the Apoſtles, we anſwer, *Firſt*, our Faith reacheth no farther than the Holy Scriptures; no human Teſtimony can beget any more than a human Faith.

2. We anſwer that it is agreed upon by learned Men, as well ſuch as contend for Epiſcopacy, as others, that the times immediately ſucceeding the Apoſtles are very dark in reſpect of the Hiſtory of the Church.

3. That the moſt unqueſtionable Record of thoſe times, gives clear Teſtimony to our Aſſertion, *viz.* the Epiſtle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians*, who reciting the Orders of Church Officers, expreſly limits them to two Biſhops and Deacons, and they whom in one Place he calls Biſhops, he always afterwards nameth Presbyters. The Epiſtles of *Ignatius* pretend indeed to the next Antiquity, but are by ſome ſuſpected as wholly ſpurious, and proved by *Vedelius* to be ſo mixed, that it's hard, if not poſſible to know what Parts of them are genuin. Beſides, Biſhop *Uſher* in his late Obſervation on them, *Cap.* 18. *Pag.* 138. confeſſeth that of the Twelve of his Epiſtles, Six are counterfeit, the other Six mix'd, and none of them in every reſpect to be accounted ſincere and genuin.

4. We grant that not long after the Apoſtles Times, Biſhops, in ſome Superiority to Presbyters, are by the Writers of thoſe Times reported to be in the Church, but they were ſet up, not as a Divine Inſtitution, but as an Eccleſiaſtical (as afterwards both Archbiſhops and Patriarchs were) which is clear by Dr. *Reynolds* his Epiſtle to Sir *Francis Knowles*; wherein he ſhews out of Biſhop *Jewel*, that *Ambroſe*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Jerom*, *Auguſtin*, and many more holy Fathers, together with

the Apoſtle *Paul*, agree that by the Word of God there is no Difference between a Biſhop and a Presbyter, and that *Medina* in the Council of *Trent* affirms, not only the ſame Fathers, but alſo another *Jerom*, *Theodoret*, *Primaſius*, *Sedulius*, and *Theophylact* to be of the ſame Judgment, and that with them agree *Oecumenius*, *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and another *Anſelm*, *Gregory*, and *Gratian*, and after them many others; that it was enrolled in the Cannon Law for ſound and Catholick Doctrine, and publickly taught by learned Men; and adds, that all who have laboured in the Reformation of the Church for theſe 500 Years, have taught, that all Paſtors, be they intituled Biſhops or Prieſts, have equal Authority and Power by God's Word. The ſame way goeth *Lumbard*, Maſter of the Sentences and Father of the Schoolmen, who ſpeaking of Presbyters and Deacons, ſaith, the Primitive Church had theſe Orders only, and that we have the Apoſtles Precept for them alone. With him agree many of the moſt eminent in that kind, and generally all the Canoniſts. To theſe we may add *Sixtus Senenſis*, who teſtifies for himſelf and many others, and *Caſſander*, who was called by one of the *German* Emperors, as one of ſingular Ability and Integrity, to inform him, and reſolve his Conſcience in Queſtions of that nature; who ſaith it is agreed among all, that in the Apoſtles Times, there was no Difference between a Biſhop and a Presbyter.

For a Concluſion we add, that the Doctrine which we have here propounded to your Majeſty concerning the Identity of the Order of Biſhops and Presbyters, is no other than the Doctrine publiſhed by King *Henry* VIII. *Anno Domini* 1543. for all His Subjects to receive, ſeen and allowed by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal with the nether Houſe of Parliament, of theſe Two Orders only, (ſo ſaith his Book) that is to ſay Prieſts and Deacons, the Scripture maketh expreſs mention, and how they were confirmed of the Apoſtles by Prayer and Impoſition of their Hands. By all which it ſeems evident, that the Order of Epiſcopacy as diſtinct from Presbyters is but an Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution, and therefore not unalterable.

5. *Laſtly*, We anſwer that that Epiſcopal Government, which at firſt obtained in the Church, did really and ſubſtantially differ from the Epiſcopal Government which the Honourable Houſes of Parliament deſire the Abolition of. The Biſhop of thoſe Times was one preſiding in, and joining with the Presbytery of his Church, ruling with them, and not without them, either created and made by the Presbyters, chooſing out one among themſelves, as in *Rome* and *Alexandria*, or choſen by the Church, and confirmed by three or more of his Neighbours of like Dignity within the ſame Precinct. Leſſer Towns and Villages had and might have Biſhops in them, as well as populous and eminent Cities, until the Council of *Sardis* decreed, That Villages and ſmall Cities ſhould have no Biſhops, leſt the Name and Authority of a Biſhop might thereby come into contempt, but of one claiming as his Due and Right of himſelf alone as a ſuperior Order or Degree. All Power about Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons, and all Juriſdictions, either to exerciſe himſelf or delegate to whom he will of the Laity or Clergy as they diſtinguiſh according to the Jugdment and Practice of theſe in our Times, we read not till in the later and corrupter Ages of the Church.

By all which it appears that the preſent Hierarchy, the aboliſhing whereof is deſired by the Honourable Houſes, may accordingly be aboliſhed, and yet poſſibly the Biſhop of thoſe Primitive Times might be, they are ſo far different one from another.

In anſwer to that part of your Majeſty's Paper wherein you inquire whether our Saviour and his Apoſtles did ſo leave the Church at liberty, as they might totally alter or change the Church Government at their Pleaſure, we humbly conceive that there are Subſtantials belonging to Church Government, ſuch as are appointed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, which are not in the Churches Liberty to alter at pleaſure, but as for Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* we hope it will appear unto Your Majeſty's Conſcience, that they are none of the Church Governours appointed by our Saviour and his Apoſtles; we beſeech your Majeſty to look rather to their Original than Succeſſion.

His

His Majesty's Reply to the Answer of the Commissioners Divines, to His Majesty's Paper of the Second of October, *delivered in the Sixth of* October 1648.

C. R.

HIS Majesty, upon persual of your Answer to His Paper of the 2d of *October* 1648, findeth, that you acknowledge the several Scriptures cited in the Margin to prove the things for which they were cited, *viz.* That the Apostles in their own Persons, that *Timothy* and *Titus*, by Authority derived from them, and the Angels of the Churches had power of Church Government, and did and might actually exercise the same in all the Three several Branches in His Paper specified; and so, in effect, you grant all that is desired: For the Bishops challenge no more, or other Power to belong to them, in respect of their Episcopal Office, as it is distinct from that of Presbyters, than what properly falleth under one of these Three, Ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures.

But when you, presently after, deny the Persons that exercised the Power aforesaid, to have been Bishops, or to have exercised Episcopal Government, in that sense as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters, you do in effect deny the very same thing you had before granted; for Episcopal Government, in that sense, being nothing else but the Government of the Churches within a certain Precinct, (commonly called a Dioceſs) committed to one single Person, with sufficient Authority over the Presbyters and People of those Churches, for that end, since the substance of the Thing it self in all the Three fore-mentioned Particulars is founded in the Scriptures, unless you will strive about Names and Words, which tendeth to no profit, but to the puzzling and subverting of those that seek after Truth; you must also acknowledge, that Episcopal Government, in the sense aforesaid, may be sufficiently proved from the Scriptures.

In that which you say next, and for proof thereof insist upon Three several Texts, His Majesty conceiveth, as to the present business, That the most that can be proved from all, or any of those places, is this, That the word Bishop is there used, to signifie a Presbyter; and that consequently, the Office and Work, mentioned in those places as the Office and Work of a Bishop, are the Office and Work of a Presbyter, which is confessed on all sides: Although His Majesty is not sure, that the Proofs will reach so far in each of those places. But from thence, to infer an absolute identity of the Functions of a Bishop and a Presbyter, is a Fallacy which His Majesty observeth to run in a manner quite along your whole Answer. But it appeareth from the Scriptures by what you have granted, That single Persons (as *Timothy* and *Titus* for Example) had authority to perform such Acts and Offices of Church Government as His Majesty hath not yet found by any thing represented unto Him, by you or any other, from the Scriptures, that a single Presbyter ever had authority to perform: Which is enough to prove, That the Community of the Names in some places notwithstanding, the Functions themselves are in other places by their proper Works sufficiently distinguished.

Tit. 1. 5, 7. *Acts* 20. 17, 28. 1 *Pet.* 5. 1, 2.

But for the Name *Episcopus*, or Bishop, His Majesty hath long since learned from those that are skilful in the *Greek* Tongue, That it importeth properly no more than an Overseer, one that hath the charge or inspection of something committed unto him, as he that is set to watch a Beacon, or keep Sheep; whence in the New Testament, and in the Ecclesiastical Use, it is applied to such Persons as have the care and inspection of the Churches of Christ committed unto them *in Spiritualibus*: As both Bishops and Presbyters have in some sort, but with this difference, that meer Presbyters are *Episcopi Gregis* only, they have the oversight of the Flock in the Duties of Preaching, Administration of the Sacraments, Publick Prayer, Exhorting, Rebuking, *&c.* But Bishops are *Episcopi Gregis & Pastorum*

too,

too, having the overſight both of the Flock and Paſtors, within their ſeveral Precincts in the Acts of external Government: So that the common Work of both Functions is the Miniſtry of the Goſpel; but that which is peculiar to the Function of Biſhops, as diſtinguiſhed from Presbyters, is Church Government. It is not therefore to be wondered, if it ſhould happen in the New Teſtament the word *Epiſcopus* to be uſually applied unto Presbyters, who were indeed Overſeers of the Flock, rather than unto Church Governours, who had then another Title of greater Eminency whereby to diſtinguiſh them from ordinary Presbyters, to wit, that of Apoſtles; but when the Government of the Church came into the hands of their Succeſſors, the Names were by common uſage, which is the beſt Maſter of Words, very ſoon appropriated; that of *Epiſcopus* to the Eccleſiaſtical Governour, or Biſhop of a Dioceſe, and that of Presbyter to the ordinary Miniſter or Prieſt.

His Majeſty hath rather cauſe to wonder, that upon ſuch Premiſſes you ſhould conclude with ſo much confidence, as if the Point were rendered moſt clear to the Judgment of moſt Men, both ancient and of later Times, that there is no ſuch Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Teſtament as a Biſhop diſtinct from a Presbyter; when, as His Majeſty remembereth to have ſeen cited by ſuch Authors as He hath no reaſon to ſuſpect, both out of the ancient Fathers and Councils, and out of ſundry modern Writers, even of thoſe Reformed Churches that want Biſhops, great variety of Teſtimony to the contrary.

His Majeſty is not ſatisfied with your Anſwer concerning the Apoſtles Exerciſe of Epiſcopal Government, which you would put off, by referring it to their extraordinary Calling. Our Saviour himſelf, was the firſt and chief Apoſtle, and Biſhop of our Souls, ſent by the Father, and anointed by the Holy Ghoſt, to be both a Teacher and Governour of His Church: By that Miſſion He received Authority, and by His Unction Ability for theſe Works; which He performed in His own Perſon whilſt He lived on the Earth, before He left the World, that the Church might not want teaching and governing to the World's end: He choſe certain Perſons upon whom He conferred both theſe Powers, whereby they became alſo Apoſtles and Biſhops, by making them partakers both of His Miſſion, before His Aſcenſion, (*as my Father ſent me, I ſend you*) and of His Unction ſhortly after His Aſcenſion, when He poured upon them the Holy Ghoſt at *Pentecoſt*. The Miſſion both for teaching and governing (at leaſt for the Subſtance of it) was ordinary, and to continue to the end of the World, (*Mat.* 28. 18, 20.) and therefore neceſſarily to deſcend, and be by them tranſmitted to others, as their Subſtitutes or Succeſſors; but the Unction whereby they were enabled to both Offices, or Functions, by the effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, in ſuch a plenteous meaſure of Knowledge, Tongues, Miracles, Propheſyings, Healings, infallibility of Doctrine, diſcerning of Spirits, and ſuch like, was indeed extraordinary in them, and in ſome few others, (though in an inferiour meaſure) as God ſaw it needful for the planting of the Churches, and propagation of the Goſpel in thoſe Primitive Times: And in this, which was indeed extraordinary in them, they were not neceſſarily to have Succeſſors. But it ſeemeth very unreaſonable to attribute the Exerciſe of that Power, whether of Teaching or Governing, to an extraordinary Calling; which being of neceſſary and continual uſe in the Church, muſt therefore of neceſſity be the Work of a Function of ordinary and perpetual uſe. Therefore the Acts of governing the Church, were no more, nor otherwiſe extraordinary in the Apoſtles, than the Acts of teaching the Church were; that is to ſay, both extraordinary for the manner of performance, in reſpect of their more than ordinary Abilities for the ſame, and yet both ordinary for the Subſtance of the Offices themſelves, and the Works to be performed therein: And in theſe two ordinary Offices, their ordinary Succeſſors are Presbyters and Biſhops; Presbyters *qua* Presbyters immediately ſucceed them in the Office of Teaching, and Biſhops *qua* Biſhops immediately in the Office of Governing.

The inſtances of *Timothy* and *Titus* you likewiſe endeavour to avoid, by the pretenſion of an extraordinary Calling; but in this Anſwer, beſides the inſufficiency

ciency thereof, (if all that is said therein could be proved) His Majesty findeth very little satisfaction. *First*, You say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were (by Office) Evangelists, whereas of *Titus* the Scriptures no where imply any such thing at all; and by your own Rule, your Authority without Scripture will beget (if that) but a human Faith; neither doth the Text clearly prove that *Timothy* was so. *Secondly*, Setting aside Mens Conjectures, (which can breed but a human Faith neither) you cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture, that the Office of an Evangelist is such as you have described it. The Work of an Evangelist, which St. *Paul* exhorteth *Timothy* to do, seemeth by the Context (2 *Tim.* 4. 2, 5.) to be nothing but diligence in preaching the Word, notwithstanding all Impediments and Opposition. *Thirdly*, That which you so confidently affirm, That *Timothy* and *Titus* acted as Evangelists, is not only denied, but clearly refuted by *Scultetus*, *Gerrard*, and others, yea, even with scorn rejected of late (as His Majesty is informed) by some rigid Presbyterians, as *Gillispee*, *Rotherford*, *&c.* And that which you so confidently deny, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops, is not only confirmed by the consentient Testimony of all Antiquity, (even *Hierom* himself having recorded it, that they were Bishops, and that of St. *Paul*'s Ordination) and acknowledged by very many late Divines, but a Catalogue also of 27 Bishops of *Ephesus*, lineally succeeding from *Timothy* out of good Records, is vouched by Doctor *Reynolds* against *Hart*, and by other Writers. *Fourthly*, You affirm, but upon very weak Proofs, that they were from *Ephesus* and *Crete* removed to other places; some that have exactly out of Scripture compared the Times and Order of the several Journies and Stations of *Paul* and *Timothy*, have demonstrated the contrary concerning this Particular. *Fifthly*, Whereas you say 'tis manifest from 2 *Tim.* 4. 9. and *Tit.* 3. 12. that they were called away from those places, it doth no more conclude that they were not Bishops there, or that they might as well be called Bishops of other Churches, than it may be concluded from the attendance of the Divines of the Assembly at *Westminster*, that they are no longer Parsons or Vicars of their several Parishes. *Lastly*, For the Postscript of their Epistles, tho' His Majesty lay no great weight upon them, yet He holdeth them to be of great Antiquity; and therefore such as in a question of Fact, where there appeareth no strong evidence to weaken their belief, ought not to be slightly rejected.

Neither doth His Majesty lay any weight at all upon the Allegory or Mystery of the Denomination in the next Point, concerning the Angels of the Churches, as you mistake in your Answer thereunto, wherein His Majesty findeth as little satisfaction as in the last Point before. The strength of His Majesty's instance lay in this, That by the Judgment of all ancient and the best modern Writers, and by many Probabilities in the Text it self, the Angels of the seven Churches were *Personæ singulares*, and such as had a Prelacy as well over Pastors as People within their Churches, and that is, in a word, Bishops; and you bring nothing of moment in your Answer to infirm this. You say truly, indeed, That those Epistles were written in an Epistolary Stile, and so (as Letters to collective and representative Bodies use to be) directed to one, but intended to the Body; which, when you have proved, you are so far from weakning, that you rather strengthen the Argument, to prove those Angels to have been single Persons. As when His Majesty sendeth a Message to His Two Houses, and directeth it to the Speaker of the House of Peers, His intending it to the whole House, doth not hinder but that the Speaker, to whom it is directed, is one single Person still. Yet His Majesty cannot but observe in this, (as in some other Parts of your Answer) how willing you are *versari in generalibus*, and how unwilling to speak out, and to declare plainly and directly, what your Opinion is concerning those Angels, who they were; whether they were, as the great Antagonist of Episcopacy, *Salmasius*, very peremptorily, (*sit ergo hoc fixum*, *&c.*) affirmeth, the whole Churches, or so many individual Pastors of the gathered Churches in those Cities, or the whole College of Presbyters in the respective Churches, or the singular and individual Presidents of these Colleges; for, into so many several Opinions are those few divided

amongst

amongſt themſelves, who have divided themſelves from the common and received Judgment of the Chriſtian Church.

In the following Diſcourſe you deny that the Apoſtles were to have any Succeſſors in their Office, and affirm that there were to be only two Orders of ordinary and ſtanding Officers in the Church, *viz.* Presbyters and Deacons.

What His Majeſty conceiveth concerning the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles is in part already declared, *viz.* that they have no Succeſſors *in eundem gradum* in reſpect of thoſe things that were extraordinary in them, as namely the meaſure of their Gifts, the extent of their Charge, the Infallibility of their Doctrine, and (which is ſundry Times mentioned as a ſpecial Character of an Apoſtle properly ſo called) the having ſeen Chriſt in the Fleſh. But in thoſe things that were not extraordinary (and ſuch thoſe things are to be judged, which are neceſſary for the Service of the Church in all Times, as the Office of teaching, and the Power of Governing are) they were to have, and had Succeſſors, and therefore the learned and godly Fathers and Councils of old Times did uſually ſtile Biſhops the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, without ever ſcrupling thereat.

And as to the ſtanding Offices of the Church, although in the Places by you cited (*Phil.* 1. 1. and 1 *Tim.* 3. 8.) there be no mention of Biſhops as diſtinct from Presbyters, but of the two Orders only of Biſhops or Presbyters, and Deacons, yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other ſtanding Office in the Church beſides, for there appear two other manifeſt Reaſons why that of Biſhops might not be ſo proper to be mentioned in thoſe places; the one becauſe in the Churches which the Apoſtles themſelves planted, they placed Presbyters under them, for the Office of teaching, but took upon themſelves the Care, and reſerved in their own Hands the Power of governing thoſe Churches (for a longer or ſhorter time as they ſaw it expedient for the propagating of the Goſpel) before they ſet Biſhops over them; and ſo it may be probable that there was as yet no Biſhop ſet over the Church of *Philippi*, when St. *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle to them. The other becauſe in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus* the Perſons to whom he wrote being themſelves Biſhops, there was no need to write any thing concerning the Choice or Qualification of any other ſort of Officers than ſuch as belonged to their Ordination and Inſpection, which were Presbyters and Deacons only and not Biſhops.

Concerning the Ages ſucceeding the Apoſtles.

Firſt, His Majeſty believeth that although Faith as it is an Aſſent unto Truth ſupernatural or of divine Revelation, reacheth no farther than the Scriptures, yet in Matters of Fact, human Teſtimony may beget a Faith, though human, yet certain and infallible, as by Credit of Hiſtories we have an infallible Faith that *Ariſtotle* was a Greek Philoſopher, and *Cicero* a Roman Orator.

Secondly, The Darkneſs of thoſe Times in reſpect of the Hiſtory of the Church is a very ſtrong Argument for Epiſcopacy; which notwithſtanding the Darkneſs of the Times hath found ſo full and clear a Proof by the unqueſtioned Catalogues, extant in ancient Writers of the Biſhops of ſundry famous Cities, as *Jeruſalem*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Rome*, *Epheſus*, *&c.* in a continued Succeſſion from the Apoſtles, as ſcarce any other Matter of fact hath found the like.

Thirdly, In *Clement*'s Teſtimony cited by you, His Majeſty conceiveth you make uſe of your old Fallaſy from the promiſcuous Uſe of the Words to infer the Indiſtinction of the things; for who can doubt of *Clement*'s Opinion, concerning the diſtinct Offices of Biſhops and Presbyters, who either readeth his whole Epiſtle, or conſidereth that he himſelf was a Biſhop in that Senſe, even by the Confeſſion of *Vedelius* himſelf, a Man never yet ſuſpected to favour Biſhops, who ſaith that after the Death of *Linus* and *Cletus*, *Clemens ſolus Epiſcopi nomen retinuit, quia jam invaluerat diſtinctio Epiſcopi & Presbyteri?* And for *Ignatius*'s Epiſtles, though ſome of late out of their partial Diſaffection to Biſhops have endeavoured to diſcredit the whole Volume of them by all poſſible Means, without any regard either of Ingenuity

genuity or Truth; yet ſundry of them are ſuch, as being atteſted by the Suffrages of Antiquity cannot with any Forehead be denied to be his, and there is ſcarce any of them which doth not give Teſtimony to the Prelacy of a Biſhop above a Presbyter. *Ignatius* himſelf alſo was Biſhop of *Antioch* and a holy Martyr for the Faith of Chriſt.

Fourthly, You grant that not long after the Apoſtles Time Biſhops are found in the Writers of thoſe Times reported as in ſome Superiority to Presbyters, but you might have added farther out of thoſe Writers (if you had pleaſed) that they were ſome of them, as *James* at *Jeruſalem*, *Timothy* at *Epheſus*, *Titus* in *Crete*, *Mark* at *Alexandria*, *Linus* and *Clemens* at *Rome*, *Policarpus* at *Smyrna*, conſtituted and ordained Biſhops of thoſe Places by the Apoſtles themſelves, and all of them reputed Succeſſors to the Apoſtles in their Epiſcopal Office. And His Majeſty preſumeth, you could not be ignorant that all, or moſt of the Teſtimonies you recite of the ancient Fathers, Writers of the middle Ages, Schoolmen, and Canoniſts, and the Book publiſhed under King *Henry* VIII. do but either import the promiſcuous and indifferent uſe of the Names of Biſhops and Presbyters, whereof Advantage ought not to be made to take away the Difference of the Things, or elſe they relate to a School Point (which in reſpect of the thing it ſelf is but a very Nicety) diſputed *pro & con* by curious Queſtioniſts *utrum Epiſcopatus ſit Ordo vel Gradus?* Both ſides in the mean time acknowledging the Right of Church Government to be in the Biſhops alone and not in the Presbyters, as alſo that there may be produced either from the very ſame Writers, or from others of as good Authority and Credit, Teſtimonies both for Number and Clearneſs far beyond thoſe by you mentioned, to aſſert the three different Degrees (or Orders call them whether you will) of Eccleſiaſtical Functions, *viz.* the Biſhop, the Presbyter, and the Deacon.

As to that which you add, *laſtly*, concerning the Difference between Primitive Epiſcopacy, and the preſent Hierarchy, albeit His Majeſty doth not conceive that the Acceſſions or Additions granted by the Favour of His Royal Progenitors for the enlarging of the Power or Privileges of the Biſhops have made, or indeed can make the Government really and ſubſtantially to differ from what formerly it was, no more than Addition of Arms or Ornaments can make a Body really and ſubſtantially to differ from it ſelf naked or diveſted of the ſame, nor can think it either neceſſary or yet expedient, that the Elections of Biſhops, and ſome other Circumſtantials touching their Perſons or Office ſhould be in all Reſpects the ſame under Chriſtian Princes, as it was when Chriſtians lived among Pagans, and under Perſecution; yet His Majeſty ſo far approveth of your Anſwer in that behalf, that he thinketh it well worthy the Studies and Endeavours of the Divines of both Opinions, laying aſide all Emulations and private Intereſts, to reduce Epiſcopacy and Presbytery into ſuch a well-proportioned Form of Superiority and Subordination as may beſt reſemble the Apoſtolical and Primitive Times, ſo far forth as the different Condition of the Times, and the Exigents of all conſiderable Circumſtances will admit, ſo as the Power of the Church Government in the particular of Ordination, which is meerly ſpiritual, may remain authoritative in the Biſhop, but that Power not to be exerciſed without the Concurrence or Aſſiſtance of his Preſbytery; as *Timothy* was ordained by the Authority of St. *Paul*, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. but with the Concurrence and Aſſiſtance of the Presbytery, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. Other Powers of Government which belong to Juriſdiction, though they are in the Biſhops as before is expreſſed, yet the outward Exerciſe of them may be ordered and diſpoſed or limited by the Sovereign Power, to which by the Laws of the Land, and the Acknowledgment of the Clergy, they are ſubordinate. But His Majeſty doubteth whether it be in your Power to give Him any perfect Aſſurance, that in the deſired Abolition of the preſent Hierarchy the utter Abolition of Epiſcopacy, and conſequently of the Primitive Epiſcopacy, is neither included nor intended.

As to the laſt part of His Majeſty's Paper, His Majeſty would have been better ſatisfied if you had been more particular in Your Anſwer thereunto. You tell him

in general that there are Subſtantials in Church Government appointed by Chriſt, *&c.* but you neither ſay what thoſe Subſtantials are, nor in whoſe Hands they are left; whereas His Majeſty expected that you ſhould have declared your Opinions clearly, whether Chriſt or his Apoſtles left any certain Form of Government to be obſerved in all Chriſtian Churches? Then whether the ſame bind all Churches to the perpetual Obſervation thereof, or whether they may upon Occaſion alter the ſame, either in whole, or in part? Likewiſe, whether that certain Form of Government, which Chriſt and his Apoſtles have appointed as perpetual and unalterable (if they have appointed any ſuch at all) be the Epiſcopal, or the Presbyterian, or ſome other differing from them both?

And whereas in the Concluſion you beſeech His Majeſty to look rather to the Original of Biſhops than to their Succeſſion, His Majeſty thinketh it needful to look at both, eſpecially ſince their Succeſſion is the beſt Clew, the moſt certain, and the moſt ready way to find out their Original.

His Majeſty having returned you this Anſwer, doth profeſs that as whatſoever is of weight in yours ſhall have Influence on Him, ſo He doubteth not but ſomewhat may appear to you in His, which was not ſo clear to you before. And if this Debate may have this End, that it diſpoſe others to that Temper of accepting Reaſon, as it ſhall Him of indeavouring to give Satisfaction in all He can to His Two Houſes, His Majeſty believeth, though it hath taken up, it hath not miſpent his time.

Newport, the 4th of October 1648.

WE are commanded by the Houſes to acquaint Your Majeſty, that they have fully approved the Proceedings of their Commiſſioners in refuſing Your Paper (ſince ſent by Your Majeſty to the Houſes) and have declared it contrary to Our Inſtructions, and no way ſatisfactory. They have farther appointed us to continue in proceeding according to our Inſtructions, to preſs Your Majeſty for Your Anſwer to the Propoſitions, as we are by them directed: The Houſes being reſolved to proceed that way, and not otherwiſe.

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

The Commiſſioner's Paper deſiring a fuller Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning the Church.

Newport, the 6th of October 1648.

HAving preſented to Your Majeſty a Paper containing the Propoſitions for the Church upon the 25th of *September*; and ſeconded it with another Paper of the 29th praying Your Anſwer, which we received upon 30th, but with many Alterations, Omiſſions, and ſome denial in the Particulars of our Deſire, as we have ſeverally expreſſed them in a Paper given in the ſame Day. And ſince that, having ſpent ſeveral Days in debate, and Conference with Your Majeſty, upon the Scruples and Doubts, which You were pleaſed to ſay did remain with You concerning thoſe Particulars, wherein we endeavoured to make appear the reaſonableneſs of our Deſire, and we hope have given Your Majeſty Satisfaction: We (conſidering ſo much of our limited Time to be already paſt, and ſo little Progreſs made in this great Buſineſs, upon which ſo much depends) do moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty to give Your full Anſwer to the Deſires of Your Two Houſes concerning the Church ſet down in our ſaid Paper of the 25th of *September*.

Northumberland, *Salisbury*,
Pembrooke, and *Mont.* *Middleſex*,
W. Say and *Seale*.

Tho. Wenman, *Har. Grimſton*,
Denzell Holles, *Jo. Crewe*,
W. Pierrepont, *Sam. Browne*,
Jo. Potts, *Jo. Bulkley*,
H. Vane, *J. Glynne*.

His

His Majesty's Answer to the Proposition for Religion.

Newport, the 9th of October 1648.

FOR a farther and final Answer to You, as to Your Proposition concerning the Church, and to your Paper of the 30th of *September*, wherein you alledge there are many Omissions, Alterations, and some denial of several Particulars in His Majesty's former Answer, His Majesty saith as followeth.

1. As to the Exceptions, that His Majesty said nothing to the consenting to a Bill for the utter abolishing of Archbishops, Bishops, *&c.* nor that the Ordinance for abolishing them be confirmed by Act of Parliament; His Majesty saith, that in His former Answer He did consent to confirm for three Years by Act of Parliament the Form of Church Government, and Directory for Worship, which you presented to Him: And thereby hath establish'd the actual Possession, and publick Exercise of those Forms, and hath suspended the present Government, and Form of Worship established by Law; but desired a Consultation with Divines in the mean time for a future Settlement, as in the Paper is expressed; yet finding by your said Paper of the 30th of *September*, that not to be satisfactory, His Majesty with all clearness will acquaint you what was His Aim therein.

His Majesty therefore declares, That the Reason why He did not answer to that Part of Your Proposition in Terms as it is proposed, was, because He was not satisfied in His Conscience He can consent to the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, the Substance whereof He conceives to consist in the Power of Ordination and Jurisdiction as they were exercised by the Apostles themselves, and others by Authority derived from them, superiour to Presbyters and Deacons, in the Primitive Times. But because he acknowledgeth, that Bishops were to have Counsel and Assistance of Presbyters in Ordination and Jurisdiction, and in the last, were and are limitable by the Civil Power, His Majesty desired the Consultation with the Divines, to the end, that He and His Two Houses might determine in what manner Ordination and Jurisdiction might be moderated and regulated for the future Government of the Church, His Majesty's Resolution being to comply with His Two Houses for the alteration and regulating of this present Hierarchy and Government, so as Episcopacy reduced to the Primitive usage may be settled and continued in this Church. And therefore His Majesty heartily desires their Concurrence in the one, that He may with the more Freedom give His Assent to the other; and if His Two Houses shall so advise, His Majesty will consent to lessen the Extent and multiply the number of the Dioceses. And in other Particulars of like nature, which upon farther Consideration may arise, and cannnot now be particularly declared or foreseen, His Majesty will evidence His only Care is for the orderly Government of the Church, and the edifying of His People.

2. As to the Exception that His Majesty hath not expressed His Consent for settling the Bishops Lands; it is true He hath not, to alienate the Inheritance of those Lands (and herein He believes He hath the concurrent Opinions of many Divines, that in other Points differ much among themselves) but His former Answer containing a large Offer of Satisfaction to all those that have purchased, or disbursed Moneys upon those Lands, He hopes that Answer (to which He now refers) will be satisfactory to His Two Houses.

3. As to that Part of the Proposition for the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines, His Majesty saith that He will by Act of Parliament confirm the calling and sitting of the said Assembly from the first of *July* 1643, and that they shall have such Powers as are mentioned in the said Ordinance, and that they shall continue their meeting and sitting, and be dissolved in such manner as both Houses of Parliament shall direct.

4. His Majeſty will confirm the publick Uſe of the Directory in all Churches and Chapels, as is deſired in the Propoſition, and will conſent to the Repeal of ſo much of all Statutes as only concern the Book of Common Prayer: And alſo to the taking the ſame away out of all Churches and Chapels, provided that the Uſe thereof may be continued in His Majeſty's Chapel, for Himſelf and His Houſhold: And will likewiſe conſent, That the Form of Church Government preſented to Him, be confirmed by Act of Parliament for Three Years, providing only, that a Conſultation in the mean time be had with the Aſſembly of Divines, in ſuch manner, and for the purpoſes as are in His former Anſwer expreſs'd.

Touching the Articles of Religion, His Majeſty profeſſeth, He hath not had time, ſince they were delivered unto Him, to look into them with that deliberation as is requiſite, before He bind up Himſelf and His Subjects in Matters of Faith and Doctrine: And therefore deſires that part of your Propoſition may be reſpited by His Two Houſes.

5. And whereas you deſire to know, whether His Majeſty, by ſaying in His Paper of the 30th of *Sept.* That He will give His Royal Aſſent to an Act for the better obſervation of the Lord's Day, intends the confirming of the Ordinance preſented unto Him. His Majeſty thereunto anſwers, That the Bill for ſuppreſſing Innovations, to which you deſire His conſent, (which He is willing to give,) contains in it full Proviſion for the due obſervation of the Lord's Day: And if that be not thought ſufficient, His Majeſty will conſent to paſs an Act to confirm the Matter of the Ordinance, for ſo much as concerns the Obſervation of that Day. But as for the Ordinance it ſelf, and the other Ordinances before-mentioned, which have been long ſince drawn, His Majeſty hopes they will not be inſiſted on to be confirm'd *in terminis* as they are penn'd, becauſe that there are divers neceſſary Alterations to be made in moſt of them, in reſpect of ſome things hapned ſince their firſt framing; and Expreſſions therein that reflect on former eſtabliſh'd Laws, and other Matters not neceſſary to the Alteration deſired. But if new Acts be drawn according to His conſent herein expreſſed, He will confirm them.

6. His Majeſty conceived He had given a full Anſwer to your deſire, that there might be a ſtricter courſe taken to prevent the ſaying or hearing of Maſs in the Court, or in any other part of this Kingdom, or the Kingdom of *Ireland*. It is well known of what Profeſſion His Royal Conſort is, and what Proviſion was made by the Two Crowns in the Articles of Marriage, for Her exerciſe thereof. But whatever Particulars ſhall be propoſed to Him for reſtraining it in the places aforeſaid, and limiting it to Her Majeſty and Her own Family, (wherein are but very few *Engliſh*, and not many *French*, of Her Profeſſion,) His Majeſty never did, nor will deny His conſent thereunto.

7. *Laſtly*, Concerning the Covenant, and the Ordinances concerning the ſame; His Majeſty's Anſwer being, That He was not yet ſatisfied to take it, or impoſe it on others; He conceives His Two Houſes will not inſiſt upon it at this time, and the rather, becauſe the Ends thereof will be obtained by this Agreement, if happily concluded: Which God grant.

Newport, the 9th of October, 1648.

YOur Majeſty having delivered in a Paper of this preſent 9th of *October*, as Your farther and final Anſwer to us, as to the Second Propoſition concerning the Church; we ſhall tranſmit the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, with the other Proceedings paſſed in Writing on that Second Propoſition, and go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Pembrooke and *Mount.*
Salisbury,
Middleſex,
W. Say and *Seale.*

Tho. Wenman,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
J. Potts,
H. Vane,
Jo. Crewe,
Sam. Browne,
J. Glynne.

Newport,

Newport, the 9th of October 1648.

WE humbly deſire Your Majeſty to give Your Royal Aſſent to the Propoſitions following, concerning the *Militia*.

That the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* aſſembled, ſhall, during the ſpace of Twenty Years from the Firſt of *July* 1648, arm, train and diſcipline, or cauſe to be armed, trained and diſciplined, all the Forces of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, already raiſed both for Sea and Land Service; and ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty Years, raiſe, levy, arm, train and diſcipline, or cauſe to be raiſed, levied, armed, trained and diſciplined, any other Forces for Land and Sea Service, in the Kingdoms, Dominions and Places aforeſaid, as in their Judgments they ſhall from time, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty Years, think fit and appoint. And that neither the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, nor any other, but ſuch as ſhall act by the Authority or Approbation of the ſaid Lords and Commons, ſhall, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty Years, exerciſe any of the Powers aforeſaid.

That Monies be raiſed and levied for the maintainance and uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land Service, and of the Navy and Forces for Sea Service, in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch ways and means as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty Years, think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe. That all the ſaid Forces both for Land and Sea Service, ſo raiſed or levied, or to be raiſed or levied, and alſo the Admiralty and Navy ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty Years, be imployed, managed, ordered and diſpoſed by the ſaid Lords and Commons, in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch ways and means as they ſhall think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe. And the ſaid Lords and Commons, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty Years, ſhall have power,

Firſt, To ſuppreſs all Forces raiſed, or to be raiſed, without authority and conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

Secondly, To ſuppreſs any foreign Forces, who ſhall invade, or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them. And that after the expiration of the ſaid Twenty Years, neither the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any Perſon or Perſons, by colour or pretence of any Commiſſion, Power, Deputation or Authority, to be derived from the King, His Heirs or Succeſſors, or any of them, ſhall raiſe, arm, train, diſcipline, employ, order, manage, disband or diſpoſe any of the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, nor exerciſe any of the ſaid Powers or Authorities in the precendent Articles mentioned and expreſſed to be, during the ſaid ſpace of Twenty Years, in the ſaid Lords and Commons: Nor do any Act or Thing concerning the execution of the ſaid Powers or Authorities, or any of them, without the conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons firſt had and obtained.

That after the expiration of the ſaid Twenty Years, in all caſes wherein the Lords and Commons ſhall declare the ſafety of the Kingdom to be concerned, and ſhall thereupon paſs any Bill or Bills for the raiſing, arming, training, diſciplining employing, managing, ordering or diſpoſing of the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, or the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or of any part of the ſaid Forces, or concerning the Admiralty and Navy, or concerning the levying of Monies for the raiſing, maintainance or uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land Service, or for the Navy and Forces for Sea Service, or of any part of them. And if the Royal Aſſent to ſuch Bill or Bills ſhall not be given in the Houſe of Peers within ſuch time after

after the paſſing thereof by both Houſes of Parliament as the ſaid Houſes ſhall judge fit and convenient, that then ſuch Bill or Bills ſo paſſed by the ſaid Lords and Commons as aforeſaid, and to which the Royal Aſſent ſhall not be given, as is herein expreſſed, ſhall, neverthelefs, (after Declaration of the ſaid Lords and Commons made in that behalf) have the force and ſtrength of an Act or Acts of Parliament, and ſhall be as valid to all intents and purpoſes as if the Royal Aſſent had been given thereunto.

Provided that nothing herein before-contained ſhall extend to the taking away of the ordinary legal Power of Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Coroners, Conſtables, Headboroughs, or other Officers of Juſtice, not being Military Officers concerning the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; ſo as neither the ſaid Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Coroners, Conſtables, Headboroughs, or other Officers, nor any of them, do levy, conduct, imploy, or command any Forces whatſoever, by colour or pretence of any Commiſſion of *Array*, or extraordinary Command from His Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſors, without the conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons.

And if any Perſons ſhall be gathered and aſſembled together in Warlike manner, or otherwiſe, to the number of Thirty Perſons, and ſhall not forthwith disband themſelves, (being required thereto by the ſaid Lords and Commons, or Command from them, or any by them eſpecially authorized for that purpoſe,) then ſuch Perſon or Perſons not ſo disbanding themſelves, ſhall be guilty and incur the pains of High Treaſon, being firſt delared guilty of ſuch Offence by the ſaid Lords and Commons, any Commiſſion under the Great Seal, or other Warrant to the contrary notwithſtanding; and he or they that ſhall offend herein, to be incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty, His Heirs or Succeſſors, and their Eſtates ſhall be diſpoſed as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall think fit, and not otherwiſe.

Provided that the City of *London* ſhall have and enjoy all their Rights, Liberties and Franchiſes, Cuſtoms and Uſages, in the raiſing and imploying the Forces of that City for the defence thereof, in as full and ample manner to all intents and purpoſes, as they have, or might have uſed or enjoyed the ſame at any time before the making of the ſaid Act or Propoſition, to the end that City may be fully aſſured, it is not the intention of the Parliament to take from them any Privileges or Immunities in raiſing or diſpoſing of their Forces, which they have or might have uſed or enjoyed heretofore.

That the *Militia* of the City of *London* and Liberties thereof, may be in the Ordering and Government of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons in Common Council aſſembled, or ſuch as they ſhall from time to time appoint, (whereof the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being to be Three) to be imployed and directed from time to time, in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed on and appointed by both Houſes of Parliament.

That no Citizen of the City of *London*, nor any the Forces of the ſaid City, ſhall be drawn forth, or compelled to go out of the ſaid City or Liberties thereof for Military Service, without their own free conſent.

That the Tower of *London* may be in the Government of the City of *London*, and the chief Officer or Governour thereof from time to time, to be nominated and removable by the Common Council.

Pembrooke and *Montgomery*,
Salisbury,
Middleſex,
W. Say and *Seal*.

Tho. Wenman,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
H. Vane,
J. Potts,
Jo. Glynne,
Sam. Browne,
Jo. Crewe.

Charles

Charles R. [Not received.]

IN Anſwer to your Paper delivered in this Day, concerning the *Militia*; His Majeſty conceives, That your Propoſition touching the *Militia*, demands a far larger power over the Perſons and Eſtates of His Subjects than hath ever hitherto been warranted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; yet, conſidering the preſent Diſtractions, require more; and truſting in His Two Houſes of Parliament, that they will make no farther uſe of the Powers therein mentioned after the preſent Diſtemper's ſettled, than ſhall be agreeable to the legal Exerciſe thereof in Times paſt, and for the purpoſes particularly mentioned in your Propoſition; and to give ſatisfaction to His Two Houſes, that He intends a full Security; and to expreſs His real deſire to ſettle the Peace of the Kingdom, His Majeſty doth conſent to this Propoſition touching the *Militia*, as is deſired.

Newport, 9th Octob. 1648.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning the Militia.

Charles R.

IN Anſwer to your Propoſition concerning the *Militia*, delivered in this Day; His Majeſty doth thereunto conſent, as is deſired.

Newport, 9th Octob. 1648.

Newport, 9th Octob. 1648.

YOur Majeſty having delivered in a Paper of this preſent 9th of *October*, containing Your Anſwer to the Third Propoſition concerning the *Militia*; we ſhall tranſmit the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Pembrooke and *Mont.*
Salisbury,
Tho. Wenman,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
Jo. Potts,
Middleſex,
W. Say and *Seale.*
H. Vane,
Jo. Crewe,
Sam. Browne,
J. Glynn.

Newport, the 9th of Octob. 1648.

WE humbly deſire Your Majeſty to give Your Royal Aſſent to the Propoſitions enſuing, concerning *Ireland.*

That an Act of Parliament be paſſed, to declare and make void the Ceſſation of *Ireland*, and all Treaties and Concluſions of Peace, or any Articles thereupon with the Rebels, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; and to ſettle the Proſecution of the War of *Ireland* in both Houſes of Parliament of *England*, to be managed by them; and Your Majeſty to aſſiſt, and to do no Act to diſcountenance or moleſt them therein.

That the Deputy, or chief Governour, or other Governours of *Ireland*, and the Preſidents of the ſeveral Provinces of that Kingdom, be nominated by both the Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, or in the intervals of Parliament, by ſuch Committees of both Houſes of Parliament as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſhall nominate and appoint for that purpoſe: And that the Chancellor or Lord Keeper,

Keeper, Lord Treaſurer, Commiſſioners of the Great Seal or Treaſury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretaries of State, Maſter of the Rolls, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer, Vice Treaſurer, and Treaſurers at Wars of the Kingdom of *Ireland* be nominated by both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to continue *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*, and in the Intervals of Parliament by the forementioned Committees, to be approved or diſallowed by both Houſes at their next ſitting. And that all Grants of Offices, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments made or paſſed under the Great Seal of *Ireland* unto any Perſon or Perſons, Bodies Politick or Corporate ſince the Ceſſation made in *Ireland* the 15th Day of *September* 1643, ſhall be null and void, and that all Honours and Titles conferred upon any Perſon or Perſons in the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland* ſince the ſaid Ceſſation ſhall be null and void.

Pembrook and Mont. *Salisbury,* *Middleſex,*

Tho. Wenman,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
Jo. Pots,
H. Vane,
Jo. Crew,
Sam. Brown,
J. Glynn.

His Majeſty's final Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning Ireland.

Charles R.

FOR a final Anſwer to Your Propoſition of the 9th of *October* concerning *Ireland:*

His Majeſty doth give His Conſent thereunto as is deſired, the Time for nomination of the Deputy and other Officers being limited for Twenty Years from the firſt of *July* 1646.

Newport, the 11th of October 1648.

Newport, the 11th of October 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's final Anſwer to our Paper of the 9th of *October* laſt concerning *Ireland*, we ſhall tranſmit the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Pembrook and *Mont.*
Salisbury,
Middleſex,
W. Say and *Seale,*

Tho. Wenman,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
Jo. Pots,
Jo. Crewe,
H. Vane,
Sam. Browne,
J. Glynn.

The Propoſition concerning publick Debts and Damages.

Newport, the 11th of October 1648.

WE humbly deſire that Your Majeſty will give Your Royal Aſſent to ſuch Act or Acts for raiſing of Moneys for the Payment and ſatisfying of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom, and other publick Uſes as ſhall hereafter be agreed on by both Houſes of Parliament, and that if the King doth not give His Aſſent thereunto, then it being done by both Houſes of Parliament, the ſame

ſhall

ſhall be as valid to all Intents and Purpoſes as if the Royal Aſſent had been given thereunto.

Pembrooke and *Mont.* *Salisbury,* *Middleſex.*

Tho. Wenman, *H. Vane,*
W. Pierrepont, *Sam. Brown,*
Har. Grimſton. *Jo. Glynn,*
Jo. Pots, *Jo. Crew.*

His Majeſty's Firſt Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning publick Debts and Damages, &c.

IN anſwer to your Propoſition of the 11th of *October,* concerning publick Debts, *&c.* His Majeſty doth conſent to your Propoſition as is deſired, the Act or Acts extending only to Debts and Damages, and publick uſes incurred and paſſed, and to be agreed by both Houſes within twelve Months.

Newport, the 12*th of October* 1648.

Newport, the 12*th of October* 1648.

WHereas by our Paper of the 11th of *October,* it is humbly deſired Your Majeſty will give Your Aſſent to ſuch Act or Acts for raiſing Moneys for the Payment of publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom, and other publick Uſes, as ſhall hereafter be agreed on by both Houſes of Parliament; and that if the Royal Aſſent be not thereto given, yet being done by the Houſes it ſhall be as valid to all Intents and Purpoſes. Your Majeſty in Your Anſwer now given to it is pleaſed to limit Your Conſent only for ſuch Debts and Damages, and publick Uſes as are already incurred and paſt, and they to be agreed upon by the Houſes within twelve Months; which comes ſhort of the Deſires of the Two Houſes, that looks to the future as well as the time paſt. And you are likewiſe pleaſed to reſtrain it to twelve Months for their agreeing upon thoſe Debts, Damages and publick Uſes. We therefore humbly crave Your Anſwer to the aforeſaid Paper as it is there deſired.

Northumberland, *Middleſex,* *W. Say* and *Seal.*

Tho. Wenman, *H. Vane,*
W. Pierrepont, *Jo. Crew,*
Denzell Holles, *Jo. Glynn,*
Har. Grimſton, *Jo. Bulkeley.*
J. Pots,

His Majeſty's final Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning publick Debts, &c.

FOR a final Anſwer to you as to your Propoſition of the 11th of *October* concerning Publick Debts, *&c.* and to Your Paper of the 12th concerning the ſame: His Majeſty doth conſent to Your Propoſition as is deſired, ſo as the Act or Acts be agreed on, and preſented within the ſpace of two Years, and extend only to Debts, Damages and publick Uſes incurred by that time.

Newport, 12*th October* 1648.

Newport, the 12th of October 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's final Anſwer to our Papers of the 11th and 12th of *October* inſtant concerning the Payment of publick Debts, *&c.* we ſhall tranſmit the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on with the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Northumberland, *Middleſex,* *W. Say* and *Seal.*

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
H. Vane,
Jo. Pots,
Jo. Crew,
Jo. Glynn,
Jo. Bulkeley.

The Propoſition for making void all Honours, &c.

Newport, the 12th of October 1648.

WE do humbly deſire Your Majeſty's Conſent to the Propoſition enſuing, That by Act of Parliament, all Peers made ſince the Day that *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, deſerted the Parliament, and that the ſaid Great Seal was ſurreptitiouſly conveyed away from the Parliament (being the 21ſt Day of *May* 1462.) and who ſhall be hereafter made, ſhall not ſit or vote in the Parliament of *England*, without Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, and that all Honour and Title conferred on any without Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament ſince the 20th of *May* 1642. (being the Day that both Houſes declared, That the King ſeduced by evil Counſel intended to raiſe War againſt the Parliament) be declared null and void.

Northumberland, *Middleſex,* *W. Say* and *Seal.*

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
Jo. Pots,
H. Vane,
Jo. Crew,
J. Glynn,
Jo. Bulkeley.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Propoſition for making void all Honours, &c.

IN anſwer to your Propoſition of the 12th of *October* concerning Peers, *&c.* His Majeſty doth conſent thereunto as is deſired.

Newport, 13th *Octob.* 1648.

HAving received your Majeſty's Paper of the 13th Inſtant in anſwer to the Propoſition preſented to Your Majeſty in one Paper of the 12th concerning Peers, *&c.* wherein Your Majeſty is pleaſed to declare that You do conſent therein as is declared, we ſhall tranſmit the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Newport, 13th *Octob.* 1648.

The

The Proposition concerning Delinquents.

Newport, the 13th of October 1648.

WE humbly desire Your Majesty to give Your Royal Assent to the Propositions ensuing concerning Delinquents.

That an Act be passed concerning Delinquents, as followeth:

First Branch.

That the Persons who shall expect no Pardon, be only these following:

Rupert and *Maurice* } Count *Palatines* of *Rhine*.
James Earl of *Derby*,
John Earl of *Bristol*,
William Earl of *Newcastle*,
Francis Lord *Cottington*,
George Lord *Digby*,
Matthew Wren, Bishop of *Ely*,
Sir *Robert Heath*, Knt.
Dr. *Bramhall*, Bishop of *Derry*,
Sir *William Widdrington*,
Collonel *George Goring*,
Henry Jermin, Esq;
Sir *Ralph Hopton*,
Sir *John Biron*,
Sir *Francis Doddington*,
Sir *John Strangewayes*,
Mr. *Endimion Porter*,
Sir *George Radcliffe*,
Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*,
Henry Vaughan, Esq; now called Sir *Henry Vaughan*,
Sir *Francis Windebanke*,
Sir *Richard Greenvile*,
Mr. *Edward Hide*, now called Sir *Edward Hide*,
Sir *John Marley*,
Sir *Nicholas Cole*,
Sir *Thomas Riddle*, *jun.*
Sir *John Colepeper*,
Mr. *Richard Lloyd*, now called Sir *Richard Lloyd*,
Mr. *David Jenkins*,
Sir *George Strode*,
George Carteret, Esq; now called Sir *George Carteret*,
Sir *Charles Dallison*, Knt.
Richard Lane, Esq; now called Sir *Richard Lane*,
Sir *Edward Nicholas*,
John Ashburnham, Esq;
Sir *Edward Herbert*, Knt. His Majesty's Attorney General.

And all Papists, and Popish Recusants, who have been, now are, or shall be actually in Arms, or voluntarily assisting against the Parliament of *England*; and by Name,

The Marquess of *Winton*,
Edward Earl of *Worcester*,
Lord *Brudenell*,
Carell Molineux, Esq;
Lord *Arundell* of *Warder*,
Sir *Francis Howard*,
Sir *John Winter*,
Sir *Charles Smith*,
Sir *John Preston*,
Sir *Bazill Brooke*,
Lord *Andley*, Earl of *Castlehaven* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*,
William Shelden of *Beely*, Esq;
Sir *Henry Beddingfield*.

And all Persons who have had any hand in the plotting, designing, or assisting the Rebellion of *Ireland*, except such Persons who having only assisted the said Rebellion, have rendered themselves, or come in to the Parliament of *England*.

Second Branch.

That *Humphrey Bennett*, Esq;
Sir *Edward Ford*,
Sir *John Penruddocke*,
Sir *George Vaughan*,
Sir *John Weld*,
Henry Lyngen, Esq;
Sir *Henry Fletcher*,
Sir *Richard Minshall*,

Laurence Halſtead,
John Denham, Eſq;
Sir *Robert Lee*,
Sir *John Pate*,
John Akland,
Edmond Windham, Eſq;
Sir *John Fitzherbert*,
Sir *Edward Lawrence*,
Sir *Ralph Dutton*,
Sir *Edward Walgrave*,
Sir *Edward Biſhop*,
Sir *William Ruſſel* of *Worceſterſhire*,
Thomas Lee of *Adlington*, Eſq;
Sir *John Girlington*,
Sir *Paul Neale*,
Sir *William Thorold*,
Sir *Edward Huſſey*,
Sir *Thomas Lyddell, ſen.*
Sir *Philip Muſgrave*,
Sir *John Digby* of *Nottinghamſhire*,
Sir *Robert Owſley*,
Sir *John Many*,
Sir *Edmond Forteſcue*,
Peter Sainthill, Eſq;
Sir *Thomas Tildeſley*,
Sir *Henry Griffith*,
Michael Wharton, Eſq;
Sir *Henry Spiller*,
Mr. *George Benyon*, now called Sir *George Benyon*,
Lord *Cholmely*,
Sir *Thomas Aſton*,
Sir *Lewis Dives*,
Sir *Peter Osborne*,
Samuel Thornton, Eſq;
Sir *John Lucas*,
John Blaney, Eſq;
Sir *Thomas Chedle*,
Sir *Nicholas Kemiſh*,
Hugh Lloyd, Eſq;
Sir *Nicholas Criſpe*,
Sir *Peter Ricaut*,

Be removed from His Majeſty's Councils, and be reſtrained from coming within the verge of the Court. And that they may not, without the conſent of both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, bear any Office, or have any Imployment concerning the State or Commonwealth. And in caſe any of them ſhall offend therein, to be guilty of High Treaſon, and incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty; and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſhall think fit. And that one full Third Part, upon full value of the Eſtates of the Perſons aforeſaid, made incapable of Imployment as aforeſaid, be employed for the payment of publick Debts and Damages.

And that the late Members, or any who pretended themſelves late Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who have not only deſerted the Parliament, but have alſo ſat in the unlawful Aſſembly at *Oxford*, called or pretended by ſome to be a Parliament, and voted the Kingdom of *England* Traytors, and have not voluntarily rendered themſelves before the laſt of *October* 1644, be removed from His Majeſty's Councils, and be reſtrained from coming within the verge of the Court. And that they may not, without advice and conſent of the Kingdom of *England*, bear any Office, or have any Imployment concerning the State or Commonwealth. And in caſe any of them ſhall offend therein, to be guilty of High Treaſon, and incapable of any Pardon by His Majeſty; and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed as both Houſes of Parliament in *England* ſhall think fit.

And that the late Members, or any who pretended themſelves Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who have ſat in the unlawful Aſſembly at *Oxford*, called or pretended by ſome to be a Parliament, and have not voluntarily rendered themſelves before the laſt of *October* 1644, be removed from His Majeſty's Councils, and reſtrained from coming within the verge of the Court; and that they may not, without advice and conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, bear any Office, or have any Imployment concerning the State or Commonwealth. And in caſe any of them ſhall offend therein, to be guilty of High Treaſon, and incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty; and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſhall think fit.

And that the late Members, or any who pretended themſelves Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who have deſerted the Parliament and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and have not voluntarily rendered themſelves before the laſt of *Octob.* 1644, be removed from His Majeſty's Councils, and be reſtrained from coming within the

the verge of the Court. And that they may not, without the advice and conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, bear any Office, or have any Imployment concerning the State or Commonwealth. And in caſe any of them ſhall offend therein, to be guilty of High Treaſon, and incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty; and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed as both Houſes of Parliament in *England* ſhall think fit.

And that all Judges and Officers towards the Law, Common or Civil, who have deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, be incapable of any Place of Judicature, or Office towards the Law, Common or Civil: And that all Serjeants, Counſellors and Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates, and Proctors of the Law, Common or Civil, who have deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, be incapable of any Practice in the Law, Common or Civil, either in publick or private; and ſhall not be capable of any Preferment or Imployment in the Commonwealth, without the advice and conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. And that no Biſhop or Clergy-man, no Maſter or Fellow of any College or Hall, in either of the Univerſities, or elſewhere, or any Maſter of School or Hoſpital, or any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, who hath deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, ſhall hold or enjoy, or be capable of any Preferment or Imployment in Church or Commonwealth: But all their ſaid ſeveral Preferments, Places, and Promotions, ſhall be utterly void, as if they were naturally dead; nor ſhall they otherwiſe uſe their Function of the Miniſtry, without the advice and conſent of both Houſes of Parliament: Provided, that no Lapſe ſhall incur by ſuch Vacancy until Six Months paſt, after notice thereof.

Third Branch.

That all Perſons who have been actually in Arms againſt the Parliament, or have counſelled, or voluntarily aſſiſted the Enemies thereof, are diſabled to be Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, Mayor, or other Head-Officer of any City or Corporation, Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, or to ſit or ſerve as Members or Aſſiſtants in either of the Houſes of Parliament, or to have any Military Imployment in this Kingdom without the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.

Fourth Branch.

The Perſons of all others to be free of all Perſonal Cenſure, notwithſtanding any Act or any Thing done, in, or concerning this War, they taking the Covenant.

Fifth Branch.

The Eſtates of thoſe Perſons excepted in the Firſt Branch, and the Eſtates of *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, and of *William Laud*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to pay publick Debts and Damages.

Sixth Branch.

That Two full Parts in Three to be divided of all the Eſtates of the Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who have not only deſerted the Parliament, but have alſo voted the Kingdom of *England* Traytors, and have not rendered themſelves before the Firſt of *December* 1645, ſhall be taken and imployed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

And that Two full Parts in Three to be divided of the Eſtates of ſuch late Members of either Houſe of Parliament as ſat in the unlawful Aſſembly at *Oxford*, and ſhall not have rendered themſelves before the Firſt of *December* 1645, ſhall be taken and imployed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

And that One full Moiety of the Eſtates of ſuch Perſons, late Members of either of the Houſes of Parliament, who have deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and ſhall not have rendered themſelves before the Firſt of *Decemb.*

Decemb. 1645, ſhall be taken and imployed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

That a full Third Part of the value of the Eſtates of all Judges and Officers towards the Law, Common or Civil, and of all Serjeants, Counſellors and Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates, and Proctors of the Law Common or Civil, and of all Biſhops, Clergy-men, Maſters and Fellows of any College or Hall, in either of the Univerſities, or elſewhere, and of all Maſters of Schools, or Hoſpitals, and of all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons who have deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and have not rendered themſelves to the Parliament before the Firſt of *December* 1645, ſhall be taken and imployed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

And that a full Sixth Part on the full value of the Eſtates of the Perſons excepted in the Third Branch, concerning ſuch as have been actually in Arms againſt the Parliament, or have counſelled, or voluntarily aſſiſted the Enemies thereof, and are diſabled according to the ſaid Branch, be taken and imployed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

Seventh Branch.

That the Perſons and Eſtates of all common Soldiers, and others of this Kingdom of *England*, who in Lands and Goods be not worth Two hundred Pounds Sterling, be at liberty and diſcharged.

Eighth Branch.

That the Firſt of *May* laſt, is now the Day limitted for the Perſons to come in that are compriſed within the former Branches: Provided, that all and every the Delinquents, which by, or according to the ſeveral and reſpective Ordinances, or Orders, made by both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, on or before the Four and twentieth Day of *April* 1647, are to be admitted to make their Fines and Compoſitions under the Rates and Proportions of the Branches aforeſaid, ſhall, according to the ſaid Ordinances and Orders reſpectively be thereunto admitted. And farther alſo, that no Perſon or Perſons whatſoever (except ſuch Papiſts as having been in Arms, or voluntarily aſſiſted againſt the Parliament, have, by concealing their Quality, procured their admiſſion to Compoſition) which have already compounded, or ſhall hereafter compound, and be thereunto admitted by both Houſes of Parliament, at any of the Rates and Proportions aforeſaid, or under, reſpectively, ſhall be put to pay any other Fine than that they have, or ſhall reſpectively ſo compound for (except for ſuch Eſtates, or ſuch of their Eſtates, and for ſuch Values thereof reſpectively as have been, or ſhall be concealed or omitted in the Particulars whereupon they compound;) and that all and every of them ſhall have thereupon their Pardons, in ſuch manner and form as is agreed by both Houſes of Parliament.

And that an Act be paſſed, whereby the Debts of the Kingdom, and the Perſons of Delinquents, and the value of their Eſtates may be known; and which Act ſhall appoint in what manner the Confiſcations and Proportions before-mentioned may be levied, and applied to the diſcharge of the ſaid Engagements.

Northumberland, *W. Say* and *Seale*.

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
J. Potts,

H. Vane,
Jo. Crewe,
Sam. Browne,
Jo. Bulkeley.

Newport,

Newport, this 16th of Octob. 1648.

WE have tranſmitted to the Houſes, Your Majeſty's Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning the Church, dated the 9th of *October* 1648; and are by them commanded to acquaint Your Majeſty with the Votes and Reſolutions thereupon, which are as follow:

Die Veneris 13° *Octob.* 1648.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

That this Anſwer of the King's to the Propoſition preſented by the Commiſſioners to the King concerning the Church, is not ſatisfactory.

Reſolved, &c.

That after the Commiſſioners ſhall have concluded upon the Propoſition that this ſhall find them in, that then they do preſs the King to a full Anſwer to the Propoſition preſented by them to Him concerning the Church; and that they do proceed in the Treaty upon the reſt of the Propoſitions, according to their former Inſtructions.

Northumberland,

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
J. Pots,

Middleſex.

H. Vane,
Jo. Crewe,
Sam. Browne,
J. Glynne,
Jo. Bulkeley.

His Majeſty's final Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning Delinquents.

FOr a final Anſwer to you as to your Propoſition of the 13th of this inſtant, concerning Delinquents, *&c.* His Majeſty will conſent,

That all Perſons who have had any hand in the plotting, deſigning or aſſiſting the Rebellion of *Ireland*, ſhall expect no Pardon, as is expreſs'd in the Firſt Branch of this Propoſition.

As to all the reſt of the ſaid Propoſition, His Majeſty cannot conſent thereunto as it is propoſed, otherwiſe than as is hereafter expreſs'd, *viz.*

As for all other Perſons compriſed in the ſaid Firſt Branch, His Majeſty for ſatisfaction of His Two Houſes will give way, That they may moderately compound for their Eſtates, and deſires they may be admitted to the ſame. And for removing Diſtruſts and Interruptions of the Publick Settlement, His Majeſty will conſent as followeth:

That ſuch of them as the Houſes of Parliament will inſiſt on, ſhall not be admitted to His Councils, and be reſtrained from coming to the Court at ſuch diſtance as the Two Houſes of Parliament ſhall think fit; and ſhall not have any Office or Employment in the State or Commonwealth, without the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; or ſhall abſent themſelves out of the Kingdom for ſome time, if both Houſes of Parliament ſhall ſo think fit.

That all other Perſons compriſed in this Propoſition, ſhall ſubmit to moderate Compoſition; and for the ſpace of Three Years ſhall not ſit or ſerve as Members or Aſſiſtants in either Houſe of Parliament, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.

17*th Octob.* 1648.

His

His Majeſty's Propoſitions delivered in to the Commiſſioners, together with the precedent Anſwer the 17*th of* October 1648.

His Majeſty's Propoſitions to His Two Houſes of Parliament:

1. THat His Majeſty may be ſettled in a condition of Honour, Freedom and Safety, and have the Faith of His Two Houſes for the ſame.

2. That His Majeſty may be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of His Lands and Revenues.

3. That He may have compenſation for thoſe Revenues and Profits which His Majeſty, for the ſatisfaction of His Two Houſes in this Treaty, hath, or ſhall conſent to part withal.

4. And that an Act of Oblivion and Indempnity may be paſſed, to extend to all Perſons for all Matters, with ſuch Limitations and Proviſions as ſhall be agreed between His Majeſty and His Two Houſes.

Newport, 17° *Octob.* 1648.

YOur Majeſty's Paper delivered unto us this 17th of *October* inſtant, for a final Anſwer to Ours of the 13th inſtant, concerning *Delinquents*, *&c.* we ſhall ſend to the Two Houſes of Parliament; and in purſuance of their Directions we ſhall go on with the Treaty.

Subſcribed by the Commiſſioners.

Newport, 17° *Octob.* 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's Propoſitions to Your Two Houſes of Parliament, we ſhall forthwith tranſmit the ſame to the Houſes, according to our Inſtructions.

Subſcribed by the Commiſſioners.

Newport, 17° *Octob.* 1648.

WHereas we have delivered a Paper to Your Majeſty of the 25th of *September* laſt, containing our Demands concerning the Church; and received Your Majeſty's Anſwer thereunto the 30th of *September*, wherein we obſerved many Alterations, Omiſſions, and ſome Denials; and thereupon, by our Paper of the ſame 30th of *September*, did humbly deſire Your full Anſwer. And having received Your Majeſty's final Anſwer to us concerning that Propoſition, we did tranſmit it to both Houſes, whoſe Votes and Reſolutions thereupon we made known to Your Majeſty in our Paper given in yeſterday. In purſuance thereof, we do again humbly deſire Your Majeſty's full Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning the Church.

Northumberland, *Middleſex*, *W. Say* and *Seale*.

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
Jo. Potts,

H. Vane,
Jo. Crewe,
Sam. Browne,
J. Glynn,
Jo. Bulkeley.

Newport,

Newport, 17*th Octob.* 1648.

WHereas we have delivered in a Paper to Your Majeſty the 17th inſtant, whereby we humbly informed Your Majeſty, That we had delivered You a Paper of the 25th of *September* laſt, containing our Demands concerning the Church, and received Your Majeſty's Anſwer thereunto the 30th of *September*, wherein we obſerved many Alterations, Omiſſions, and ſome Denials; and thereupon, by our Paper of the ſame 30th of *September*, did humbly deſire Your full Anſwer: And having received Your Majeſty's final Anſwer to us concerning that Propoſition, we tranſmitted it to both Houſes, and that thereupon we made known to Your Majeſty their Votes and Reſolutions; in purſuance of which, we did again humbly deſire Your Majeſty's full Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning the Church.

We farther humbly crave leave to obſerve to Your Majeſty, the Particulars wherein Your Majeſty's Anſwer to that Propoſition concerning the Church, cometh ſhort of the Propoſition of both Houſes; namely,

Firſt, Your Majeſty doth not conſent to a Bill for the utter aboliſhing and taking away of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* out of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

Secondly, Your Majeſty doth not give Your conſent, (as is deſired,) That the *Ordinance of Parliament for the aboliſhing of Archbiſhops and Biſhops within the Kingdom of* England *and Dominion of* Wales, *and for ſettling their Lands and Poſſeſſions upon Truſtees, for the uſe of the Commonwealth*: And the other Ordinance, entituled, *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, for appointing the Sale of Biſhops Lands for the uſe of the Commonwealth*, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Thirdly, Whereas it is deſired, Your Majeſty will confirm by Act of Parliament the Ordinance for calling and ſitting of the Aſſembly of Divines, delivered to Your Majeſty, with our Paper of the 25th of *September* laſt; Your Majeſty thereunto ſaith, That You will, by Act of Parliament, confirm the calling and ſitting of the ſaid Aſſembly from the Firſt of *July* 1643; and that they ſhall have ſuch Powers as are mentioned in the ſaid Ordinance; and that they ſhall continue their Meeting and Sitting, and be diſſolved in ſuch manner as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall direct: Which Anſwer is differing from the Propoſition, which deſires the confirmation of that Ordinance by Act of Parliament.

Fourthly, Whereas we pray, that Reformation of Religion, according to the Covenant, be ſettled by Act of Parliament in *England*, *Ireland* and *Wales*, in ſuch manner as both Houſes have agreed, or ſhall agree upon after conſultation had with the Aſſembly of Divines; particularly that the Directory be confirmed by Act of Parliament, together with the Ordinances of the 3d of *January* 1644, and the 23d of *Auguſt* 1645, concerning the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer, and eſtabliſhing and putting the Directory in execution.

Your Majeſty doth not ſay, You will confirm thoſe Ordinances, as deſired in the Propoſition; but Your Majeſty ſaith, That You will confirm the Publick Uſe of the Directory in all Churches and Chapels, as is deſired in the Propoſition; and will conſent to the repeal of ſo much of all Statutes as only concerns the Book of Common Prayer, and alſo to the taking the ſame away out of all Churches and Chapels, provided that the Uſe thereof may be continued in Your Majeſty's Chapel for Your Self and Your Houſhold. By which Anſwer, Your Majeſty doth not confirm thoſe Ordinances, which contain many eſſential Clauſes touching the Book of Common Prayer and Directory: And Your Majeſty ſtill continueth the Uſe of the Common Prayer Book in Your Chapel for Your Self and Houſhold, which is not a conſenting to the Propoſition as is deſired.

And touching Reformation of Religion, Your Majeſty ſaith that You will conſent, That the Form of Church Government, preſented to Your Majeſty, be con-

firmed by Act of Parliament for Three Years; providing only, that a Conſultation in the mean time be had with the Aſſembly of Divines, in ſuch manner, and for the purpoſes as in Your Majeſty's Anſwer of the 30th of *September* are expreſſed. Which Anſwer of Your Majeſty, we humbly conceive, comes far ſhort of the deſire in the Propoſition, which deſires that Reformation of Religion, according to the Covenant, be ſettled by Act of Parliament in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, in ſuch manner as both Houſes have agreed, or ſhall agree upon after Conſultation had with the Aſſembly of Divines.

And whereas the Articles of Chriſtian Religion preſented to Your Majeſty, is deſired to be by Your Majeſty confirmed by Act of Parliament; Your Majeſty gives no Anſwer thereunto.

And we farther humbly conceive, That Your Majeſty hath not given Anſwer to that Part of the Propoſition which deſires Your Majeſty to confirm the Ordinance for the better obſervation of the Lord's Day, according as is therein deſired; nor to that Part of the Propoſition which deſires Your Majeſty to give Your Royal Aſſent to the Bill, for the better Advancement of Preaching of God's Holy Word in all Parts of this Kingdom; and to the Bill againſt enjoying Pluralities of Benefices by Spiritual Perſons, and Non-Reſidency, which have been formerly preſented to Your Majeſty.

And whereas it is deſired, That an Act or Acts be paſſed in Parliament for a ſtricter courſe to be taken to prevent the ſaying or hearing of Maſs in the Court, or any other Part of this Kingdom, or the Kingdom of *Ireland*; we humbly conceive, Your Majeſty doth not give Anſwer thereunto in the extent, as by the Propoſition is deſired; for Your Majeſty therein exempts the Queen and Her Family.

And, *Laſtly*, We humbly conceive, Your Majeſty hath not at all anſwered the Deſires of the Two Houſes touching the Covenant; and therefore we ſtill humbly deſire Your Majeſty's full Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning the Church.

Newport, the 21ſt of October 1648.

His Majeſty's laſt and final Anſwer concerning the Church.

C. R.

HIS Majeſty conceives, That His former Anſwer to your Propoſitions concerning the Church, would have given more ſatisfaction to His Two Houſes than is expreſſed in your Papers of the 16th and 17th of this inſtant, as containing in them (if conſidered in their full extent) Conceſſions of the moſt material Things deſired: And therefore, as well for a Declaration of His clear Intentions by thoſe former Anſwers, as for a farther and final Anſwer to the ſaid Propoſitions and Paper of the 17th, His Majeſty ſaith as followeth:

That albeit for the Reaſons expreſſed in His former Paper He cannot conſent to a Bill and the Ordinance for aboliſhing Biſhops; yet, for the ſatisfaction of His Two Houſes, and ſettling the Publick Peace, He will conſent to a Bill for the taking away of all Archbiſhops, Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans and Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Canons and Prebendaries, and all Chanters, Chancellors, Treaſurers, Sub-Treaſurers, Succentors and Sacriſts, and all Vicars Choral, and Choriſters, Old Vicars and New Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and all other their Under-Officers out of the Church of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, and out of the Church of *Ireland*. And farther, His Majeſty will conſent to ſuſpend the Exerciſe of all Epiſcopal Government for the ſpace of Three Years, and hath conſented, and will conſent to confirm the Form of Church Government, now preſented to Him for the ſaid Three Years, and that no other ſhall be uſed during that time. In which time, His Majeſty continueth His deſire, That a Conſultation may be had with the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, (Twenty of His own nomination being added,) to the end that His

Majeſty

Majesty and His Two Houses may within those Three Years inform themselves of the Practice of the Primitive Church in point of Episcopacy, and may accordingly agree in limiting the Bishops to the Counsel and Assistance of Presbyters, and in the Exercise of their Jurisdiction, and increasing their number if it be thought fit. And His Majesty will consent that in case no Settlement shall be agreed on within the said three Years, then after the said time the Power of Ordination shall not be exercised by the Bishops without the Counsel and Assistance of Presbyters; and that no other Episcopal Jurisdiction shall be exercised by Bishops but such, and in such manner, as shall be agreed on by His Majesty and His Two Houses of Parliament: And His Majesty doth profess, that if in that time he be convinced that the Function of Bishops is not agreeable to the Word of God, or that Christ commanded any other Government, He will most chearfully embrace that, and take away Episcopacy; but until He be so convinced, He believes Himself bound in Conscience to uphold that Function, as is above expressed.

For the Ordinances for settling the Bishops Lands upon Trustees, and for Sale of those Lands, although His Majesty upon conscientious Scruples (wherein He hath the concurrent Opinion of the Divines as well of the Reformed as other Churches) hath not consented thereunto, yet He hath offered Satisfaction to all such as have purchased any of those Lands, or disbursed Money upon that Security, by legal Estates for Lives or Years (not exceeding ninety nine Years) reserving only the Propriety and Inheritance of those Lands to the Church and Churchmen, and the old Rent, or other moderate Rent for their maintenance; and if that those Leases shall not suffice, His Majesty would propound and consent to some other way for their farther Satisfaction: And therefore other Satisfaction for those Debts and Engagements (which were the Motive for the Sale of those Lands) being proposed, and His Majesty having herein condescended as far as possibly He can, He desires His Two Houses would comply with His Majesty in this Particular.

His Majesty hath offered by Act of Parliament to confirm the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines, as largely in the matter desired as the Ordinance it self proposed for that purpose. He hath likewise offered to confirm the publick Use of the Directory in all Churches and Chapels, as is desired in your Proposition, and to consent to the repeal of so much of all Statutes as concern the Books of Common Prayer, and to take the same away out of all Churches and Chapels, except His Majesty's Chapel, where He intends the Use thereof may be continued for Himself and His Houshold, until another publick Form of Prayer should be agreed on by His Majesty and His Two Houses.

His Majesty hath likewise consented to the Bill for suppressing of Innovations, wherein there is full Provision for the due Observation of the Lord's Day, and offered (if that were not sufficient) to consent to the matter of the Ordinance for Observation thereof as fully as is desired. But for the Ordinances presented to His Majesty, which concern the Assembly of Divines, the Directory, the taking away the Books of Common Prayer, and the Observation of the Lord's Day, many Expressions therein require necessary Alterations, in respect of some things happened since their first framing, others reflect on former establish'd Laws, and other Matters not necessary; and therefore though He consented to the matter therein desired, yet He could not confirm those individual Ordinances *in terminis* as they were penned.

Whereas you conceive that His Majesty did not give His Assent to the Bill for the better Advancement of the Preaching of God's holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom, His Majesty by His former Answer did sufficiently express His Consent thereunto, by consenting to the Bill for suppressing of Innovations (in which that for the better Advancement of Preaching is excluded) and His Majesty doth again give His Consent thereunto; as also to the Bill against enjoying Pluralities of Benefices by spiritual Persons, and Non-Residency, formerly delivered to His Majesty, as is desired in your Propositions.

Touching Reformation of Religion, whereas you ſay that His Majeſty's Anſwer comes far ſhort of the Propoſition, which deſires that His Majeſty ſhould conſent, that Reformation of Religion according to the Covenant be ſettled in ſuch manner as both Houſes have agreed, or ſhall agree upon after Conſultation had with the Aſſembly of Divines; His Majeſty ſaith that He hath anſwered all the Particulars which are ſet down as Branches of that general Propoſition, and cannot think it will be expected, that he ſhould oblige Himſelf generally to what His Two Houſes ſhall hereafter agree touching matters of Religion, before He be ſatisfied of the nature thereof.

His Majeſty conceives that He hath given a full Anſwer to your Propoſition for an Act or Acts to be paſſed for a ſtricter Courſe to be taken to prevent the Saying or hearing of Maſs in the Court, or any other part of this Kingdom, or the Kingdom of *Ireland*, He having conſented thereunto, with Exemption only of the Queen and Her Family (few whereof are of Her Profeſſion) according to the Articles of Marriage agreed on betwixt the Two Crowns, which His Majeſty conceives His Two Houſes will not adviſe Him to break: And as for the reſtraining the Acceſs of all others but her Family, and in all things elſe His Majeſty conſents to that Propoſition as is deſired.

Touching the Covenant, His Majeſty anſwers as formerly, that He remains yet unſatisfied to take it, or impoſe it upon others, and conceives it not proper to be inſiſted upon at this time, and that the end thereof (without taking it) will be obtained by this Agreement, if happily concluded.

For the Articles of Religion preſented to His Majeſty which are deſired to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, His Majeſty hath already anſwered, that He hath not yet had time to peruſe them with that Deliberation as is requiſite before He bind up Himſelf and His Subjects in matters of Faith and Doctrine; and conceives His Two Houſes will think it not improper to reſpite the Conſideration of them to a farther time, conſidering how perillous definitious are in matters of Religion, how long the Articles have been in framing, and that ſince the beginning of this Treaty, and not before, they came entirely to His Majeſty's View.

His Majeſty having ſo far conſented to the ſeveral Particulars of this Propoſition, that the remaining Differences are very few, doth therefore earneſtly deſire His Two Houſes, that they may be no obſtacle to the Settlement of the bleſſed Peace now in hand.

Newport, the 21ſt *of October*, 1648.

YOur Majeſty having delivered in a Paper of this preſent 21ſt of *October*, as Your final Anſwer to us, as to the Propoſition concerning the Church; we ſhall tranſmit the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

The Propoſition concerning the Nomination of the chief Officers in the Kingdom of England.

Newport, the 21ſt *of Octob.* 1648.

WE humbly deſire Your Majeſty to give Your Royal Aſſent to the Propoſition enſuing,

That the Chancellor or Lord Keeper, Lord Treaſurer, Commiſſioners of the Great Seal or Treaſury, Lord Warden of *Cinque* Ports, Cancellors of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Maſter of the Rolles, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer of the Kingdom of *England*, be nominated by both

both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to continue *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*, and in the intervals of Parliament, by ſuch Committees of both Houſes of Parliament as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſhall nominate and appoint for that purpoſe: To be approved or diſallowed by both Houſes at their next ſitting.

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning the Nomination of Officers.

FOR a final Anſwer to you, as to your Paper of the 21ſt Inſtant concerning the Nomination of Officers.

His Majeſty doth conſent thereunto as is deſired, ſo as the time for Nomination be limited to ten Years.

Newport, 21ſt *of Octob.* 1648.

Newport, 21ſt *of Octob.* 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's final Anſwer of this 21ſt of *October* Inſtant to our Paper concerning the Nomination of Officers we ſhall tranſmit the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

The Propoſition concerning the City of London.

Newport, the 21ſt *of October* 1648.

WE humbly deſire Your Majeſty to give Your Conſent to the Propoſition following concerning the City of *London*.

That an Act be paſſed for the granting and confirming of the Charters, Cuſtoms, Liberties, and Franchiſes of the City of *London*, notwithſtanding any Nonuſer, Miſuſer or Abuſer.

And for prevention of Inconveniencies which may happen by the long Intermiſſion of Common Councils, it is deſired, That there may be an Act that all By-Laws and Ordinances already made, or hereafter to be made, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in Common Council aſſembled, touching the calling, continuing, directing and regulating the ſame Common Councils, ſhall be as effectual in Law, to all intents and purpoſes, as if the ſame were particularly enacted by the Authority of Parliament; and that the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons in Common Council may add to, or repeal the ſaid Ordinances from time to time as they ſhall ſee Cauſe.

That ſuch other Propoſitions as ſhall be made for the City for their farther Safety, Welfare and Government, and ſhall be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament may be granted and confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Subſcribed by the Commiſſioners.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning the City of London.

FOR a final Anſwer to you, as to your Propoſition concerning the City of *London*.

His Majeſty doth conſent thereunto, as is deſired.

Newport,

Newport, the 21ſt of October 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's final Anſwer to us, as to our Propoſition of this 21ſt of *October* inſtant, concerning the City of *London*, we ſhall tranſmit the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

The Propoſition concerning the Great Seal.

Newport, the 21ſt of October 1648.

WE humbly deſire Your Majeſty to give Your Royal Aſſent to the Propoſition enſuing.

That all Grants, Commiſſions, Preſentations, Writs, Proceſs, Proceedings and other things paſſed under the Great Seal of *England*, in the Cuſtody of the Lords and other Commiſſioners appointed by both Houſes of Parliament for the Cuſtody thereof be, and by Act of Parliament with the Royal Aſſent ſhall be declared enacted to be of like full force and effect, to all intents and purpoſes, as the ſame or like Grants, Commiſſions, Preſentations, Writs, Proceſs, Proceedings, and other things under any Great Seal of *England* in any time heretofore were or have been.

And that for time to come the ſaid Great Seal now remaining in Cuſtody of the ſaid Commiſſioners, continue and be uſed for the Great Seal of *England*. And that all Grants, Commiſſions, Preſentations, Writs, Proceſs, Proceedings, and other things whatſoever paſſed under, or by any Authority of any other Great Seal ſince the 22d Day of *May Anno Domini* 1642. or hereafter to be paſſed, be invalid and of no effect to all intents and purpoſes; except ſuch Writs, Proceſs, and Commiſſions as being paſſed under any other Great Seal, than the ſaid Great Seal in the Cuſtody of the Commiſſioners aforeſaid, on or after the ſaid 22d Day of *May*, and before the 28th Day of *November*, *Anno Domini* 1643. were afterwards proceeded upon, returned into, or put in ure in any the King's Courts at *Weſtminſter*; and except the Grant to Mr. *Juſtice Bacon* to be one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench; and except all Acts and Proceedings by Virtue of any ſuch Commiſſions of *Gaol-Delivery*, *Aſſize*, and *Niſi prius*, or *Oyer* and *Terminer* paſſed under any other Great Seal, than the Seal aforeſaid in the Cuſtody of the ſaid Commiſſioners before the Firſt of *October* 1642.

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning the Great Seal.

IN anſwer to you, as to your Propoſition concerning the Great Seal delivered in this Day.

His Majeſty doth conſent thereunto, as is deſired.

Newport, 21ſt *of October* 1648.

Newport,

Newport, the 21ſt of Octob. 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's final Anſwer to us, as to our Propoſition of the 21ſt of *October* inſtant, concerning the Great Seal; we ſhall tranſmit the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

The Propoſition concerning Wards and Liveries.

Newport, the 21ſt of Octob. 1648.

WE humbly deſire Your Majeſty to give Your Royal Aſſent to the Propoſition enſuing:

That an Act or Acts of Parliament be paſſed, for the taking away of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and of all Wardſhips, Liveries, *Primier Seiſins*, and *Ouſter le Maynes*, and of all other Charges incident unto, or ariſing for or by reaſon of any Wardſhips, Liveries, *Primier Seiſins*, or *Ouſter le Maynes*; and of all Tenures by Homage, Fines, Licenſes, Seiſures, and Pardons for Alienation, and of all other Charges incident or belonging thereunto, or for or by reaſon thereof, from the Twenty fourth Day of *February*, which was in the Year of our Lord God 1645. And that all Tenures by Knights Service, Grand Serjeanty, Petty Serjeanty, or Soccage *in Capite*, either of His Majeſty, or of any other Perſon or Perſons, may be, from the time aforeſaid, turned into free and common Soccage. And that the Sum of Fifty thouſand Pounds *per Annum* be granted to the King by way of Recompence.

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning Wards and Liveries.

FOr a final Anſwer to you, as to your Propoſition concerning the Court of Wards, delivered in this Day; His Majeſty doth conſent thereunto, as is deſired, ſo as He may have in recompence for the ſame, One hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, aſſured unto Him, His Heirs and Succeſſors.

21 *Octob.* 1648.

Newport, the 21ſt of October 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's final Anſwer to us, as to our Propoſition of this 21ſt of *October* inſtant, concerning the Court of Wards and Liveries, *&c.* we ſhall tranſmit the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Subſcribed by all the Commiſſioners.

Newport, 1° *Novemb.* 1648.

WE do humbly acquaint Your Majeſty with the Declaration of both Houſes of Parliament, concerning the Time of the Treaty, as followeth:

Die Sabbati 28° *Octob.* 1648.

The Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, do declare, That neither the Lord's Days, nor the publick Monthly Faſt Days that ſhall happen within the

the Forty Days, appointed for the time of the Treaty, ſhall be accounted any of the Forty Days limited for the Treaty.

Subſcribed by the Commiſſioners.

Newport, 1° *Novemb.* 1648.

HAving tranſmitted to both Houſes of Parliament, Your Majeſty's final Anſwer of the 21ſt of *October* laſt, to the Propoſitions concerning the Church; we are by them commanded to acquaint Your Majeſty with their Votes and Reſolutions concerning the ſame, which are as follow:

Die Sabbati 28° *Octob.* 1648.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,

That His Majeſty's Anſwer to that part of the Propoſition that concerns a Bill and Ordinances for aboliſhing of Biſhops, is not ſatisfactory.

Die Lunæ 30° *Octob.* 1648.

The Houſes upon ſerious conſideration and debate had, upon that part of the King's laſt Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning the taking away and aboliſhing of Biſhops and ſettling the Presbyterian Government, have voted, that it is unſatisfactory. And in regard the King, in His ſaid Anſwer, hath rather framed a New Propoſition than conſented to that preſented unto Him by the Houſes, wherein yet He grants ſome part of what the Houſes deſire; That the Houſes may manifeſt the clearneſs of their Proceedings in this Treaty, and their earneſt deſires of a bleſſed Peace, they do aſſign the Particulars wherein (as to that part of the King's Anſwer) their main diſſatisfaction reſteth.

1. That the King doth not utterly aboliſh the Function and Power of Biſhops, within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, but only ſuſpendeth the Exerciſe of their Function; as to the Ordination, for the term of Three Years, and no more; and the Exerciſe of their Power, as to other things, for the ſaid term of Three Years; and until ſuch time as Himſelf and the Two Houſes of Parliament ſhall agree of any other Settlement.

2. That during the term of Three Years, the King may make Biſhops in the old manner; and at the end of Three Years, the Exerciſe of their Function, as to the Point of Ordination in the old manner, is revived in ſuch of the old Biſhops as ſhall be then living, and in ſuch other new Biſhops as the King hath or ſhall make; it being only expreſs'd, that they ſhall not ordain without the Counſel and Aſſiſtance of Presbyters, which alſo was practiſed formerly.

3. That the Form of Church Government, preſented to the King by the Houſes, is, by His Anſwer, limited only to the term of Three Years; and that at the end thereof, Proviſion is only made for Ordination in a way different from what the Houſes have propoſed, and no certain way ſettled for any other thing concerning Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline and Government, which will be as neceſſary to be provided as that of Ordination: And this the Houſes do judge, at the end of Three Years, will expoſe the Kingdom to new Diſtractions, which they deſire may be prevented in this Peace.

Die Lunæ 30° *Octob.* 1648.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,

That the King's Anſwer to that part of the Propoſition, concerning the King's giving His conſent to the Ordinances for ſettling the Lands of the Biſhops upon Truſtees for the uſe of the Commonwealth, and for appointing the Sale of thoſe Lands, is not ſatisfactory; and that the Commiſſioners do preſs His Majeſty to give His full conſent to thoſe Ordinances, as is deſired by the Propoſition.

Reſolved

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,
That that part of the King's Anſwer to that part of the Propoſition touching the publick Uſe of the Directory, and the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer, wherein He deſires to continue the Uſe thereof for Himſelf and His Houſhold, until another publick Form of Prayer ſhould be agreed on by His Majeſty and His Two Houſes, is unſatisfactory.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,
That His Majeſty's Anſwer to that part of the Propoſition as concerns His confirming by Act of Parliament the Articles of Chriſtian Religion, is not ſatisfactory; and that the Commiſſioners do preſs the King to give His full conſent thereunto.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,
That the Houſes, out of their deteſtation to that abominable Idolatry uſed in the Maſs, do declare, That they cannot admit of, or conſent unto any ſuch exemption in any Law, as is deſired by His Majeſty for exempting the Queen and Her Family out of ſuch Act or Acts as are deſired by the Propoſition to be paſſed, for a ſtricter courſe to prevent the hearing or ſaying of Maſs in the Court, or any other part of this Kingdom, or the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and that His Majeſty's Anſwer thereunto is not ſatisfactory; and that the Commiſſioners do preſs His Majeſty to give His full conſent to that part of the Propoſition, as it is there deſired.

We therefore humbly deſire Your Majeſty to give Your full conſent to the ſeveral parts of the Propoſition mentioned in theſe Votes and Reſolutions of both Houſes of Parliament, according to our former Deſires contained in our Paper of the 25th of *Sept.* 1648, concerning the Church.

Pembrooke and *Mont.* *Middleſex*, *W. Say* and *Seale.*

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
H. Vane,

Jo. Potts,
Sam. Browne,
Jo. Crewe,
J. Glynne,
Jo. Bulkeley.

Newport, 1° *Novemb.* 1648.

THe Houſes of Parliament having received a Diſpatch out of *Ireland*, importing the Lord of *Ormond*'s Arrival in that Kingdom, qualified with a Power to treat and conclude a Peace with the Rebels there, have judged it contrary to an Act of this preſent Parliament, and deſtructive to a ſpeedy reducement of the *Iriſh*: And according to Inſtructions which in that behalf we have received, we do humbly deſire Your Majeſty's publick Declaration againſt any ſuch Power, and againſt the Proceedings of the ſaid Lord *Ormond* in *Ireland*.

And we do herewith preſent Your Majeſty with an Extract of a Letter from Collonel *Jones*, Commander in chief of the Forces in *Leimſter*, directed to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and dated from *Dublin* the 18th of *October* laſt; and alſo with Tranſcripts of Two Letters ſent encloſed in the ſaid Letter of Collonel *Jones*; the one being of the Lord *Ormond*'s Letter, dated from *Cork* the 4th of *October* laſt, and directed unto Sir *Richard Blake*, Knight, Chairman to the Aſſembly of the Confederate Roman Catholicks now at *Kilkenny*; the other of a Letter from *Maynouth* in *Ireland*, dated the 20th of *October*.

AFter our very hearty Commendations, being arrived in this Kingdom, qualified with Power to treat and conclude a Peace with the Confederate Roman Catholicks, or ſuch as ſhall be deputed and authoriſed by them in that behalf,

we have thought fit by these our Letters, to desire you to make the same known to the Assembly of the said Confederate Roman Catholicks now at *Kilkenny*: As also, that in pursuance of the Paper of the 13th of *May* last, delivered to their Commissioners at St. *Germains*, we expect to receive from them, by Persons fully authorised to treat and conclude, such Propositions as they shall think fit, at our House at *Carricke*, whither we intend to remove, for the better accommodation and more speedy dispatch of this Affair, as soon as we shall be advertised by you of the time when we shall expect them there, which we desire may be with all convenient expedition. We remain at *Corke* this 4th of *October* 1648.

Your very loving Friend, ORMOND.

To our very loving Friend, Sir Richard Blake, *Knt.*
Chairman to the Assembly of the Confederate Roman Catholicks now at Kilkenny.

Honourable SIR,

COnsidering *Ormond*'s now arriving here, and the Designs by him driven (appearing in the enclosed) which are intended principally to the disturbance of your Affairs here: His Lordship meeting with the *Irish* Commissioners on their Treaty, began on *Monday* the 16th present; after which, I have it on good grounds, all their Powers together are to be employed against this your Party in this Province.

There are extraordinary and large Taxes laid by the Poll in the *Irish* Quarters, for making up (it is said) the Sum of Sixty thousand Pounds for the Prince, who is, by the *Irish*, expected here with His Fleet, as soon as the Treaty is made up between them and *Ormond*. In this I am much confirmed, that all herein designed is principally for *England*.

Dublin, Octob. 18. 1648. *Your most humble and faithful Servant*, MICH. JONES.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, *Esq*; *Speaker to the Honourable the Commons House in Parliament.*

Honourable

I Have given a Meeting at *Maynouth*, whose Relation is, that great Preparations are now in agitation at *Kilkenny* against your Honour and Party: And that *Preston* and *Owen Roe* have agreed, and that their intent is to fall on your Army so soon as it shall march. That 2000 Horse and Dragoons are to be this next Week in readiness to come into your Honour's Quarters, only to destroy and ruin: And that the Lord of *Inchequeine* was on *Sunday* last at *Kilkenny*; and Propositions are between *Ormond* and the *Irish* Council. But he doth absolutely assure me, that they all join against your Honour and Party, whom God I trust will ever as hitherto favour and defend. If it be your Honour's Pleasure, he will go to *Kilkenny* this next Week, and within Ten Days give your Honour an account of all things, which I thought fit to acquaint your Honour withal, and will ever rest,

Maynouth, this 20th of *October* 1648. *Your Honour's most humble Servant.*

To the Honourable Collonel Mich. Jones, *chief Commander of the Forces of* Leinster.

HIS

HIS Majeſty having received your Paper of the Firſt of *November*, finds thereby, that the Treaty ends on *Saturday* next. And therefore conſidering the great length and weight of your Papers now delivered, and for that His Majeſty hath had no Anſwer to His own Propoſitions ſent to the Two Houſes, His Majeſty deſires to know whether you have received any Inſtructions concerning the ſame, or for any enlargement of the time of the Treaty; and the rather, becauſe His Majeſty is deſirous, before the giving any farther Anſwer concerning the Buſineſs of the Church, ſo far preſſed by His Two Houſes, that the Primate of *Armagh*, the Biſhop of *Exeter*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Ferne*, and Dr. *Morley*, may be admitted unto Him with all convenient ſpeed, that ſo His Majeſty may receive all poſſible Information for the clearing of His Judgment, in a Matter ſo nearly touching Him as is that of His Conſcience.

Newport, 1° *Novemb.* 1648.

IN Anſwer to Your Majeſty's Paper given in this Day, we humbly ſay, That we have not received any Inſtructions concerning Your Majeſty's Propoſitions, nor for the enlargement of the time of the Treaty: Therefore ſince the time of the Treaty is ſo near expiring, we again humbly deſire Your Majeſty's Anſwer to the Paper, this Day delivered, concerning the Church, and the Tranſactions now on foot in *Ireland*.

Subſcribed by the Commiſſioners.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Paper delivered in by the Commiſſioners, concerning the Lord Ormond.

IN Anſwer to your Paper of the Firſt of *November*, concerning *Ireland*, His Majeſty ſaith, That it is well known in what Place and in what Condition He hath continued for many Months, before the beginning of this Treaty: And He doth declare, That ſince the firſt Votes paſſed for the ſame, He hath not tranſacted any Affairs concerning that Kingdom, but with you the Commiſſioners in relation to the Treaty it ſelf. And His Majeſty hath already conſented, if this Treaty receive a happy concluſion, That His Two Houſes of Parliament ſhall have the ſole ordering and managing of the *Militia* of *Ireland*, and the Proſecution of the War there. And whatſoever His Majeſty hath conſented unto upon thoſe Propoſitions, He did it clearly, and doth fully reſolve to make the ſame good, if this Treaty end in a Peace. But, in the mean time, His Majeſty thinks it not reaſonable, that He ſhould be preſs'd to make any ſuch publick Declaration as by your Paper is deſired.

Newport, 1° *Novemb.* 1648.

HAving this Day acquainted Your Majeſty with the Reſolutions of the Houſes of Parliament, upon Information received of the Lord of *Ormond*'s Arrival in *Ireland*, and Proceedings there, with Power to treat and conclude a Peace with the Rebels, judged by them to be contrary to an Act of this preſent Parliament, and deſtructive to the ſpeedy reducing of that Kingdom, and therefore deſiring Your Majeſty's publick Declaration againſt any ſuch his Power and Proceeding; To which Your Majeſty's Anſwer doth give no ſatisfaction, ſaying it to be not reaſonable You ſhould be preſs'd to it at this time; which we have endeavoured to make otherwiſe appear unto Your Majeſty, in the Debate You have been pleaſed to have with us upon that Subject. We do again humbly pray Your Majeſty to give us to it Your full and ſatisfactory Anſwer.

Subſcribed by the Commiſſioners.

His Majeſty's final Anſwer to the Commiſſioners Paper of the 1ſt Novemb. *concerning* Ireland.

FOr a final Anſwer to you, as to your Paper of the 1ſt of this Month, concerning *Ireland*, His Majeſty ſaith, That His Majeſty having heard nothing in anſwer to His own Propoſitions, and having anſwered all the Propoſitions of His Two Houſes, hath very little encouragement to treat upon a new Propoſition, being no part of the ſubject Matter of this Treaty. But having given you Anſwer to the ſaid Paper concerning *Ireland*, and heard your Debate thereupon, He finds it fit to adhere to His former Anſwer: For if this Treaty ſhall happily conclude, the Deſires of His Two Houſes will be fully ſatisfied by His Conceſſions already made concerning that Kingdom.

1ſt Novemb. 1648.

Newport, 1ſt Novemb. 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's Paper of the Firſt of this inſtant *November*, as a final Anſwer to ours given in this Day, containing a deſire of the Houſes of Parliament of Your Majeſty's publick Declaration againſt the Power given to the Lord of *Ormond*, to treat and conclude a Peace with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and his Proceedings thereupon; we ſhall tranſmit the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Subſcribed by the Commiſſioners.

Newport, 3° Novemb. 1648.

WE are commanded by the Houſes of Parliament, to deſire Your Majeſty to expreſs Your particular Exceptions to the Ordinances mentioned and contained in the Propoſition concerning the Church; that being reduced to certainty, and ſtated, they may be returned to the Houſes.

Northumberland,
Pembrooke and *Mont.*

Salisbury,
W. Say and *Seale.*

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
J. Potts,
Har. Grimſton,

Jo. Crewe,
H. Vane,
Sam. Browne,
Jo. Glynn,
Jo. Bulkeley.

IN Anſwer to your Paper of the Third of *November*, delivered in late laſt Night, wherein you deſire His Majeſty to expreſs His Exceptions to ſeveral Ordinances mentioned in your Propoſition concerning the Church; His Majeſty ſaith, That thoſe Ordinances being many and large, and finding that after this Day you can receive no more Papers without farther Inſtructions, His Majeſty conceives Himſelf ſo limited in time, that He cannot ſo ſuddenly give you His particular Exceptions to the ſaid Ordinances.

Newport, 4th November 1648.

HIS

HIS Majesty's Propositions delivered unto you the 17th of *October* 1648. having been transmitted by you to His Two Houses, and His Majesty having received no Answer thereunto, He desires to know whether you have yet received any Instructions concerning the same.

4th Novemb. 1648.

Newport, the 4th of Novemb. 1648.

WHereas we by our Paper of the Third instant, desired Your Majesty to express Your particular Exceptions to the Ordinances mentioned and contained in the Proposition concerning the Church; unto which Your Majesty by Your Answer thereunto this 4th instant is pleased to say, that those Ordinances being many and large, and that after this Day we can receive no more Papers without farther Instructions, and therefore conceive Your self so limited in time, that Your Majesty cannot so suddenly give Your particular Exceptions to the said Ordinances; we humbly conceive those Ordinances having been many Days since the beginning of the Treaty in Your Majesty's Hands, and under Your Majesty's Consideration, the same cannot be new unto Your Majesty: And therefore we again humbly desire Your Majesty to express Your particular Exceptions to the said Ordinances, as by our said Paper of the Third instant we have formerly desired.

Northumberland;
Salisbury,
Middlesex,
W. Say and *Seale*.

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimston,
H. Vane,
J. Pots,
Jo. Crew,
Sam. Browne,
J. Glynn,
Jo. Bulkeley.

FOR a final Answer to you, as to your Paper of the First of this Instant and the Votes therein mentioned concerning the Church, His Majesty saith, That His Concessions intended by His former Answer were larger than are expressed in that Paper, and misapprehended in these Particulars following, *viz.* He neither did nor doth intend to make any new Bishops during the Term of three Years, nor in the end of three Years, that the Power of Ordination should be practised in the old manner as formerly; for that heretofore the Bishops were at liberty to call what Presbyters they would to assist in Ordinations, but were not bound to their Council or Consent. But His Majesty doth now intend, and will consent that Bishops shall not receive any into holy Orders without the Consent of a limited number of Presbyters to be chosen in such manner as shall be agreed on by His Majesty and His Two Houses for that purpose.

Neither did His Majesty intend that after the end of three Years, no certain way should be setled concerning Ecclesiastical Discipline and Government, for that His Majesty did propose during the three Years to have a Consultation with the Assembly of Divines, twenty being added of His own Nomination; which if His Two Houses shall resolve to entertain, it cannot well be doubted, but upon their Debate such a Government will be agreed upon by His Majesty and His Two Houses, as shall be best for the Peace of the Church, and most proper to prevent those Distractions which His Two Houses apprehend may ensue.

As to that part of the Proposition concerning the Book of the Common Prayer; for the Satisfaction of His Two Houses, His Majesty will not insist upon any Provision for the continuance of the same in His Majesty's Chapel for Himself and His House-

Houſehold, nevertheleſs His Majeſty declares, that He intends to uſe ſome other ſet Form of Divine Service.

And as to that part of the Propoſition that an Act or Acts be paſſed for a ſtricter Courſe to prevent the ſaying or hearing of Maſs in the Court or any other part of the Kingdom, or the Kingdom of *Ireland*, His Majeſty will conſent thereunto. As to all other Particulars in your Paper mentioned, His Majeſty having in His former Anſwers conſented ſo far as poſſibly He can, as He ſtands at preſent perſuaded in His Judgment doth refer himſelf thereunto. And ſince His Majeſty by His Conceſſions hath brought all Differences concerning the Church into ſo narrow a Compaſs, that the Chief viſible Obſtruction is that wherein really in conſcience He is not ſatisfied; He hopes His Two Houſes will not put farther Preſſures of ſo tender a nature upon Him, when it is moſt likely that Time and Debate will happily reconcile all thoſe Differences.

Newport, 4*th Novemb.* 1648.

His Majeſty's final Anſwer to the Paper concerning the Exceptions to the Ordinances about the Church.

FOR a final Anſwer to you as to your Paper of this 4th Inſtant, whereby you do again deſire His Majeſty to expreſs His particular Exceptions to the Ordinances mentioned in the Propoſition concerning the Church, His Majeſty ſaith, That by His Anſwer of the 9th of *October* He did expreſs the general Reaſons why He could not conſent to the ſaid ſeveral Oddinances in the Form they are now penned, and that He heard no more thereof, until He received Your Paper late in the Evening laſt Night, ſo that though thoſe Ordinances have been many Days in His Majeſty's Hands, and are not new to Him, yet this being the laſt Day wherein you by your Inſtructions can receive any Papers from Him, His Majeſty cannot in ſo ſhort time review the ſeveral Ordinances, and ſtate the particular Exceptions thereunto, and therefore He adheres to His former Anſwer therein.

Newport, 4th *Novemb.* 1648.

Newport, the 4th of Novemb. 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's final anſwer to our Paper of the Firſt of this Inſtant concerning the Church, and likewiſe to our Paper of the 4th of this Inſtant touching Your Majeſty's particular Exceptions to the Propoſition concerning the Church, we ſhall communicate them to both Houſes of Parliament.

Subſcribed by the Commiſſioners.

Newport, the 4th of Novemb. 1648.

IN anſwer to Your Majeſty Paper delivered in unto us this 4th of *November* inſtant, whereby Your Majeſty deſires to know whether we have received any Inſtructions concerning Your Majeſty's Porpoſitions tranſmitted by us to both Houſes of Parliament, we humbly ſay, That we have not yet received any Inſtructions concerning the ſame,

Northumberland,
Salisbury,
Middleſex.
W. Say and *Seale*.

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
J. Pots,
H. Vane,
Jo. Crewe,
Sam. Browne,
J. Glynne,
Jo. Bulkeley.

Newport,

Newport, 6th of Novemb. 1648.

WE are commanded by both Houſes of Parliament to acquaint Your Majeſty with theſe their enſuing Votes.

Die Sabbati 4° Novemb. 1648.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That the Treaty be continued for fourteen Days longer.

Die Jovis 2° Novemb. 1648.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

That His Majeſty's Anſwer contained in a Paper of the 11th of October 1648. to the Propoſition delivered in by the Commiſſioners in a Paper of the 9th of *October* 1648. concerning *Ireland,* is ſatisfactory.

Reſolved, &c.

That the King's Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning the payment of publick Debts, *&c.* is ſatisfactory.

Reſolved, &c.

That the Houſes do conſent to the King's Anſwer as to the taking away of Wards and Liveries, *&c.* and in liew thereof do agree that One Hundred Thouſand Pounds *per Annum,* be ſettled on the King His Heirs and Succeſſors according to the Anſwer by the King to this Propoſition; the ſame to be ſettled by Act of Parliament, to be raiſed in ſuch manner as ſhall be thought fit by both Houſes of Parliament, and Proviſion therein made, that the ſame, nor any part thereof be aliened from the Crown.

Reſolved, &c.

That Doctor *Uſher,* Dr. *Brounrigge,* Dr. *Prideaux,* Dr. *Warner,* Dr. *Ferne,* and Dr. *Morley* ſhall have the leave of both Houſes to go the King, and to have the Speaker's Paſſes to that purpoſe.

Reſolved, &c.

That the Commiſſioners now in the *Iſle of Wight* have Power to agree among themſelves, which of them ſhall come away and attend the Houſes, leaving three there, whereof one Lord and two Commons.

Northumberland, *Middleſex,* *W. Say* and *Seal.*

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Har. Grimſton,
H. Vane,
J. Pots.

The Commiſſioner's Paper deſiring His Majeſty's farther Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning the Nomination of Officers.

Newport, the 6th of Novemb. 1648.

WE are commanded by the Houſes of Parliament to acquaint Your Majeſty that Your Anſwer to their Propoſition concerning the Nomination of Officers is not ſatisfactory; and therefore we do humbly pray Your farther and full Anſwer to that Propoſition.

Northumberland, *Middleſex,* *W. Say* and *Seal.*

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Potts,
H. Vane,
Jo. Glynn,
Sam. Brown,
Jo. Crewe.

His

His Majesty's Acceptation of the Additional Fourteen Days to the Treaty.

HIS Majesty doth consent to the Continuation of this Treaty for Fourteen Days longer, according to the Votes mentioned in Your Paper of the 6th of this Month.

6° *Novemb.* 1648.

His Majesty's Concession of Nomination of Officers in England *for Twenty Years by both Houses.*

HIS Majesty finding by Your Paper of the 6th of *November*, that His Answer of the 21st of *October* past, concerning the Nomination of Officers, is not satisfactory to His Two Houses.

For a final Answer thereunto doth consent as is desired, so as the time for Nomination be limited to Twenty Years.

8° *Novemb.* 1648.

The Commissioner's Paper, that they will transmit His Majesty's final Answer concerning Nomination of Officers.

Newport, 8*th of Novemb.* 1648.

YOur Majesty having delivered in a Paper of this present 8th of *November*, as Your final Answer to our Paper of the 6th of *November* concerning the Nomination of Officers; we shall transmit the same to both Houses of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Instructions.

Northumberland.

Tho. Wenman, *W. Pierrepont,*
Denzell Holles, *Jo. Crew*

The Commissioner's Paper desiring His Majesty's Approbation of the Catechism.

Newport, 8 *Novemb.* 1648.

WE are commanded by the Two Houses of Parliament to present unto Your Majesty the Catechism herewith delivered; and we do humbly desire Your Majesty's Approbation of it.

Northumberland.

Tho. Wenman, *W. Pierrepont,*
Denzell Holles, *Jo. Crew.*

His

His Majesty's final Answer to the Paper concerning the Catechism.

Newport, 10*th of Novemb.* 1648.

FOR a final Answer as to your Paper of the 8th of *November*, concerning the Catechism then presented unto His Majesty, He calling to mind His Proposition concerning the Consultation to be had with the Assembly of Divines, wherein this, as well as other things of this nature, may be considered and farther established, gives His Approbation thereunto as is desired.

Newport, 10*th of Novemb.* 1648.

HAving received Your Majesty's Paper of this 10th of *November* instant, as Your final Answer to our Paper of the 8th, concerning Your Majesty's Approbation of the Catechism therewith presented; we shall transmit the same to both Houses of Parliament, and go on with the Treaty according to our Instructions.

Northumberland.

Tho. Wenman, *W. Pierrepont,*
Denzell Holles, *Jo. Crewe.*

[This was offered by His Majesty to the Commissioners, but was withdrawn; and that part below the Line was His Majesty's final Answer.]

ACcording to the Votes of both Houses of the 4th of *November* instant, for the settling of One hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum* upon His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, in lieu of Wards, Liveries, *&c.* which by the Proposition are desired to be taken away from *Feb.* 1645; His Majesty from thenceforth doth accept the said Sum, and will consent that the same be settled by Act of Parliament, and raised in such indifferent manner, according to the nature of the Commission, as His Two Houses shall think fit; and that Provision be therein made, that neither the same nor any part thereof be aliened from the Crown.

His Majesty doth consent to the Votes of both Houses of the 4th of *November*, concerning the taking away of Wards, Liveries, *&c.* and for settling 100000 *l. per Annum* upon His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, as is therein mentioned.

11*th Novemb.* 1648.

11*th Novemb.* 1648.

HAving received Your Majesty's Paper of this 11th instant, signifying Your Acceptance of One hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*, to be settled on Your Majesty, Your Heirs and Successors, in lieu of the Court of Wards, as is express'd in the Votes of both Houses of the Second instant; we shall transmit the same to both Houses of Parliament, and go on with the Treaty according to our Instructions.

The Commissioners Paper, demanding His Majesty's fuller Answer about the Marques's of Ormond.

WE are commanded by both Houses of Parliament to acquaint Your Majesty, That Your Answer to their desire, expres'd in a Paper of the First of *November* 1648, for Your declaring against the Proceedings of the Lord of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, is not satisfactory: And therefore we do again humbly desire Your Majesty's full consent thereunto.

Northumberland.

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Crewe.

His Majesty's Answer to the Commissioners Paper concerning the Marques's of Ormond.

FOR an Answer to you, as to your Paper of the 11th of *November*, concerning *Ireland*, His Majesty saith, That He hath by His former Answer concerning the Kingdom of *Ireland*, (which His Two Houses have voted satisfactory,) declared and made void all Treaties and Conclusions of Peace, or any Articles thereupon with the Rebels, without consent of both Houses of Parliament; and to settle in them the Power of the *Militia*, and Prosecution of the War there; whereby, upon the conclusion of this Treaty with Peace, the Desires of His Two Houses in that Particular will be fully obtained, and His Majesty will then command the Marques's of *Ormond* to desist from any Treaty or Proceedings: And in case he shall refuse, (which He assures Himself he will not,) His Majesty will make such publick Declaration against his Power and Proceedings as is now desired. But until such a Conclusion, His Majesty desires He may not be farther pres'd in that Particular.

Newport, 16*th of Novemb.* 1648.

The Commissioners Paper, desiring His Majesty's fuller Answer concerning the Marques's of Ormond.

HAving received Your Majesty's Answer of the 16th of this instant *November* to our Paper of the 11th, wherein Your Majesty inferreth, That upon the conclusion of the Treaty with Peace, the desire of Your Two Houses in this Particular will be fully obtained: We humbly conceive, the Houses desire Your Majesty's publick Declaration against any Power in the Lord of *Ormond*, to treat and conclude a Peace with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and against his Proceedings, for the present disavowing and discountenancing thereof; and that Your Majesty's Answer relates only to the future, and will be interpreted to be in the mean time a countenancing and approving of those Proceedings; which we humbly desire Your Majesty to take into Your serious consideration, with such other Reasons as we have offered in debate; and do humbly desire Your Majesty to give Your full consent to our Desires expressed in our Paper of the 11th instant.

Northumberland,
Middlesex.

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Crew.

His

His Majeſty's final Anſwer concerning the Marqueſs of Ormond.

FOR a final Anſwer to you, as to your Paper of the 11th of this inſtant, concerning *Ireland*, His Majeſty ſaith, That He doth acknowledge, that by your Paper of the 16th inſtant, the difference betwixt the deſire of His Two Houſes and His Majeſty's Anſwer, concerning the Proceedings of the Marqueſs *Ormond*, is truly ſtated and obſerved; for that the Two Houſes do deſire His Majeſty to make a preſent Declaration againſt the Power and Proceedings of the Marqueſs, and His Majeſty doth conſent to make the ſame at the concluſion of this Treaty in Peace; which He believes is very reaſonable on His part to inſiſt on, ſince the making of ſuch Declaration at the end of this Treaty joins it with His own Freedom and Security, and the publiſhing the ſame preſently, ſeparates it from that Conſideration. But His Majeſty conceives it is not rightly inferred, nor that His Anſwer can reaſonably be interpreted to be any countenance or approbation of thoſe Proceedings, ſince His Majeſty hath conſented to the Matter deſired, and differs only in the circumſtance of Time, which He hopes His Two Houſes will not make very ſlow. The other Parts of your Debate, His Majeſty hath well conſidered of, as he hopes you have done of His Replies thereunto; and therefore He adheres to His former Anſwer to this Buſineſs, and deſires His Two Houſes to conſider the largeneſs of His Conceſſions in this Treaty, and upon that Foundation to proceed to a ſpeedy Settlement of a bleſſed Peace in *England*, which His Majeſty conceives the moſt probable means to reduce *Ireland*.

17° *Novemb.* 1648.

Newport, 17° *Novemb.* 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's Paper of this 17th of *November* inſtant, as Your final Anſwer to ours of the 11th, concerning Your Majeſty's Declaration againſt the Proceedings of the Lord of *Ormond* in *Ireland*; we ſhall tranſmit the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on with the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Northumberland,
Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,

Middleſex.
W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Crewe.

The Commiſſioners Paper, containing the ſatisfactory Votes of the Houſes concerning the Church.

Newport, 17° *Novemb.* 1648.

HAving tranſmitted to both Houſes of Parliament Your Majeſty's final Anſwer of the 6th of *November* inſtant, to the Propoſitions concerning the Church; we are by them commanded to acquaint Your Majeſty with theſe their enſuing Votes and Reſolutions, as to thoſe Parts wherein they remain ſatisfied:

Die Mercurii 1648.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

That His Majeſty's Anſwer to that part of the Propoſition concerning the Book of Common Prayer, wherein He declares He will not inſiſt upon any Proviſion for the continuance of the ſame in His Majeſty's Chapel for Himſelf and His Houſhold, is ſatisfactory.

That His Majeſty's Anſwer to that part of the Propoſition, That an Act or Acts be paſſed for a ſtricter courſe to prevent the ſaying or hearing of Maſs in the Court, or any other part of this Kingdom, or the Kingdom of *Ireland*, wherein He declares that He will conſent thereunto, is ſatisfactory.

Northumberland, *Middleſex.*

Tho. Wenman, *W. Pierrepont*,
Denzell Holles, *Jo. Crewe.*

The Commiſſioners Paper, containing the Diſſatisfaction of the Two Houſes upon Parts of His Majeſty's Anſwer concerning the Church.

Newport, 17° *Novemb.* 1648.

HAving tranſmitted to both Houſes of Parliament Your Majeſty's final Anſwer of the 6th of *November* inſtant, to the Propoſition concerning the Church; we are by them commanded to acquaint Your Majeſty with theſe their enſuing Votes and Reſolutions, as to thoſe Parts wherein they remain unſatisfied.

Die Mercurii 15° *Novemb.* 1648.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

That His Majeſty's laſt Anſwer of the 4th of *Novemb.* 1648, as to that part concerning Biſhops, and Church Government, and Diſcipline, is unſatisfactory.

Reſolved, &c.

That this Clauſe in the King's Anſwer touching the Book of Common Prayer, [*viz.* Nevertheleſs His Majeſty declares, That He intends to uſe ſome other ſet Form of Divine Service,] is not ſatisfactory.

Reſolved, &c.

That that part of His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Propoſition and Votes concerning the Church, [*viz.* As to all other Particulars in your Paper mentioned, His Majeſty having in His former Anſwers conſented ſo far as poſſibly He can, as He ſtands at preſent perſuaded in His Judgment, doth refer Himſelf thereunto; and ſince His Majeſty by His Conceſſions hath brought all Differences concerning the Church into ſo narrow a compaſs, that the chief viſible Obſtruction is That wherein really in Conſcience He is not ſatisfied, He hopes His Two Houſes will not put farther Preſſures of ſo tender a nature upon Him, when it is moſt likely that Time and Debate will happily reconcile all thoſe Differences,] is not ſatisfactory. We therefore humbly deſire Your Majeſty to give Your full conſent to the ſeveral Parts of the Propoſition mentioned in theſe Votes and Reſolutions, according to our former Deſires contained in our Paper of the 25th of *September* 1648, concerning the Church.

Northumberland, *Middleſex.*

Tho. Wenman, *W. Pierrepont*,
Denzell Holles, *Jo. Crewe.*

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Commiſſioners Paper of the 17th of November, *being the Votes of both Houſes, concluding part of His Majeſty's Anſwer concerning the Church not ſatisfactory.*

IN Anſwer to your Paper of the 17th inſtant, whereby you have acquainted His Majeſty with the Votes and Reſolutions of both Houſes of the 15th of *Novemb.* inſtant, and thereupon deſired His full conſent to the ſeveral parts of the Propoſition mentioned

mentioned in those Votes, according to your former Desires contained in your Paper of the 25th of *September* concerning the Church; His Majesty saith, That He hath well weighed and examined His Concessions to that Proposition, and is very sorry to find, that notwithstanding all His care and endeavours to give His Two Houses satisfaction, manifested in four Answers already given in to you upon that Subject, by which He hath consented to whatsoever He could with a good Conscience grant, yet His Answers are still return'd back unsatisfactory.

But His Majesty upon perusal of your former Papers finds, That the main Dissatisfaction of His Two Houses rests in the Matters concerning the Abolition of Bishops, Sale of their Lands, and His Majesty's intention to use a Form of Divine Service in His Chapel.

As to these Particulars His Majesty doth again clearly profess, That He cannot with a good Conscience consent to the total Abolition of the Function and Power of Bishops, nor to the entire and absolute Alienation of their Lands, as is desired, because He is yet persuaded in His Judgment, that the former is of Apostolical Institution, and that to take away the latter is Sacrilege. Neither can His Majesty communicate in a publick Form of Divine Service, and Administration of the Sacraments, where it is wholly uncertain what the Minister will offer to God, and therefore He cannot recede from His former Answers in any of these Particulars. And if His Two Houses shall seriously consider, how that His Majesty by his former Answers hath totally suspended Episcopal Government for Three Years, and after the said time, limited the same in the Powers of Ordination and Jurisdiction; and that the Primitive Office of a Bishop only is by Him endeavoured to be preserved; and that the Bishops Lands are heavily charged with Leases for 99 Years, and the Deans and Chapters, and other their Dependents, are taken away; His Majesty is confident His Two Houses cannot think it reasonable in a Matter of this nature, to offer any Violence to the Conscience of their Sovereign, nor to suffer these Differences, which rest in so narrow a compass, to hinder the Settlement of a blessed Peace in this Kingdom. And if His Two Houses shall not think fit to recede from the strictness of their Demands in these Particulars, His Majesty can with more comfort cast Himself upon His Saviour's Goodness, to support Him in, and defend Him from all Afflictions (how great soever) that may befall Him, than for any politick Consideration, which may seem to be a means to restore Him, deprive Himself of the inward Tranquillity of a quiet Mind.

Wherefore as to these Particulars before-mentioned, as also concerning the Articles of Religion, and what else remains in difference upon this Proposition, His Majesty adheres to His former Answers, and hopes that His Two Houses, upon a review and farther consideration of His Reasons, will therewith rest fully satisfied.

Newport, 18*th Novemb.* 1648.

The Commissioners Paper in Answer to His Majesty's of the 18*th of* November.

Newport, 20*th Novemb.* 1648.

HAving perused Your Majesty's Paper of the 18th instant, given in as an Answer to ours of the 17th, which contained the Votes and Resolutions of both Houses upon some of Your Majesty's Answers to our Desires expressed in a Paper of the 25th of *Septemb.* concerning the Church.

We do humbly say, That the Houses of Parliament did (as formerly) return those Answers back unsatisfactory, because there was no Concession of the things desired, which they had in their Judgments concluded to be so necessary for the good of the whole Kingdom, both Church and State, wherein they would not force Your Majesty's Conscience, but desire it may be informed, that so Yours agreeing with theirs, who are Your Great Council, there might be a compliance through-

throughout, and a Concurrence in theſe and all other things for healing the Breaches, compoſing the Differences, and ſettling a bleſſed Peace within Your Dominions; and therefore we (in purſuance of their Directions) have made bold to preſs Your Majeſty ſo often both in our Papers and Debates, and muſt ſtill perſiſt.

As for the Particulars inſiſted upon; *Firſt*, For the Abolition of Epiſcopacy, we take leave to ſay, it is not the Apoſtolical Biſhop which the Bill (deſired of Your Majeſty) intends to remove, but that Epiſcopacy which was formerly eſtabliſhed by Law in this Kingdom, grown up to a height of outward Pomp and Greatneſs, and found by Experience to be a Grievance to the Subject, a Hindrance of Piety, an Encroachment upon the Power of the Civil Magiſtrate, and ſo a Burthen to the Perſons, Purſes, Conſciences of Men. Whereupon, the Parliament finding it to be for the honour of Your Majeſty and Profit of the Subject to take it away, deſire this Bill for that purpoſe, not medling with the Apoſtolical Biſhop, nor determining what that Biſhop is whom the Apoſtles mention in Scripture, but only to put him down by a Law who was ſet up by a Law; nothing being more proper for Parliaments, than to alter, repeal, or make Laws, as Experience teacheth it to be for the good of the Commonwealth. But admitting that Apoſtolical Biſhop were within the Purport of this Bill, we humbly conceive that it doth not follow, that therefore in Conſcience it muſt not be paſſed; for we may not grant that no Occaſion can make that alterable which is found to have it's Foundation only in the Practice of the Apoſtles, not in a Precept. We ſuppoſe that ſome things have been altered, which the Apoſtles practiſed; that Circumſtances many times change the Nature of moral Actions; that for the attaining of a great Good, or the avoidance of a great Evil, that which ſingly conſidered were not fit to be done, perhaps a Fault if it were, may become a Duty, and a Man be bound in Conſcience to do it: And if ever Circumſtances could have a more powerful and conſiderable Operation than in this Particular, we humbly leave to Your Majeſty's Conſideration. But this is ſaid only by the way, and admitting for Arguments ſake, not granting the Grounds upon which Your Majeſty is pleaſed to go, in the refuſing to paſs this Bill.

Secondly, For the Sale of Biſhops Lands, which Your Majeſty apprehends to be Sacrilege, we humbly offer, that Biſhops being diſſolved, their Lands (as of all Corporations) naturally by the Law of the Land revert to the Crown, which is their Founder and Patron, and heretofore held it no Sacrilege to diſpoſe of Biſhops Lands, to its own and others uſe by Act of Parliament, which was an ordinary Practice in Your Predeceſſors King's and Queens of this Nation. Beſides, we might ſay, that in all Ages, and even under the Ceremonial Law, eminent and urgent Neceſſity (eſpecially if publick) hath diſpenſed with the otherwiſe imploying of conſecrated Things.

Then whereas Your Majeſty is pleaſed to ſay, You cannot communicate in a publick Form of divine Service, when it is uncertain what the Miniſter will offer to God; we humbly beſeech You to be informed, that the Directory, which Your Majeſty hath granted to eſtabliſh for three Years, doth ſet down the matter of the Prayer which the Miniſter is to obſerve, only Words and Expreſſions, and Enlargements upon that Subject are left to his Diſcretion, for the Exerciſe of his Gifts, ſo as the Subſtance of what he is to ſay, will be manifeſt unto Your Majeſty. Yet give us leave to add farther, it can be no Objection againſt joining with a Miniſter in Prayer, not to know before hand the very Words that he will ſay; for then one muſt not hear any pray before Sermon, where every ſeveral Miniſter hath a ſeveral Form, and moſt vary ſtill according to occaſion.

Upon the whole matter, we hope Your Majeſty after a more ſerious Conſideration, will eaſily diſcern the juſt Cauſe, which the Two Houſes of Parliament have to remain (as they do) unſatisfied, ſeeing Your Suſpenſion of Epiſcopal Government for three Years doth not meet with their Fears, nor can prevent the Inconveniences

veniences which must necessarily follow upon the return of Bishops, and the Power which you reserve unto them after that time.

For first, that a Bishop so qualified as Your Majesty expresseth shall rise again then, is wholly in Your Majesty's Choice, and unavoidable by the Parliament, with whom if you will not agree before (which depends meerly upon Your Majesty's will) no other Government can be set up, and then this of Episcopacy returns, and that with so great a Power, as the Bishop may choose if any Ministers at all shall be made in the Church of *England*: And those that shall, to be at His Devotion, he having the negative Voice in Ordination; which we humbly conceive the Scripture holds not forth to have been in that Bishop, who is there mentioned in the Writings of the Apostles, and consequently, that which Your Majesty endeavours to preserve, not to be the primitive Office of a Bishop.

Then for the Lands, which Your Majesty alledgeth to be so heavily charged with Leases for Ninety Nine Years; we humbly say there is a Rent which you still are pleased to reserve to him, and the Reversion after those Years elapsed, so as the Propietor and Propriety shall continue as before, and will be apprehended to be but a Door left open for the same Greatness and Pomp, with the Consequences thereof to be readmitted upon the first Opportunity; which being, it will be impossible to free Men's Minds from Fears, and the Distempers which those Fears will occasion. Besides, it cannot be expected the Presbyterian Government should be complied with, and exercised with either Profit or Comfort, to the Church in general, or to particular Persons (whether the Covernours or the Governed) every Body seeing it to be so short lived, and most Men so apt to resist Government, who will thereby be emboldned against this, so as it is much to be doubted, that what Your Majesty hath done (supposing it will quiet the present Distractions, and give way for calmer Debates afterwards) may rather be a Means of farther and greater Troubles, and put us at a larger Distance from a Composure of the Business of the Church for the time to come than we are now. And therefore we hope Your Majesty will pardon our pressing You in this manner, and not think it unreasonable that the Houses of Parliament do so insist upon these Particulars, which to them appear of so great Consequence. The Intention is not as was said before to offer Violence to Your Majesty's Conscience, but that You will please to rectifie it, by being better informed, that both Your self and Your People may have cause of rejoicing.

Upon these Grounds, and many more too long to be here inserted, we again humbly beseech Your Majesty to review our former Papers, call to mind those Reasons and Arguments, which in debate have been used upon this Subject, and such other as Your own Wisdom (upon the Recollection of Your Thoughts) will suggest unto You; and then, all considered, that You will be pleased to give Your Royal Consent to the Particulars above specified according to our Desires expres'd in our Paper of the 25th of *September*.

His Majesty's final Answer to the Commissioner's Paper about the Church.

FOR a final Answer to you, as to your Paper of the 17th of this Instant concerning the Church, and to your last Paper of the 20th Instant; His Majesty saith, that He is well pleased with the Expressions both in the Preface and Conclusion of the said last Paper, that His Two Houses intend not to force, or offer Violence, but to inform and rectifie His Conscience, and therefore notwithstanding the necessity which is urged upon him through your whole Paper for his present Concessions, (which otherwise might seem to contradict those Expressions which so well please His Majesty) yet He hopes His ensuing Answers will satisfie His Two Houses, since He is thereunto enforced by His Conscience, which fully concurs with the Sense of all other Parliaments (but this) since the Reformation.

First

First, As for the Abolition of Epiſcopacy, if what you deſire of His Majeſty would not (being granted) abſolutely remove, nay aboliſh the Exerciſe of the Apoſtolical Biſhop, this Point would be ſoon agreed betwixt His Majeſty and His Two Houſes; for all the Additional Power and Juriſdiction which His Majeſty's Predeceſſors have beſtowed upon that Apoſtolical Function, he hath conſented ſhall be taken away, as Archbiſhops, Deans, Chapters, *&c.* leaving nothing but what (as His Majeſty believes to have proved by His Papers to Your Divines) was clearly inſtituted by the Apoſtles themſelves; and if he ſhould give way to remove all Eccleſiaſtical Functions, which by Law are exerciſed by that Rule, even the Presbyters themſelves might be taken away; for queſtionleſs the civil Sanction gives the legal acting Power to all divine Inſtitutions, otherwiſe the Chriſtian Clergy would now be in little better Caſe than they were before they were Chriſtians. As for thoſe Apoſtolical Practices which have, or may (for the avoidance of greater Evils) be altered, His Majeſty denys not that Circumſtances may change the Nature of Moral Actions, and may perhaps make that which is a Fault at one Time (ſingly conſidered in it ſelf) become a Duty at another; yet if the Particulars now demanded be not fit to be done, or perhaps a Fault if done, His Majeſty conceives (the good end being the ſame on both ſides, to wit the Peace of the Kingdom) that the Conſideration of extraordinary Circumſtances ought rather in this Caſe to have a powerful Operation with His Two Houſes to recede from their Demands (which cannot be thought a Fault in them) than to be made uſe of as an Argument to preſs His Majeſty to do a thing againſt His Conſcience, which appears to Him to be unlawful, ſince the ſame good End may as well be obtained by relaxing on the one ſide, as by preſſing on the other. Beſides, His Majeſty conceives not this to be of that Number, it being not only a bare Practice, but an Inſtitution for continual uſe in the Church.

Secondly, As for the Sale of Biſhops Lands, His Majeſty conceives that Precedents in caſes of Conſcience cannot ſatisfie, they only proving that ſuch things were done, not the Lawfulneſs of them. Now that the total Alienation of Church Lands (which is the true State of the Queſtion) is Sacrilege, Divines of all ſorts, and of all times, (though otherwiſe differing in Opinions) yet herein agree with His Majeſty's Judgment; which being well weighed, He hopes may ſatisfie as to this Particular. Nor can the Practices under the Ceremonial Law make any thing for this Caſe, becauſe in thoſe Days full Compenſation was always intended, and ordinarily followed, though abſolute Neceſſity (and not ſuch as may be otherwiſe avoided) diſpenſed ſundry times, with the imploying of ſacred Things.

Upon the whole matter, His Majeſty hopes, that His Two Houſes after a more ſerious Conſideration of theſe and His former Reaſons will clearly diſcern that they are not pretended, but real points of Conſcience, upon which He now ſticks, and ſince by the Suſpenſion of Epiſcopacy for three Years, His Majeſty hath fully for that time granted His Two Houſes Deſires, ſince He hath reduced the Office of a Biſhop, not only to the Apoſtolical Inſtitution (which you ſay is not deſired to be removed) but likewiſe taken away all thoſe additional Powers and Juriſdictions which can make them liable to the Imputation of thoſe Grievances and Inconveniences mentioned in Your Paper; for as for the Negative Voice in Ordination, His Majeſty much wonders that any can queſtion that Power not to have been in the Apoſtolical Biſhop, it being evident by 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. and *Tit.* 1. 5. that ſole Ordination was practiſed by them, ſince it is more than likely that upon a ſolemn Debate had with the Divines (according to His Majeſty's former Deſires) His Majeſty and the Two Houſes will agree upon a ſettled Form of Church Government long before the end of three Years, whereby all thoſe Diſtractions feared after that time will be prevented. And, *Laſtly*, as for Church Lands, ſince by the heavy charging of them, His Majeſty hath ſatisfied thoſe Burthens for which they were engaged, He cannot but hope that His Two Houſes will reſt ſatisfied with theſe and His former Anſwers, eſpecially conſidering that if the

Treaty

Treaty ſhould break upon this (which God forbid) the Violence offered to His Majeſty's Conſcience (againſt which you proteſt) would be too apparent to all the World. Beſides, the Confuſion that neceſſarily muſt follow in all theſe His Dominions, which is no ways in His Majeſty's Power to help, for you know who ſays, *What ſhall it profit a Man to gain the whole World, if he loſe his own Soul?* whereas by the contrary, the Compliance with His Majeſty in theſe Particulars puts Him in a right way for the better Information of His Conſcience, and in the mean time ſettles a happy Peace in theſe diſtreſſed Kingdoms.

Concerning His Majeſty's Declaration for a ſet Form of divine Service (in His Anſwer of the 4th of this inſtant) His Majeſty, having now obſerved the Latitude of the Directory, is willing that that Expreſſion ſhall not be taken as any part of His Anſwer.

As to all other Particulars, His Majeſty adheres to his former Anſwers.

Newport, 21° *Novemb.* 1648.

The Commiſſioner's Paper promiſing to communicate His Majeſty's final Anſwer to the Two Houſes.

Newport, 21° *Novemb.* 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's final Anſwer to us, as to our Papers of the 11th and 20th of this inſtant concerning the Church, we ſhall communicate the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Northumberland,
Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,

Middleſex.
W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Crewe.

The Votes of both Houſes concerning the King's Propoſitions.

Newport, 21° *Novemb.* 1648.

WE humbly preſent unto Your Majeſty the enſuing Votes and Reſolutions of both Houſes of Parliament, in anſwer to Your Majeſty's Propoſitions of the 17th of *October* laſt.

Die Mercurii 15° *Novemb.* 1648.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,

That from and immediately after the King ſhall have conſented unto the Deſires of the Two Houſes upon the Treaty, and ratified the ſame by Act or Acts of Parliament, all His Houſes, Honours, Manners and Lands with the growing Rents and Profits thereof, and all other legal Revenues of the Crown ſhall be reſtored unto Him, liable to the maintenance of ancient Forts, and all publick and other legal Charges which they were formerly charged withal or liable unto, with an Exception of ſuch Caſtles and Forts, as are now garriſoned, and of ſuch Places for publick Magazines and Stores as are now made uſe of, for ſo long time as both Houſes ſhall think fit to make uſe of them for the neceſſary Defence of the Kingdom.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,

That the King ſhall have Compenſation for thoſe legal growing Revenues and Profits of the Crown, which he hath, or ſhall conſent to part withal for the Satisfa-

ction of both Houſes in this Treaty, in ſuch manner and proportion as by the King and both Houſes ſhall be agreed upon.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,

That the King ſhall be ſettled in a condition of Honour, Freedom and Safety, agreeable to the Laws of the Land.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,

That an Act of Oblivion and Indempnity may be paſſed, to extend to all Perſons for all Matters, with ſuch Limitations and Proviſions as ſhall be agreed between His Majeſty and His Two Houſes of Parliament; provided that it be declared by Act of Parliament, that nothing in theſe former Propoſitions, nor any of them thus conſented unto, is intended or ſhall be made uſe of to abrogate, weaken, or any ways impair any Agreement in this Treaty, or any Law, Grant or Conceſſion agreed upon by the King and the Two Houſes of Parliament in purſuance thereof.

Northumberland,

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,

Middleſex.

W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Crewe.

His Majeſty's acceptance of the Votes of both Houſes concerning His Propoſitions.

1. HIS Majeſty having received the Votes of both Houſes of the 15th of *November* inſtant, in Anſwer to His own Propoſitions formerly ſent to both Houſes, is well pleaſed, That from and after ſuch time as the Agreements of this Treaty be ratified by Act or Acts of Parliament, all His Houſes, Mannors, Lands, with the growing Rents and Profits thereof, and all other legal Revenues of the Crown ſhall be reſtored unto Him, liable to the maintenance of ancient Forts, and all other publick and legal Charges which they were formerly charged withal, or liable unto, with an Exception of ſuch Caſtles and Forts as are now garriſon'd, and of ſuch Places for publick Magazines and Stores as are now made uſe of, for ſo long time as both Houſes ſhall think fit to make uſe of them for the neceſſary defence of the Kingdom.

2. His Majeſty doth likewiſe accept of ſuch Compenſation for thoſe legal growing Revenues and Profits of the Crown which He hath or ſhall conſent to part withal, for the ſatisfaction of both Houſes in this Treaty, in ſuch manner and proportion as ſhall be agreed upon between His Majeſty and His Two Houſes.

3. His Majeſty is well pleaſed, that He be ſettled in a condition of Honour, Freedom and Safety, agreeable to the Laws of the Land.

4. And He doth conſent to an Act of Oblivion and Indempnity to be paſſed to extend to all Perſons for all Matters, with ſuch Limitations and Proviſions as ſhall be agreed between Him and His Two Houſes of Parliament.

5. And His Majeſty will farther conſent, that it be declared by Act of Parliament, That nothing in His Majeſty's Propoſitions ſhall be made uſe of to abrogate, weaken, or any way impair any Agreement in this Treaty, or any Law, Grant or Conceſſion, agreed upon by His Majeſty and the Two Houſes of Parliament in purſuance thereof.

Newport, 21° *Novemb.* 1648.

The Commiſſioners will tranſmit His Majeſty's Acceptance of the Houſes Votes concerning His Propoſitions.

Newport, 21° *Novemb.* 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's Paper of this 21ſt of *November*, in Anſwer to ours given in this Day, containing the Votes of both Houſes of Parliament concerning Your Majeſty's Propoſitions formerly delivered; we ſhall communicate the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament.

Northumberland,

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,

Middleſex.

W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Crewe.

The Commiſſioners Paper, containing the Votes of the Two Houſes for the continuation of the Treaty till Saturday *the 25th inſtant.*

Newport, the 23d of Novemb. 1648.

WE are commanded by the Houſes of Parliament, to acquaint Your Majeſty with this their enſuing Vote concerning the continuance of the Treaty:

Die Martis 21° *Novemb.* 1648.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,
That the Treaty be continued till *Saturday* next at Night, the 25th of this inſtant *November*.

Northumberland,

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,

Middleſex.

W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Crewe.

His Majeſty's Acceptance of the continuation of the Treaty till the 25th inſtant.

HIS Majeſty doth conſent to the continuation of this Treaty until *Saturday* next at Night, the 25th of this Month, according to the Vote of both Houſes of Parliament of the 21ſt preſent, mentioned in Your Paper of the 23d of the ſame.

Newport, 23° *Novemb.* 1648.

The Commiſſioners Paper delivered in with the Votes of both Houſes, containing their Reſolutions that His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning Delinquents, is not ſatisfactory.

Newport, 23° *Novemb.* 1648.

WE are commanded by the Houſes of Parliament, to communicate unto Your Majeſty theſe their enſuing Votes and Reſolutions concerning the Propoſition for Delinquents, and to deſire Your Majeſty's conſent to the Particulars therein expreſs'd.

Die Mercurii 1° *Novemb.* 1648.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

That the King's Anſwer to the Propoſition concerning Delinquents, is unſatisfactory in all the Clauſes thereof, except that Clauſe wherein His Majeſty gives His conſent, That all Perſons who have any hand in plotting, deſigning, or aſſiſting the Rebellion of *Ireland*, ſhall expect no Pardon, as is expreſs'd in the Firſt Branch of the ſaid Propoſition.

Reſolved, &c.

That Sir *John Strangewayes* be taken out of the Propoſition concerning Delinquents.

Reſolved, &c.

That thoſe Perſons named in the Firſt Branch of the Propoſition concerning Delinquents that are Proteſtants, except thoſe that ſhall be excepted from Pardon, ſhall be admitted to Compoſition.

Reſolved, &c.

That thoſe Perſons named in the Firſt Branch of the Propoſition concerning Delinquents that are Proteſtants, (except thoſe that ſhall be excepted from Pardon,) ſhall be admitted to compound at a full Moity of their Eſtates.

Reſolved, &c.

That all Papiſts and Popiſh Recuſants, who have been or now are actually in Arms, or voluntarily aſſiſting againſt the Parliament of *England*, (except ſuch who have had any hand in the plotting, deſigning or aſſiſting the Rebellion of *Ireland*, and except ſuch as ſhall be excepted from Pardon,) ſhall be admitted to Compoſition.

Reſolved, &c.

That all Papiſts and Popiſh Recuſants, who have been or now are actually in Arms, or voluntarily aſſiſting againſt the Parliament of *England*, (except ſuch as have had any hand in the plotting, deſigning or aſſiſting the Rebellion of *Ireland*, and except ſuch as ſhall be excepted from Pardon,) ſhall be admitted to compound at Two full Third Parts of their Eſtates.

Reſolved, &c.

That the Perſons named and compriſed within the Propoſition concerning Delinquents, who by the ſaid Propoſition were to compound at Two Thirds of their Eſtates, and are not diſcharged, ſhall be admitted to compound at a full Third Part of their Eſtates.

Reſolved, &c.

That the Houſes do inſiſt upon that part of the Propoſition, that appoints that all Lawyers, Clergymen and Scholars, ſhall pay a full Third Part of the value of their Eſtates.

Reſolved, &c.

That the Houſes do inſiſt, That the Perſons appointed by the Propoſition concerning Delinquents, to pay a full Sixth Part of the value of their Eſtates, ſhall ſo continue to compound at a full Sixth Part.

Reſolved, &c.

That the Houſes do inſiſt upon the reſt of the Propoſition concerning Delinquents, in all the Parts wherein the Houſes have made no Alterations, as before it was.

Reſolved, &c.

That the Firſt of *February* 1648, is now the Day limited for the Perſons to come in, that are admitted by the Propoſition concerning Delinquents to compound.

Die Sabbati 11° *Novemb.* 1648.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,

That all Perſons named and compriſed in the Firſt Branch of the Propoſition concerning Delinquents, be removed from His Majeſty's Councils, and be reſtrained from

from coming within the Verge of the King's, Queen's, or Prince's Court: And that they may not, without advice and conſent of both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, bear any Office, or have any Employment concerning the State or Commonwealth; and in caſe any of them ſhall offend therein, to be guilty of High Treaſon, and incapable of any Pardon from His Majeſty, and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed of as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſhall think fit.

Die Sabbati 11° *Novemb.* 1648.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

That the Perſons expreſſed and contained in the Firſt Branch of the Propoſition concerning Delinquents, be proceeded with, and their Eſtates diſpoſed of, as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall think fit or appoint: And that their Perſons ſhall not be capable of Pardon by His Majeſty, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. The Houſes declaring, that they will not proceed as to the taking away of Life of any of them to above the number of ſeven Perſons; provided that this Declaration for Proceeding (as to the taking away of Life only of ſeven of the ſaid Perſons) ſhall not extend to pardon any Perſons for Life or Eſtate, who have had any hand in the plotting, deſigning, or aſſiſting the Rebellion of *Ireland*.

Die Martis 21° *Novemb.* 1648.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,

That *William* Earl of *Newcaſtle* ſhall be one of the ſeven excepted from Pardon.

Reſolved, &c.

That Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* ſhall be one of the ſeven that ſhall be excepted from Pardon.

Reſolved, &c.

That *George* Lord *Digby* ſhall be one of the ſeven that ſhall be excepted from Pardon.

Reſolved, &c.

That Sir *Richard Greenevile* ſhall be one of the ſeven that ſhall be excepted from Pardon.

Reſolved, &c.

That *David Jenkins* Eſq; be one of the ſeven that ſhall be excepted from Pardon.

Reſolved, &c.

That Sir *Francis Doddington* ſhall be one of the ſeven excepted from Pardon.

Reſolved, &c.

That Sir *John Byron* be one of the ſeven that ſhall be excepted from Pardon.

To all theſe Particulars we humbly deſire Your Majeſty's conſent.

Northumberland,
Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,

Middleſex.
W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Crewe.

His Majeſty's General Anſwer to the Commiſſioners Paper and Houſes Votes concerning Delinquents.

FOR an Anſwer to you as to your Paper of the 23d of *Novemb.* containing the Votes and Reſolutions of both Houſes concerning Delinquents; His Majeſty ſaith, That He is well pleaſed to find thereby that the Two Houſes have leſſened the Extent of their former Propoſition in the ſeveral Particulars expreſs'd in the ſaid Votes; but ſince His Majeſty and His Two Houſes have now agreed, That an Act of Oblivion and Indempnity ſhall paſs, to extend to all Perſons for all Matters, with ſuch Limitations and Proviſions as ſhall be agreed upon, His Majeſty conceives, that the ſubject Matter of thoſe Votes and Reſolutions will

(upon

(upon drawing up of the ſaid Act) moſt properly come in debate; and therefore deſires that His farther Anſwer may be reſpited until that time.

Newport, 24° *Novemb.* 1648.

The Commiſſioners Paper in Anſwer to that of His Majeſty's, concerning Delinquents.

Newport, 24° *Novemb.* 1648.

WHereas Your Majeſty, in Anſwer to our Paper of the 23d inſtant, containing the Votes and Reſolutions of the Houſes of Parliament upon Your Majeſty's former Anſwer to their Propoſition concerning Delinquents, is pleaſed to ſay, That You conceive the ſubject Matter of thoſe Votes and Reſolutions will properly come in debate upon drawing up the Act of Oblivion, and therefore deſire Your farther Anſwer may be reſpited till that time. We humbly ſay, that this is no Anſwer to what is deſired, as part of this Treaty, but a putting it off to another time; and as we humbly conceive, that which is moſt proper to be agreed on before the drawing up of that Act, in regard the Houſes in their Anſwer to Your Majeſty's Propoſition for ſuch an Act, have declared, That it be eſpecially provided, that nothing in Your Majeſty's Propoſitions (of which this Act of Oblivion is one,) ſhall any way weaken or impair any Agreement in this Treaty. Wherefore we humbly pray Your Majeſty's conſent to our Paper yeſterday delivered, containing thoſe Votes and Reſolutions.

Middleſex.

Tho. Wenman, *W. Pierrepont*,
Denzell Holles, *Jo. Crewe.*

His Majeſty's final Anſwer concerning Delinquents.

Charles R.

FOR a final Anſwer to you as to your Paper of the 23d of *Novemb.* inſtant, and the Votes therein mentioned concerning Delinquents:

His Majeſty ſaith, That though the Matter of that Paper might more properly have come in debate upon drawing up the Act of Oblivion, and the Limitations and Proviſions therein, as in His former Paper is expreſs'd; yet to evidence His deſire of compliance with His Two Houſes as well in Circumſtances as in all other Matters of this Propoſition, ſo far as with Honour and Conſcience He can, His Majeſty farther ſaith,

That He doth agree, That Sir *John Strangewayes* ſhall be taken out of the Propoſition concerning Delinquents.

And that thoſe Perſons named in the Firſt Branch of the Propoſition, which are Proteſtants, ſhall be admitted to Compoſition.

And that all Papiſts and Popiſh Recuſants, who have been and now are actually in Arms, or voluntarily aſſiſting againſt the Parliament, (except thoſe who have had any hand in the plotting, deſigning or aſſiſting the Rebellion in *Ireland*,) ſhall be admitted to Compoſition. And His Majeſty doth conſent, That the ſeveral Perſons compriſed in the ſaid Propoſition, ſhall ſubmit to moderate Compoſition according to ſuch Rates and Proportions as they and the Two Houſes ſhall agree upon; the Particulars whereof His Majeſty leaves wholly to ſuch Agreement, deſiring only that the Rates and Values may be mitigated and reduced to a more moderate Proportion.

And

And His Majeſty will give way, That the Perſons inſiſted upon by His Two Houſes in the Firſt Branch of this Propoſition, ſhall be removed from His Councils, and be reſtrained from coming within the Verge of the King's, Queens, or Prince's Court; and that they may not bear any Office, or have any Employment in the State or Commonwealth, without advice and conſent of both Houſes of Parliament: But His Majeſty cannot agree, that thoſe who do the contrary ſhall incur ſuch ſevere Penalties as to be guilty of High Treaſon, and forfeit their Lives and Eſtates without any capacity of Pardon, as in the ſaid Propoſition is contained, there being a Penalty legally implied upon the Breach of any Act of Parliament, which His Majeſty intends not to diſpenſe withal.

As to the ſeven Perſons mentioned in the ſaid Votes to be excepted from Pardon, His Majeſty for the Peace of this Kingdom will conſent, that they may abſent themſelves out of the Kingdom for ſuch time as the Two Houſes ſhall think fit, deſiring nevertheleſs that they may be admitted to Compoſitions for their Eſtates; and if any of them ſhall be proceeded againſt according to the ancient and eſtabliſh'd Laws of this Kingdom, His Majeſty will not interpoſe to hinder any legal Proceedings thereupon; but that His Majeſty ſhould join in any Act for the taking away the Life or Eſtate of any that have adhered to him, or for the condemning any of His own Party, His Majeſty cannot in Juſtice and Honour agree thereunto.

As to all other Perſons mentioned in your Propoſition, His Majeſty will farther conſent that they ſhall not ſit or vote as Members or Aſſiſtants in either Houſes of Parliament, nor continue or be of His Majeſty's Council, Officer of State, or Judges, or in other Office, without conſent of both Houſes.

For all Clergymen, againſt whom ſcandalous Life can be proved, or other legal Charge, His Majeſty will remit them to the Law; but for all others, who ſhall conform to what His Majeſty and His Two Houſes ſhall now agree upon, His Majeſty conceives it fit, where their Livings are void, they may be reſtored to them; and where any other is incumbent in any of their Preferments, that the Party now outed of his Living, may receive a Third Part of the Profits for his Maintenance until he be otherwiſe preferred, that thus the one may not want a Livelihood, nor the other be outed of any Living, until ſome fitting Preferment be found for either.

And to all other Particulars He adheres to His former Anſwers of the 17th of *October*.

Newport, 25*th of Novemb.* 1648.

The Commiſſioners tranſmit His Majeſty's final Anſwer to both Houſes.

Newport, 25° *Novemb.* 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's final Anſwer to us as to our Paper of the 23d of this inſtant, and the Votes therein mentioned concerning Delinquents; we ſhall communicate the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Middleſex.

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Crewe.

The

The Commiſſioners Paper, containing the Votes of both Houſes concerning the New Delinquents.

Newport, 25° *Novemb.* 1648.

WE are commanded by the Houſes of Parliament, to acquaint Your Majeſty with their enſuing Vote concerning ſuch Perſons as have engaged, or been aiding or aſſiſting in this late War againſt the Parliament.

Die Sabbati 11° *Novemb.* 1648.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament,

That no Perſon that hath been engaged, or aiding or aſſiſting to this late War againſt the Parliament, either by Sea or Land, ſince the Firſt of *January* laſt 1647, ſhall be admitted to Compoſition for his Delinquency, but at a full Years Value more than other Perſons that ſhall be in the ſame Qualification with them.

To which we humbly deſire Your Majeſty's conſent.

Northumberland, *Middleſex.*

Tho. Wenman, *W. Pierrepont*,
Denzell Holles, *Jo. Crew.*

His Majeſty's final Anſwer concerning the New Delinquents.

FOR a final Anſwer to you as to your Paper of the 25th of this Month, concerning ſuch Perſons as have engaged in the late War; His Majeſty ſaith, That He will give way, that the Perſons intended in this Propoſition may compound for their Eſtates, as they and the Two Houſes ſhall agree; and leaves the Rates and Proportions for the Compoſition to ſuch Agreement, deſiring they may be moderate.

Newport, 25*th of Novemb.* 1648.

The Commiſſioners tranſmit His Majeſty's final Anſwer to both Houſes.

Newport, 25*th of Novemb.* 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's final Anſwer to us as to our Paper of this inſtant, concerning ſuch Perſons as have engaged in the late War ſince *January* 1647; we ſhall communicate the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Inſtructions.

Middleſex.

Tho. Wenman, *W. Pierrepont*,
Denzell Holles, *Jo. Crew.*

The Commiſſioners preſent the Votes of both Houſes, concerning Lord Ormond *not ſatisfactory.*

Newport, 25*th of Novemb.* 1648.

HAving received this enſuing Vote of the Houſes of Parliament, concerning Your Majeſty's Anſwer of the 17th of *Novemb.* to the Propoſition for declaring againſt the Proceedings of the Lord of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, *viz.*

Die

Die Martis 21° *Novemb.* 1648.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That His Majeſty's final Anſwer contained in a Paper of the 17th of *Novemb.* 1648, to the Propoſition for His declaring againſt the Proceedings of the Lord of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, is not ſatisfactory.

We humbly deſire Your Majeſty's farther Anſwer to the Deſires of the Houſes, expreſs'd in that Propoſition.

Northumberland,
Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,

Middleſex.
W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Crewe.

His Majeſty's final Anſwer concerning the Marqueſs of Ormond.

Charles R.

FOR a final Anſwer to you as to your Paper of the 25th of this inſtant, concerning the Proceedings of the Lord *Ormond* in *Ireland:*

His Majeſty ſaith, That He well hoped that by this time ſuch a happy concluſion of this Treaty would have been made, that by His former Anſwers His Two Houſes might have obtained what they deſired in this Particular: But aſſuring Himſelf that His large Conceſſions in this Treaty will e'er long be the Foundation of a bleſſed Peace; His Majeſty, to manifeſt the clearneſs of His Intentions in that Matter, and to give His Two Houſes ſatisfaction, hath written, and delivers herewith unto you His Letter to the Marqueſs *Ormond*, acquainting him with ſuch Informations as He hath received from the Two Houſes concerning His Proceedings in that Kingdom, and requiring him to deſiſt from any farther Proſecution of the ſame; and in caſe he ſhall refuſe, His Majeſty will then make ſuch publick Declaration againſt His Power and Proceedings as is deſired.

Newport, 25th of Novemb. 1648.

His Majeſty's Letter to the Marqueſs of Ormond *to deſiſt,* &c.

RIght truſty and right well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, We greet you well: Whereas We have received ſeveral Informations from Our Two Houſes of Parliament concerning your Proceedings with the Confederate Roman Catholicks in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, (the ſeveral Votes and Extracts whereof We do herewith tranſmit to you:) And foraſmuch as We are now engaged in a Treaty of Peace with our Two Houſes, wherein We have made ſuch large Conceſſions as We hope will prove the Foundation of a bleſſed Peace; and having by one Article (if the ſaid Treaty take effect) promiſed to intruſt the Proſecution and Management of the *Iriſh* War in *Ireland* to the Guidance and Advice of Our Two Houſes: We have therefore thought fit to require you to deſiſt from any farther proceeding upon the Matters contained in the ſaid Papers; and We expect ſuch Obedience unto this Our Command, that Our Two Houſes deſire may be fully ſatisfied.

Newport, 25th of Novemb. 1648.

The Commiſſioners tranſmit His Majeſty's final Anſwer concerning the Marqueſs of Ormond *to both Houſes.*

Newport, 25th of Novemb. 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's final Anſwer unto us as to our Paper of the 25th inſtant, and the Votes therein contained, for declaring againſt the Proceedings of the Lord of *Ormond* in *Ireland*; we ſhall communicate the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament.

Middleſex.

Tho. Wenman, *W. Pierrepont,*
Denzell Holles, *Jo. Crewe.*

The Commiſſioners Paper, containing the Vote of the Houſes for continuation of the Treaty till Monday *the 27th inſtant.*

WE are commanded by the Houſes of Parliament to acquaint Your Majeſty with their enſuing Vote concerning the continuance of the Treaty.

Die Veneris 24° *Novemb.* 1648.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

That the Treaty be continued till *Monday* next at Night, the 27th of this inſtant *Novemb.* and that the Commiſſioners be enjoined to come away on *Tueſday* Morning, with ſuch final Anſwer as they ſhall receive from the King to what remains.

Northumberland, *Middleſex.*

Tho. Wenman, *W. Pierrepont,*
Denzell Holles, *Jo. Crewe.*

His Majeſty's Acceptance of the Continuation of the Treaty.

IN Anſwer to your Paper of this Day, His Majeſty doth conſent to the Vote of both Houſes of the 24th of this inſtant, for the continuation of this Treaty until this preſent *Monday* at Night, being the 27th of *November.*

The Commiſſioners preſent the Two Houſes New Propoſition concerning Scotland.

Newport, 27° *Novemb.* 1648.

HAving received this enſuing Propoſition of the Houſes of Parliament:

Die Mercurii 22° *Novemb.* 1648.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

That ſuch Agreements as ſhall be made by both Houſes with the Kingdom of *Scotland*, for the Security of all thoſe of that Kingdom who have aſſiſted or adhered to the Parliament of *England*, and for the ſettling and preſerving an happy and durable Peace between the Two Nations, and for the mutual defence of each other, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

We humbly deſire Your Majeſty's conſent to the ſaid Propoſition.

Northumberland, *Middleſex.*

Tho. Wenman, *W. Pierrepont,*
Denzell Holles, *Jo. Crewe.* *His*

His Majesty's final Answer to the New Propositions concerning Scotland.

FOR a final Answer to you as to your Paper of the 27th of *Novemb.* instant concerning *Scotland*, His Majesty saith, That though He finds by your Commission and Paper delivered together with it at the opening of the Treaty, that you are confined to treat concerning the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* only; so as to this Proposition, His Majesty conceives that you have no Qualification to treat with Him: Yet His Majesty, for the satisfaction of His Two Houses, will consent to confirm by Act of Parliament such Agreement as shall be made by both Houses, for the Security of all those of the Kingdom of *Scotland* who have assisted or adhered unto the Two Houses of the Parliament of *England*. And His Majesty will be most willing to join in any Agreement to be confirmed by Act of Parliament for the settling and preserving a happy and durable Peace betwixt the Two Nations, and for the mutual defence each of other under His Majesty's Government, as King of both.

Newport, 27° *Novemb.* 1648.

The Commissioners transmit His Majesty's final Answer concerning Scotland.

Newport, 27° *Novemb.* 1648.

HAving received Your Majesty's final Answer to us as to our Paper of this 27th instant, concerning *Scotland*; we shall communicate the same to both Houses of Parliament, and go on in the Treaty according to our Instructions.

Middlesex.

Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Crewe.

Newport, 27° *Novemb.* 1648.

HAving received this ensuing Vote of the Houses of Parliament concerning Your Majesty's Answer of the 21st of *Novemb.* instant, to our Papers of the 17th and 20th of the same Month, concerning the Church:

Die Veneris 24° *Novemb.* 1648.

Resolved upon the Question by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, That the King's Answer contained in a Paper of the 21st of *Novemb.* instant 1648, to the Proposition concerning the Church in all the Parts, (except wherein He hath declared His consent,) is not satisfactory.

We humbly desire Your Majesty's consent to the Desires of the Houses expres'd in our said Papers.

Northumberland,
Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,
Middlesex.
W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Crewe.

His Majesty's final Answer to the Commissioners Paper of the 27th concerning the Church.

FOR a final Answer to you as to your Paper of the 27th of this instant *Novemb.* concerning the Church:

His Majesty saith, That after such Condescensions and well-weigh'd Resolutions in the business of the Church, He did not expect to have been farther press'd therein:

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therein: It is His Judgment and Conſcience, that He cannot (as He ſtands yet informed) aboliſh Epiſcopacy out of the Church.

Yet becauſe He apprehends how fatal new Diſtractions may be to this Kingdom, and that He believes His Two Houſes will yield to Truth if it ſhall be manifeſted to them, as He hath aſſured them He will comply with them if convinc'd, His Majeſty doth again deſire, That there be a Conſultation of Divines as He hath formerly propos'd: And His Majeſty will ſuſpend the Epiſcopal Power as well in point of Ordination of Miniſters as that of Juriſdiction, until He and His Two Houſes agree what Government ſhall be eſtabliſhed in the future.

As for the Biſhops Lands, though He cannot conſent to the abſolute Alienation of them from the Church, yet He will agree, That the Propriety and Inheritance of them ſhall by Act of Parliament be ſettled in the Crown, to be declared in Truſt for the uſe of the Church and Churchmen, to be imployed by His Majeſty, His Heirs and Succeſſors, with the Advice of His Two Houſes, for the uſe aforeſaid; and that Leaſes ſhall be made for Lives or Years (not exceeding 99 Years) for the ſatisfaction of the Purchaſers and Contractors, according to His former Anſwers; reſerving the old Rents, or other moderate Rents, for the Maintenance of thoſe to whom they did formerly belong, and for the future benefit of the Church.

And in all things elſe His Majeſty refers Himſelf to His former Anſwers.

Newport, 27° *Novemb.* 1648.

The Commiſſioners tranſmit His Majeſty's final Anſwer concerning the Church to both Houſes of Parliament.

Newport, 27° *Novemb.* 1648.

HAving received Your Majeſty's final Anſwer to us as to our Paper of this preſent 27th of *November*, concerning the Church; we ſhall communicate the ſame to both Houſes of Parliament.

Northumberland,
Tho. Wenman,
Denzell Holles,

Middleſex.
W. Pierrepont,
Jo. Crewe.

Concluſion.

NOtwithſtanding all theſe His Majeſty's gracious Conceſſions, and that the more loyal and peaceable Part of the Houſe of Commons ſitting in the beginning of *December* 1648, had voted the ſame Satisfactory, yet thoſe Commons were by the Rebellious Army (which then governed) impriſoned or excluded; The Lords, ſhortly after, kept from ſitting in their Houſe; His Majeſty taken by force the 6th of *December* from the *Iſle of Wight*, and the beginning of *January* following brought to St. *James*'s, and ſpeedily after, by a pretended Judicatory of His own Traiterous Subjects, condemn'd and barbarouſly murthered the 30th of *January* following, and Monarchy excluded. Notwithſtanding all which, in the Revolution of Twelve Years, we have lived to ſee Monarchy reſtored under the happy Government of King *Charles* II. Son of that Bleſſed Martyr King *Charles* I. and many of the accurſed Regicides then living, to have moſt juſtly ſuffered (to the general Satisfaction of Mankind) the Puniſhment due to ſo great and unparallel'd Malefactors.

Octob. 10. 1664. EDW. WALKER, *Garter.*

MVSEVM FINNIS. BRITANNICVM